



DOCUMENTS OF THE COMMUNIST MOVEMENT IN INDIA

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List of Abbreviations Used

CI	—The Communist International
ECCI	—The Executive Committee of the Communist International
CPI	—Communist Party of India
LM	—The Labour Monthly, published from London
CPGB	—Communist Party of Great Britain
CPSU	—Communist Party of Soviet Union
CPC	—Communist Party of China
INPRFCOR	—International Press Correspondence of the Communist International
BCI	—Bulletin of the Communist International
CC	—Central Committee
PB	—Political Bureau
INC	—Indian National Congress
AITUC	-All India Trade Union Congress
AIWPP	—All India Workers' and Peasants' Party
INTUC	—Indian National Trade Union Congress
AIKS	—All India Kisan Sabha
CKC	—Central Kisan Council of All India Kisan Sabha
WFTU	World Federation of Trade Unions
AISF	--All India Students' Federation
CSP	—Congress Socialist Party

Introductory Note

This Volume (Volume No. VIII) includes documents on Communist Movement in India for the period 1957 .

This period was full of significant developments in national and international plane and the documents of these developments, included in this Volume, naturally deserve very careful study.

This Volume begins with the second General Elections in independent India. The electoral progress of the Communist Party of India in establishing the first Communist Government in Kerala by winning a majority in Kerala Assembly is a major event of this period. The formation of the Communist Ministry in Kerala under the leadership of E.M.S. Namboodiripad brought a major crack in the concept of unassailable hegemony of the Congress rule in India and pointedly showed that Communists could provide the alternate path in Indian Politics. The Congress Government at the centre headed by Jawaharlal Nehru looked upon the Communist Government in Kerala with a squint eye from the very beginning and a full-fledged conspiracy was hatched by the Indian National Congress to unseat this Communist Government. But, despite this conspiracy, the Communist Government in Kerala continued for 27 months till it was removed on 3rd August, 1959 through imposition of President's Rule in complete violation of the norms of Parliamentary democracy.

Two important international Communist Conferences were held during this period. After a Conference in Moscow, 12 socialist countries issued a joint declaration in November, 1957 to establish the desired cohesion and unity in the socialist camp and to stimulate the Communist Movement all over the world against the vicious machinations of the imperialist powers. The second conference was held in 1960 in Moscow participated by the representatives of 81 Communist and Workers' parties of the world. A joint declaration was issued from this conference to further strengthen the cohesion between the socialist countries and coordinate the Communist Movement all over the world for consolidation and expansion of socialist system.

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But in the Indian situation various negative developments affected the Communist Party of India and its struggles. The unity within the Party which was given utmost importance in the 3rd Party Congress held at Madurai in 1953-54 and also in the 4th Party Congress held at Palghat in 1956, did not help to remove the differences which surfaced in the extraordinary Party Congress held at Amritsar in 1958 and took an open form in the 6th Party Congress held at Vijayawada in 1958 . These are vital developments of the Communist Movement in India and the documents of these developments are included in this Volume.

Another significant development of this period is the India-China border dispute centering around McMahon line (which was imposed by the British imperialists in the early part of the 20th Century despite opposition from the Central Government of China). The Afro-Asian Solidarity which was firmly established in Bandung Conference in 1955, got a big jolt due to India-China border dispute and the negative implications of this border dispute gradually increased grossly damaging the friendly relation established between India and China from the "Panchsheel Agreement" days.

The documents dealing with these vital developments included in this Volume make it very important and warrants very careful study by young Communists and political workers who are destined to play a very vital role in our country in future.

I do not want to interpret any document included in this Volume and leave it to the readers to make their own assessment of the implications of each development in national and international plane and also involving the vital interests of our country.



(JYOTI BASU)
Chief Editor

Foreword

The period from 1957 to 1958 was one of gradually intensified debate inside the Party over fundamental ideological issues. However, the formation of a State Government led by the Communist Party in Kerala in 1957 breaking the monopoly of the Congress marked a significant event of far-reaching consequences in Indian political situation. In the Second General Elections held in 1957 the Communist Party brushing aside the ideological differences exercised all its efforts against the Congress. During ten years' period after Independence the rule of the Congress had ushered in a sign of persistent decay with the gap between the wealth of few and overwhelming majority was grown even more staggering. The Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India explained the ruthless exploitation of the poor and that the Congress Government had failed in all respects whatever the advances made at the expense of the people. The formation of linguistic States was a key demand of our national movement. It was considered necessary in order to strengthen democracy and the unity of the nation, in order to enable the common people to participate in the affairs of the government and to create conditions for the flourishing of the different cultures. All this was cynically forgotten by the Congress after the advent of freedom and the Party took up the issue and led the struggle mobilising the democratic forces that forced Nehru Government to allay its vacillations and concede to the linguistic reorganisation of States.

In the economic sphere, alongside the dismal performances, the myth of the Second Five-Year Plan had already started receding. To those who had expected that the experience of the last few years would bring about a radical change in the outlook of the government, they were getting disappointed. The Congress had little to offer but the wild promises, though with less success than before. The Party, in its appeal, pledged to do everything at its disposal to achieve unity among Left and Democratic forces in the forthcoming elections against the Congress.

While the further advance of the Communist Party in the electoral battle and its massive victory in Kerala which had come to power was a new milestone for Indian democracy, Congress

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suffered losses in almost in every states which encouraged Left and Democratic forces all over the country. The Namboodiripad Government set right its tasks in a manner which left no doubt in one's mind that, unlike Congress Governments, it was serious about implementing its pledges that offered to the people during the election campaign. Right from outset, the reactionaries in Kerala and their political representatives tried to foment disturbances to discredit the Kerala Government acting upon every pretext and to disrupt the outstanding performances of the government as well. Reviewing these and earlier developments, the National Council of the Communist Party of India which met in October 1958 stated in its resolution: "The danger and threat of the Central intervention are by no means gone. The Congress leaders know that the Kerala Government is gaining in prestige and stature everyday, while their chances of returning to power in that State through elections are fast receding. With the Congress Governments becoming increasingly discredited and isolated in other States, they are afraid of the successes and achievements of the Kerala Government."

The unconcealed arguments of the supporters of big business and their media was that the continuance of a Communist-led Government in one part of India was a hindrance to aid from the USA. It is worth mentioning that a few months after the Second General Elections in India, in September 1957, Mr. John Foster Dulles said in an unambiguous term, "Local election victories by Communists in India and Indonesia is a dangerous trend. It is a dangerous trend whenever Communists move towards political control." What is more, everyone knows the fate of Indonesia and disclosure of former US Ambassador in India, Moynihan, in the recent past that CIA provided money to the Congress leaders to debar the Communists from running Government in Kerala and from coming to power in West Bengal in early seventies. A few days after, as though commenting on Mr. Dulles's observations, Mr. T.T. Krishnamachari, the then Finance Minister of India, said in the course of an interview to an American paper on the eve of his departure to Washington for American aid: "We have to try to explain to them (Americans) that the battle in India is a battle against Communism too. We lost the State of Kerala to the

Communists and one of the reasons behind it was that we could not spend enough money for development there.” The signal was amply clear. Because of popular mass support and enthusiasm from inside and outside Kerala, it took two years to dismiss the Government.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, which met at Trivandrum on July 15 and 16, called for meetings and demonstrations all over the country on August 3, in defence of Kerala. After the dismissal of the Government, August 3 became a day of countrywide protest against Central intervention. At least 30,000 people marched to the Parliament in Delhi, condemning the Central Government’s intervention, denouncing it as a blatant attack on nascent democracy and praising the achievements of the Kerala Ministry. It was a demonstration the like of which the capital city had seldom seen. Protest demonstrations across the country surpassed all record. But what took place in Calcutta, the biggest city in India, was something unprecedented, the massive protest by lakhs of people will ever be remembered.

With the march of time the Party which was gaining strength and winning more and more support among the people was the Communist Party of India as the spearhead of the democratic movement. No wonder, therefore, that the extreme reactionaries and their allies, the Congress apart, who wanted to thwart the democratic advance, were raising the bankrupt banner of anti-communism. To this end they had propagated, and still propagating, mountains of books and articles, spoiled tons of paper and ink. All are proved to be in vain.

Mention must be made on some other important developments in this period. Since the agreement of Indo-Soviet Treaty disinterested the imperialist countries, help from Soviet Union was pouring on the Indian soil for machine building, steel complex, mining and so to say, in every sector of heavy industry which practically formed our industrial base. This was also used, on the other hand, as a point of bargaining with the United States. In 1958, the military dictatorship of Ayub Khan was installed in Pakistan at the behest of US imperialism. The arms pact between Pakistan and USA, the crackdown of democratic and progressive

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forces in Pakistan was combined with the threat of Ayub Khan to "take extreme measure" against India. The Communist Party came steadfast to denounce the ill-design of American imperialism and demanded immediate peace negotiation with Pakistan, and at the same time stood against the outcry of the communal and ultra-nationalist forces. We lodged our anguish against the silence of Nehru over imperialist machinations in Asia and attack on Middle East. In the meantime, Cuban revolutionary forces led by Fidel Castro dislodged US-backed dictatorial regime of Batista and assumed power which gave immense inspiration to the anti-imperialist forces.

The period was also full of powerful struggles. The economic crisis led Nehru Government again to secure loan from US-dominated World Bank making India more vulnerable to the economic pressure of imperialism. Excessive dependence on the West, yielding to the pressure of the monopolists, placating landed interests by falling through agrarian reform had invited crisis into the 2nd Plan and enforced its scaling down but profit of the monopolists was going high. Simultaneously, rising wave of strike-struggles was dominating the scene. Despite the ideological debates that had been persisted for a long period, the Party was steadfast to conduct the mass movement and take stands on every issue of national and international issues. No one should overlook this aspect while going through the history of the Communist movement.

Immediately after the Communist Ministry took office, an ordinance blocking all eviction of tenants and also suits arrears for rents and damages were promulgated with the strength of which cultivators for the first time in Kerala received the test of freedom from fear of eviction and losing their rights. Then came the landmark in agrarian reform embodied in the Kerala Agrarian Relations Bill which aroused the entire rural population increasing the heartbeats of vested interests. The next to come was the Education Act which was intended to safeguarding the interest of the teachers. These two alone, not to speak of other successes, were sufficient to enrage the ruling class and reactionaries of all hues.

It was at this juncture that another bourgeois-landlord party, the Swatantra Party, was formed, then an insignificant force. This development was sought to be used by that reformist section of the party to line up with the Congress treating the emergence of the Swatantra Party as the biggest danger.

The Amritsar Congress, the Special Party Congress of April, 1958 put cold water on this line explaining that it was a reactionary and anti-people policy of the Congress Government that had given rise to position of anti-national, extreme right forces in economic and political life which could not be defeated without a simultaneous battle waged with determination and vigour against the anti-people policies of the government. Differences persisted even after the adoption of the tactical line in the Amritsar Congress. The softening of the attitude towards the Congress pursued by one section of the party was rudely shocked by the dismantling of the Communist-led Kerala Government in a most undemocratic manner. Nevertheless, it seemed to be short-lived.

Meanwhile, the peace manifesto of Communist and workers' parties as well as the declaration of twelve Communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries brought forth some hope for the forces of socialism in the wake of differences within the international Communist movement in 1956. It was further enriched by the eighty-one Communist and workers' parties' declaration held in November, 1960 of which, the CPI was also a signatory.

Before the ink of the joint declaration was dry, the differences between the two Communist Parties—CPC and CPSU—cropped up again widening their position towards two opposite poles. Both these documents were considered as a guide in all respects for the forces of the advancement of the Indian Communist movement. We have lost sight of the fact that the exaggeration of the strength of the socialism and estimation of its immediate triumph as well as immediate fall of world capitalism was made in these two documents. We cannot claim that it did not have any impact on our Party.

During the late fifties food crisis was acute and the Party had swung into massive struggles. In West Bengal the movement of teachers and students, the movement against rising tram fares and

particularly the movement for food reached a high peak. The government tried to suppress it with the brutal force of the police resulting in killing of eighty people in Calcutta and injuring hundreds. This savage attack on the hungry people who thronged on the streets of Calcutta to demand food in a great multitude drew nationwide condemnation.

By this time serious differences had developed inside the Communist Party of India, on programmatic issues, on the issues of current policies as well as the ideological issues facing the world Communist movement. The two Commissions which were appointed by the National Council to draft the Programme and Political Resolution to be placed at the Sixth Congress at Vijayawada in April, 1961, could not come to any common understanding. So there were two draft programmes and two draft resolutions before the Party Congress. These differences were summed up in the draft resolution presented by 21 members of the National Council.

The Draft programme presented by Dange, Joshi and Adhikari completely ignored the compromising role of the Indian bourgeoisie, both at the time of the transfer of power and since it came to wield state power. It advocated a class collaborationist understanding of the character of the State as well as the path of revolution. The Congress Party is pictured in the Draft as, in the main, a progressive party. Thus this Draft Programme, if adopted, would have taken the Party to the path of out-and-out class collaboration.

The seriousness of the inner-party differences at that time was admitted by Ajoy Ghosh, in his report to the Sixth Party Congress, when he stated: "Our comrades know sharp differences have existed among us for some time. Due to these differences we could not adopt a political resolution at the Calcutta meeting of the National Council held a year ago." Further he said, "In December 1960, the National Council in its meeting in Bombay formed a Commission. That Commission, however, could not come to an agreed assessment of the situation or an agreed conclusion. Two separate drafts were placed before the National Council."

About the differences he stated, "It was evident that we differ on the following issues: (1) The actual implications of the formulations of the Moscow Statement in relation to newly independent countries; (2) the political and economic situation in our own country; (3) immediate tasks before the Party. With these differences, it was not possible for us to work out a common political resolution."

The Political Resolution that was placed before the Party Congress by the majority of the National Council also reflected the collaborationist understanding. The Party thus faced the most acute crisis at the Sixth Congress in Vijayawada. A split was avoided only making the Political Report and speech of the General Secretary the basis for amending the Political Resolution. The Programme drafts, after introduction, were kept in abeyance and referred to the National Council.

It was no doubt a Congress of compromise and all the ideological political differences which divided the Party remained unresolved. The only unity that was achieved was with regard to the broad tactics that were to be pursued in the elections that were held in eight months' time. The reformist section utilised all methods to capture the Party machine. The earlier method of preparing the panel of the National Council on the basis of recommendations of the State delegations was given up. Therefore, when the new CEC was elected, Comrades P. Sunda Iyya, Jyoti Basu and Surjeet decided to remain out. In view of the forthcoming general elections, the differences, however acute, pushed to the background and the Party came out with the slogan of breaking the monopoly of power of Congress. This Volume brings to light the intense inner-Party struggles against revisionism.

Harkishan Singh Surjeet

(Harkishan Singh Surjeet)
General Secretary
Communist Party of India (Marxist)

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I N D E X

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Election Manifesto of the Communist Party of India: 1957 General Elections*

1

CONGRESS RECORD

During the ten years that have passed since the attainment of freedom, the Indian people have been carrying on a ceaseless struggle for the realisation of the noble objectives which the national movement had inscribed on its banner.

They knew that while the removal of the political domination of the British was the most urgent and paramount task before the country the fulfilment of that task alone was not enough. Political freedom had to be made the instrument for the realisation of social and economic freedom for the cultural uplift of the people. It had to be made an instrument for the regeneration of the country and its all-sided advance.

Our people expected the government, which their heroic struggle had raised to power and which was pledged to carry out fundamental transformations, to lead them in this new battle.

Betrayal of Pledges

But the experience of the years after freedom blighted their hopes.

India remained a member of the British Commonwealth. In the international sphere, the Government of India, while demarcating itself on several occasions from the bellicose speeches and measures of the war camp headed by the USA, pursued a policy powerfully influenced by the British imperialists. This was seen

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in the utterances of the spokesmen of the government as well as in their practices.

British capital continued to dominate our economy. Although expectations of capital goods from Britain and America did not materialise, heavy concessions were offered to the capitalists of these countries, while the effort was made to build economic relations with the socialist states.

The Government of India shelved the demand for the abolition of princely States and the reorganisation of provinces on a linguistic basis. The half-hearted measures for agrarian reforms which assured heavy compensation to landlords, besides leaving them vast areas under "personal cultivation", did nothing to relieve the peasants from the crushing burdens of rents, taxes and debts which, on the contrary, grew steadily heavier. An eviction offensive was mounted by the landlords against the peasants in every part of the country. The deficit in foodgrains assumed menacing proportions compelling more and more reliance on imports. Production in industries stagnated and, in several spheres, declined. Prices rose higher and higher. Blackmarketing, profiteering and corruption were rampant -quite often under the patronage of ministers of various State Governments. While the capitalists made fabulous profits, the wages of the workers, middle-class employees, teachers and others remained below subsistence level. Education grew increasingly more expensive. Little attention was paid to the needs of the people in the sphere of housing and health.

In this way, solemn pledges were broken with impunity and promises given to the people were treated as scraps of paper. In this way, the glorious unity which our people had forged in the days of struggle against British rule and which they wanted to consolidate and carry forward in the task of rebuilding the country was disrupted.

Anger and indignation grew among the masses. They began to resist the attacks on their miserable standards of life. They rose in defence of their rights and liberties.

With the powerful repressive apparatus which had been built and perfected by the British, the government came down on the

people with a heavy hand. Every manifestation of popular resistance was sought to be crushed. The main blow fell on the Communist Party, the most consistent champion of the working people - a party against which a full-scale offensive had been launched as early as the beginning of 1948 and continued unabated for more than three years. But others also who dared to stand by the masses were not spared.

According to official figures, during the first three years of freedom, 50,000 political opponents of the government were jailed; over 13,000 were killed or wounded.

Lessons of Last Elections

Held in this grim background, the first General Elections of our Republic inevitably assumed the form of a vast mass upsurge, especially in States and areas where the people had fought the hardest battles and where repression had been severest. The elections showed the deep resentment of the people against the policies which were being pursued and the methods that had been adopted. The Congress won only 42 per cent of the votes cast—an indication of a heavy fall in its prestige and popularity. A number of well-known leaders of the Congress, including several ministers, were defeated. Parties of communal reaction which had hoped to capitalise on the discontent of the masses secured less than 5 per cent of the votes. Candidates of parties opposing the Congress with a more radical programme secured 25 per cent of the votes. The Communist Party, which the government had striven its utmost to destroy, emerged as a powerful force.

In its Manifesto issued several months before the first General Elections, the Communist Party had appealed to the democratic parties in the country to close their ranks and face the Congress unitedly. Had this appeal been heeded, there can be no doubt that the victories of the people would have been far more resounding.

Thanks to the undemocratic system of elections which prevails in our country, the Congress remained in office and in power. It won far more seats than warranted by the votes it polled. But the monopoly position which it had occupied in the political life of the country was rudely shaken in a number of States. This was a

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development whose significance the ruling circles could not ignore. They had to reckon with it when carrying out their policies in future.

People's Movement Advances

In the period since the first General Elections, the strivings of our people have gone forward—helped considerably by the accession of strength to the democratic forces inside the legislatures and in our political life.

The people's movement for consolidation and strengthening of national freedom, for Asian solidarity, for defence of peace and the building of fraternal relations with socialist and peace-loving states has advanced to a new stage.

The world front of peace, freedom and democracy has surged ahead. Ideas of socialism have spread far and wide. New successes have been won by the resurgent peoples of Asia and Africa in their struggle for the achievement and consolidation of national freedom, in their struggle against the military blocs by which the imperialists seek to draw them into war adventures and nullify their freedom. The danger held out by the imperialist drive towards war to the freedom of every country, especially the countries of Asia, has become increasingly clear not only to the advanced masses but also to leading circles in the ruling party of our country, headed by Prime Minister Nehru. The need for industrialisation in order to place our national freedom on a firm foundation and to create conditions for national advance has become a part of the consciousness of our people.

Under the impact of these and other developments, the foreign policy of the Government of India has undergone a radical transformation.

By upholding the cause of peace, by resisting the war drive of the imperialists and their efforts to draw the countries of Asia into military alliances, by opposing colonialism and helping to build Asian unity, by sponsoring, together with the People's Republic of China, the historic Panch Shila and by establishing relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist, democratic and

peace-loving states, India has won an eminent position in the comity of nations.

This is precisely the orientation which the Communist Party of India always advocated. This is precisely the orientation for which the Communist Party of India, in alliance with other patriotic and democratic forces, fought.

With this new and ever-improving position in the world, our country has been able to take several measures to consolidate our national freedom and strengthen our national economy. It has been able to establish relations, on terms of equality, with the countries of the socialist world for the development of our industries. This development has also had its impact on some capitalist powers.

It cannot but cause concern to the people that reactionary parties, as well as some influential elements in the ruling party holding positions of authority, are unhappy over the direction of India's foreign policy and are striving to reverse it. Indulging in lies and slanders, they seek to poison our relations with the USSR, the People's Republic of China and other countries of the socialist world—countries that stand for peace and freedom, countries that have demonstrated their friendship for us in action, countries which unequivocally supported Egypt in the recent crisis. These elements have to be fought and isolated.

Our foreign policy still suffers from a number of weaknesses and vacillations. Much of this is the result of our continued link with the British Commonwealth. This is evident from the continued facilities that are being given to the British to send Gurkha soldiers to Malaya and from the significant failure of the Government of India to condemn strongly the British atrocities in Cyprus, in Kenya and other parts of their Empire. Even after the blatant British aggression against Egypt, the Government of India has refused to break with the Commonwealth. Our membership of the British Commonwealth, whose leader Britain is one of the leaders of the Nato and Seato, the chief organiser of the Baghdad Pact and the oppressor of the vast masses of the colonial peoples, is inconsistent with our policy of peace, with our anti-colonialism, with our opposition to military blocs. Moreover, in

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view of the indignities which are heaped on our people in South Africa and several other countries of the Commonwealth, to remain in the Commonwealth violates our national dignity.

To this day, the Portuguese imperialists continue to occupy parts of Indian territory and the people there groan under bestial fascist rule. The role of the government on this issue has given rise to deep indignation. This was expressed powerfully in the mighty demonstrations held all over the country in protest against the mass butchery of Indian satyagrahis by the Portuguese rulers and their henchmen. Even after this ghastly episode, the Government of India, instead of itself taking effective measures to liberate Goa and other Portuguese-occupied territories disrupted and disorganised the mass actions which people of all parties, including Congressmen, had jointly organised. It condemned those actions and later struck against the satyagrahis who wanted to enter Goa to render assistance to the freedom movement there. This policy has emboldened the Portuguese fascists to commit untold atrocities. Many of our brothers and sisters, including satyagrahis from India, languish today behind prison-walls—humiliated and tortured.

The Communist Party of India which took a leading part in the organisation of the masss movement for the liberation of Goa and other Portuguese-held territories and a number of whose members fell victim to fascist bullets, condemns the government policy of supine inaction.

Not merely is Goa an integral part of India; not merely do the people there desire to join India, but the continued occupation of these territories by the Portuguese who are allied with the aggressive Nato, constitutes a menace to our national security.

Our people rejoice in the fact that the French-occupied territories in India have been liberated. The role played by the Communist Party in the achievement of this task is known to all our countrymen and especially to the people of these territories.

Advances have been registered by the patriotic and popular forces in some other spheres also.

In the teeth of opposition by the government and the dominant leadership of the Congress, the democratic movement for the formation of linguistic States has won signal victories in most areas. The princely States, those bastions of reaction, have gone. The nefarious moves for merger and for the reimposition of multi-lingual States, initiated by the ruling party, have suffered fiascos.

The national urge for reconstruction of the country has asserted itself so powerfully that the government could not ignore it. This urge has found partial reflection in the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and of life insurance, as well as in the declared objectives, aims and some of the proposals of the Second Five Year Plan.

Hindu law to some extent has been modified, to improve the social position of women.

Some of the disabilities from which the oppressed castes suffer have been declared illegal.

In the background of the rapid growth of radical, democratic and socialist ideas among all sections of the people the struggle of the masses have defeated several attacks and won a number of concessions.

In effecting all these changes, the fight waged inside the legislatures by the Communists and by other democrats has been a major factor.

Old Conditions Persist

However, notwithstanding these advances and notwithstanding the partial improvement of certain aspects of our economy, our country is still far from the objectives which we had proclaimed in the days when we fought against British rule.

The dominant position of Britain in many important and vital sectors of our economy has not yet been liquidated or even seriously shaken.

Our coal and manganese mines, our jute industries, our plantations, our foreign trade--all these and many others continue in the grip of British capital and remain a source of fabulous profits for them, profits which it is necessary to mobilise if the task of national reconstruction is to be speedily carried out.

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The popular demand for nationalisation of these concerns, which is essential for the building of a powerful public sector, has been rejected by the government. What Egypt, far smaller than our country and far weaker in every respect, has done our government refuses to do. Even the remittance of profits abroad is not stopped. New opportunities are being offered to foreign capitalists to come in.

Economically we remain backward and dependent - a fact which, in the context of the present international situation, constitutes a grave menace to our national security itself. Heavy and basic industries, the real source of a country's strength and foundation for its development, remain in a rudimentary state. The advance made in the production of consumers' goods fails to satisfy the elementary needs of the people - and even this advance has been repeatedly slowed down in recent years due to the lack of purchasing power in the hands of the people. Many industries are unable to fully utilise their productive capacity.

The public sector not only remains weak. The concerns it covers are run ineffectively. The bureaucratic bungling, high-handedness and corruption that have come to be associated with them alienate the people and enable reactionary forces to attack the very concept of extension of public sector.

Our agriculture remains primitive, dependent almost entirely on the vagaries of the monsoon and our production per acre one of the lowest in the world.

Poverty and destitution stalk the land. Misery and starvation, lack of clothing and adequate housing, disease and illiteracy are the lot of the common people.

"Half the population of India", the Plan-frame stated, "spend less than Rs. 13 per month on consumers' goods and possibly half this amount is consumed in kind or in the form of home-grown food and home-made articles".

Unemployment both in cities and villages, among workers, artisans, intelligentsia, agricultural labourers, has become the most alarming phenomenon of our society. Increase in factory production has meant very little increase in employment. In many industries employment figures have actually declined. In a

number of state-owned industries, the government itself has resorted to large-scale retrenchment, thereby further aggravating the problem.

Increase in production has not led to reduction of prices. On the contrary, after a period of steep decline in agricultural prices which defrauded the peasantry of hundreds of crores of rupees, now, with the impetus given by heavy resort to deficit-financing and due to monopolist control over production and trade, prices of foodgrains and of all essential goods are rising steeply—making it increasingly hard for the common man to make both ends meet. The rise in food prices has not benefited the peasantry but only the landlords and the grain monopolists.

It is, above all, the increased toil of the working class that has brought about increase of production. But the working class has reaped very little benefit from the increase. Their wages have not risen above the 1939 level, while the capitalists have reaped huge profits. The share of workers in the factory income has declined, the share of capitalists has grown. The government permits them to launch attacks on workers through rationalisation, increase of workload, retrenchment, which lead to strikes and loss in production, harming the country.

The policy of imposing the government-backed INTUC unions on the working class and of denying recognition to other unions even where they have the backing of the mass of workers, has hampered the growth of a healthy trade union movement and fostered division in the working class.

All the much-publicised agrarian reforms have not solved the basic problem facing the peasantry—the problem of land. They have benefited only a small section. The government has not even guaranteed security of tenure to the vast number of peasants. To this day, only 3 per cent of households in the rural areas own 37 per cent of the land, while 75 per cent of the households together own only 16 per cent. Rents remain excessively high in many States. The heavy increase in water rates, the arbitrary imposition of betterment levies and of hundreds of kinds of taxes on every conceivable pretext, the violent fluctuations of prices of agricultural goods—all these have had dire consequences for the

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mass of peasants and increased the burden of debt. They have prevented adequate increase in agricultural production and whatever increase has been achieved rests on an insecure foundation. The eviction offensive launched by the landlords several years ago, has continued unabated, dispossessing an increasing number of peasants of their land, of their hearths and homes. It is estimated that the total number of evictions in the last few years of Congress rule exceeds the number during the preceding hundred years.

Constituting over 30 per cent of the rural population, the agricultural workers eke out a miserable existence, the vast majority of them having no employment for five months in the year. Little effort has been made to settle them on cultivable waste-land owned by the government- which, on the contrary, is being grabbed by landlords through auctions organised by the State authorities. The Minimum Wages Act, passed ten years ago, remains on paper practically everywhere.

The middle-class employees, teachers, clerks and others, including those employed in government services face the same problems as the working class—unemployment, low wages, poor housing conditions, fall in real income through price rise.

The small industrialists and artisans have hardly fared better. Many small industries are closing down. In extending credit facilities and in the allocation of raw materials, favour is shown to the big industrialists. Not only the common man but also shopkeepers and merchants suffer heavily from the continuous increase in sales taxes.

A large number of refugees have not yet been rehabilitated. Hundreds of thousands of them remain without gainful occupation, without adequate shelter.

To our armed forces, the government denies elementary demands for a better life and improved service conditions. The rank and file in the armed forces are subjected to indignities, harsh treatment and harassment. The lot of rank and file policemen is no better.

Our public health conditions continue to be in an appalling state. Children below five years count for over 40 per cent of all

deaths. Maternity and child welfare centres are few and far between. Malaria continues to ravage the countryside. The incidence of tuberculosis, a product of malnutrition and insanitary conditions, has grown. There is only one doctor per 5,000 people in the country as a whole and these are concentrated mostly in cities with the result that in rural areas there is only one qualified doctor per 30,000 people. Medicines are costly and in many areas not available. Hospitals are unable to admit a large proportion of patients who need treatment. At the same time, in several States hundreds of qualified doctors are without jobs and their services remain unutilised.

Education has expanded in recent years. But even now vast numbers of boys and girls are unable to go to schools. Further, due to the low salaries given to teachers, due to lack of sufficient number of schools and over-crowding in institutions, which makes it impossible for teachers to pay adequate individual attention to students, due to the general poverty in the country, the high cost of education and the high price of books, due to faulty educational policies and the continued dominant position of English as the medium of instruction, the condition of education remains unsatisfactory. There has been an alarming fall in the standard of education which is a matter of grave concern for the future of the country. Facilities for technical education are utterly inadequate. The number of technical institutions is too small to meet the needs of national reconstruction and education in them is so expensive that only the upper classes can afford to send their children to them.

Rich Grow Richer

Continuous rise in taxes whose main burden falls on the common people has been a marked feature of the ten years of Congress rule. Simultaneously, the government has made concessions to the richer classes. Their proportion of contribution to the total tax has steeply declined. Besides extracting concessions, they systematically evade income-tax, defrauding the state of crores of rupees.

There has been some increase in national income but it has been so distributed that the rich have become richer.

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Concentration of economic wealth has grown. This is admitted by the government itself.

The contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many which was one of the most odious features of our society under British rule has grown even more staggering under the regime of the Congress—a revealing commentary on its profession of socialism.

The concentration of wealth in the hands of a few is not merely a negation of social justice. It dampens the ardour of the people for national reconstruction itself. It encourages the growth of corruption and nepotism. It dries up the springs of creative labour and smothers initiative in every sphere.

With the enormous wealth in their hands and the power which wealth inevitably brings, with their connections with many leading figures of the Congress and the government, the big capitalists and landlords wield tremendous influence in our political, economic and social life. They have secured a grip over many public institutions and are able to influence the administration. The bulk of big newspapers in the country are completely controlled by a few multi-millionaire houses.

All this constitutes a serious menace to democracy.

National Unity Disrupted

The Congress asserts that it has strengthened the unity of the nation. This assertion is not based on facts.

The policies of the Congress government have intensified strife and discord not only in the economic sphere but in other spheres as well. One of the most glaring instances of this is the attitude adopted towards the issue of linguistic States.

The formation of linguistic States was a key demand of our national movement. It was considered necessary in order to strengthen the unity of the nation, in order to enable the common man to participate in the affairs of the government and in order to create conditions for the flowering of the culture of each people. All this was cynically forgotten after the advent of freedom.

Even when forced by popular demand to appoint the States Reorganisation Commission, the government refused to lay down

firm guiding principles. Congress leaders in different provinces made fantastic claims to each others' territory, fanning the flames of chauvinism and working up hatred. People's movement for linguistic States was sought to be crushed by terror. Later, in the name of consolidation of national unity, the dominant leadership put forward the plan of merger—a plan which would have perpetuated conflict and disputed the life of the people if it had materialised.

Even now the democratic demand of the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat remains unfulfilled. The manner in which the plan for a bilingual State was hatched, the manner in which it was imposed in defiance of popular will, reveal the real face of those who never cease to mouth phrases about democracy and non-violence.

A democratic set-up has been denied to the people of Tripura, Manipur, Himachal Pradesh and Delhi and the rest of the Union territories.

National unity has not been strengthened but weakened by such policies.

Moreover, all the declarations against casteism and communalism notwithstanding, little has been done in practice by Congress organisations in most States to fight them. In many areas, the Congress itself is riven by caste. Caste and communal considerations play a big part in the internal policies of the Congress as well as in the selection of candidates for elections and for jobs.

For strengthening of the unity of the nation and for the development of democracy it is essential to bring about radical improvement in the condition of the 70 million scheduled castes and scheduled tribes people. Too little has been done in this respect despite the assurances given in the Constitution and despite the abolition of untouchability by law.

The members of the scheduled castes remain the most oppressed, most exploited and most down-trodden section of our people—impoverished and culturally backward. In rural areas where they are mostly agricultural workers they suffer from landlessness, low wages, prolonged periods of unemployment and social degradation.

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The tribal policy of the government has been marked by lack of imagination and an unsympathetic approach. The tribal people are exploited by the traders, money-lenders, landlords and also bureaucrats in whose hands their welfare schemes have been left. The tragic situation in the Naga areas where our armed forces are engaged in virtual war against a section of our own people is a sad commentary on this policy.

Anti-People Policies

Thus, the claims made by the Congress that all-sided advance has been registered by the country in recent years are belied by facts. Some little progress has been made here and there - but the totality of the picture that emerges from a study of the Indian scene is far from what the ruling party would like us to believe. Not merely has very little advance been made but even the foundations of real advance have not been laid.

Conditions have not been created for effective utilisation of the vast resources and manpower of the country for national reconstruction. Conditions have not been created for forging that popular unity and for rousing that ardour and enthusiasm without which the gigantic task of rebuilding the country cannot be carried out.

This is not an accident. Nor is it due to factors beyond human control. It is due to the policies of the government in the internal sphere--policies which in vital respects are anti-people and undemocratic.

They are policies of appeasement of foreign capital and of refusal to take determined action for its nationalisation. They are policies of reliance on the profit-motive of the big capitalists, of serving their interests and of succumbing to their pressure. They are policies of concessions to landlords and of opposition to radical agrarian reforms. They are policies of throwing the main burden on the common people, while refusing to introduce an equitable taxation system. They are policies which, under phrases of socialism, enrich the wealthy few and pay little attention to the needs and requirements of the vast majority of our people--

workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, teachers, traders and small manufacturers

Suppression of Democracy

Such policies have necessarily meant attacks on civil liberties, restriction of democracy and the strengthening of authoritarianism

As before, the police and bureaucracy ride roughshod over the liberties of the people. Every popular struggle, every struggle against intolerable conditions of life the government seeks to crush with an iron hand. Orders are issued to "shoot at sight" and "shoot to kill". The ghastly massacres which were enacted in Bombay and Ahmedabad are still fresh in public memory. Whenever there is bloodshed, the government lays the blame on the people though in the overwhelming majority of cases irrefutable facts prove the contrary. The guilty conscience of the government is seen in its refusal to conduct any judicial enquiry except in rare cases where it is compelled to do so by public pressure.

Meetings and demonstrations are banned on the slightest pretext. The Preventive Detention Act is used to suppress popular struggles. In a number of areas processions have been prohibited for years. Criminal cases are instituted in thousands against political opponents of the regime, trade union and kisan sabha functionaries and common workers and peasants with a view to strike terror. In many states concerns normal trade union activity has been rendered impossible by victimisation, espionage and threats.

Growth of Authoritarianism

A most alarming feature of our political life is the manifestation of authoritarian trends in every sphere and the tendency of the ruling party to equate the interest of the state and the nation with its own partisan interests.

Drunk with power, the ruling party shows complete indifference to popular protest in many cases and blatant disregard of democratic practices and conventions.

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Decisions on vital national issues, affecting the lives of millions of people, are taken in the coteries of the Congress Party and steam-rollered in the legislatures, through its brute majority.

Congress ministers abuse their official position and utilise public funds to serve the interest of their party, to bring pressure on public institutions and compel their employees to support the Congress in elections. Even during such catastrophes as flood and famine, the narrow partisan interests of the ruling party are placed above popular needs, offer of cooperation by other parties is not accepted, human misery is sought to be exploited for political ends. A large part of the funds allocated for schemes of national reconstruction are used for providing jobs and patronage to supporters of the Congress, to friends and relatives of local Congress leaders—thus corrupting public life and weakening the moral fibre of society.

With their close links with the administrative apparatus and with their control over official and semi-official institutions, the local Congress leaders in many places establish a tyrannical regime—smothering all criticism, nullifying even many existing rights, hampering the growth of democratic institutions and their functioning. Honest officials who refuse to fall in line with them are subjected to harassment.

Reactionary landlords who had always opposed the freedom movement, big capitalists, their relations and friends, rank careerists have come to control the Congress organisation in many areas. They use its prestige and authority to serve their own ends and fight over the spoils of office. Honest and veteran Congressmen who have grown grey in the service of the country very often find themselves pushed aside by these new donners of the white cap. Their plea for honest administration and for service of the people fall on deaf ears.

In this situation, even the progressive measures which are enacted by the legislatures, are often not implemented in practice, even the rights which the people have won often remain on paper, even grants that are made for the furtherance of the needs of the people are not properly utilised.

The growth of authoritarianism has encouraged the growth of corruption in every area and in every department. Several commissions have revealed the enormity of corruption, wastage and squandering of public funds. The recommendations of most of the commissions have been pigeon-holed.

The charges that were levelled at each other during the selection of Congress candidates reveal the state of affairs that prevails inside the organisation. And when such an organisation wields monopoly power, the degradation of public life becomes all the more inevitable.

The institutions of local self-government which can play a great part in the development of the country and in fostering the growth of democracy and popular initiative remain in a moribund state. They are in most places, dominated by the richer sections of the people and by the ruling clique of the Congress allied to them. Bureaucracy, corruption and demoralisation which have grown in our public life, find ugly manifestation in the functioning of many of these institutions. They have little power, little authority, little funds. In many cases, officials appointed from above are supreme. They are sought to be transformed into mere instruments for imposition of new burdens on the people and for serving the narrow interests of the ruling party. Quite often they are superseded at will in cynical disregard of democratic principles.

Second Plan Promises Little Change

Deep resentment has grown among the people against these policies against these methods and practices. This resentment is not confined to the masses that follow the parties of the democratic opposition alone, but extends to the masses that follow the Congress and to democratic minded Congressmen. It has found expression in numerous actions and struggles all over the country. It has found expression in conflicts over policies inside the Congress itself.

But to those who had expected that the experience of the last few years would bring about a radical change in the outlook of the

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government, the Second Five Year Plan has come as a disappointment

The declared aims and objectives of the Plan are laudable. Some of the proposals are beneficial, to some extent. But the major proposals and measures which the Plan contains are not such as would enable the realisation of these aims and objectives.

The Plan does not propose to take any step to dislodge British capital from its powerful position in vital sectors of our economy. The proposals for the extension of the public sector are timid and half-hearted. Heavy concessions have been made to big business due to which the private sector will continue to predominate in our industrial life.

The allocation to heavy and machine-building industries is extremely inadequate while large-scale consumers' goods industries have been favoured with heavy allocations. A big part of this allocation would go for rationalisation intensifying the unemployment problem. The sound idea formulated in the Plan-frame that the needs for consumers' goods should be met as far as possible, through better utilisation of existing industries and through development of small and cottage industries on which millions of our people depend for livelihood has been virtually abandoned.

The approach of the government to the vital problem of land continues to be powerfully influenced by landlord interests. The basic demand that land must belong to the tiller, a demand accepted by the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee in 1949 has not guided the planners. On the question of ceilings so many concessions have been made to the landlords that very little land will be left for distribution even if and when the ceiling is imposed. The whole matter of ceilings has been left to those very State Governments who sabotaged it in the past and some of whom have already declared they would not carry it out. No effective measures are proposed to prevent fictitious transfers of land, to stop evictions or to restore land to the peasants already evicted.

The Plan while permitting the capitalists to continue their ruthless exploitation virtually rejects the workers' demand for increase in wages.

The allocations for social services has been increased in the Second Plan. But they are still inadequate. Moreover, in the absence of measures for democratisation of the administration there is no guarantee that these allocations will be effectively utilised for the objects for which they are meant.

On the vital question of resources for financing the Plan, the attitude of the government thoroughly exposes its pretensions about socialism and concern for the masses. The proposals made in the Plan in this respect and which are being implemented, are devoid of all principles of justice and equity. They are also economically unsound.

Most of the proposals made by the Communist Party and other democratic elements for raising the resources from the classes and sections who have minted millions from the toil and sweat of the people, have been turned down. Colossal burdens are sought to be imposed on the common people already groaning under existing burdens through numerous taxes, dues and levies. To this is added reckless resort to deficit-financing whose menacing effect is already visible in the steep rise in prices. Further, reliance is placed on foreign sources despite the tragic experience of the past.

As regards unemployment, the Second Plan promises no improvement in the situation. The planners admit that even after the completion of the Plan, there will be more people without jobs than today.

Above all, the Plan does not ensure social justice and the extension of democracy.

Disparities in income will not only continue but will accentuate. This was admitted in the Second Plan Draft Memorandum issued by the government in December 1955.

Main reliance for the carrying out of the Plan will be placed, as before, on bureaucratic officials.

It is evident, therefore, that in the formulation of the Plan, the narrow interests of the ruling capitalist class have been placed above the interests of the nation.

Hence it is that if the Plan is not radically modified in important respects, its declared objectives will not be realised. The public

sector will remain weak. The concentration of wealth will accentuate. The peasantry will remain dispossessed. The working class will be ruthlessly exploited. The burden on the masses will grow. The attack on the rights and liberties of the people will continue. All these will not bring socialism nearer, nor make the people the masters of their destiny.

Therefore, the Communist Party will wage a determined struggle for the modification of the Plan in accordance with national interests. Simultaneously, it will fight for the implementation of those proposals of the Plan which are beneficial for the country. It will combat all attempts at sabotaging of these proposals by vested interests, government authorities and bureaucrats.

2

COMMUNIST PROGRAMME

The Indian people desire peace and friendship with all nations. They desire to strengthen relations with the resurgent countries of Asia and Africa and with the countries of the socialist world. They want the People's Republic of China to be accorded its rightful place in the United Nations Organisation. They want to extend all possible support to countries fighting for national freedom. They want all help to be given to our brothers and sisters in South Africa who are waging a heroic battle for human dignity and against racial discrimination. They oppose military pacts and want the withdrawal of foreign troops from all countries. They stand for disarmament and the banning of weapons of mass destruction. They want the liberation of Portuguese-occupied territories on Indian soil.

They want also that while championing the cause of peace, India must strengthen her defences so as to guard against the dangers that may threaten her from outside.

~~In~~ In alliance with all progressive forces, the Communist Party of India has always fought for policies and measures which would

enable the realisation of these desires and urges of our people. It will continue to do so. It will combat those reactionaries who try to swerve our foreign policy from the path of peace and opposition to military blocs. It will strive to strengthen our foreign policy still further.

The Party will intensify the struggle for severance of India's relation with the British Commonwealth.

The Communist Party will do all in its power to assist the liberation movement inside Goa and strive to secure effective intervention by the government so that this last vestige of colonial rule on our fair soil is wiped out.

It will strive for the establishment of relations of friendship between India and Pakistan, for increase in trade, cultural and other contacts between the two countries as well as for greater facilities for communication between their peoples.

The Party will demand the development of armament, aircraft and ship building industries with a view to strengthening our security and our national Independence.

The Party will strive for the improvement of the condition of the personnel of the armed forces especially the lower ranks. It stands for the fostering of the spirit of democracy among the armed forces so that relations of friendship grow between the people and the army.

While carrying out these tasks the Communist Party is conscious that in the ultimate analysis the strength of a country depends on its economy, on its social conditions, on its internal unity and the state of its people. Without the speedy development of industries and the reorganisation of agriculture without rapid advance in the economic, social and cultural spheres, without substantial improvement in the condition of the masses and the all round flowering of democracy our national freedom cannot be placed on a firm and secure foundation, the threat to it cannot be removed and freedom itself cannot become full and real in terms of the needs and aspirations of the people.

Hence it is that the Communist Party attaches decisive importance to the task of reconstruction of the country.

National reconstruction, in order that it may be effectively carried out, requires the adoption of radical and far-reaching measures.

It demands the breaking of the grip of British capital over important sectors of our economy, the curbing of monopolists and the rapid development of the public sector. It demands the sweeping away of landlordism, transfer of land to the peasants and reduction of the burden on the peasantry. It demands reduction of disparities of income, removal of unemployment and continuous improvement in the condition of the mass of the people so as to rouse their labour enthusiasm and also create an expanding internal market. It demands speedy advance in the sphere of health, housing and culture. It demands radical change in the taxation system so that the burden falls primarily on the wealthier sections of the community. It demands the extension of democracy in order to ensure popular cooperation and the unleashing of popular initiative at all levels.

Guided by these principles, the Communist Party of India puts forward the following programme for whose implementation it will strive.

Industries and Resources

The Party stands for priority development of heavy and basic industries which should be in the state sector. Location of industries must be such as take into account the special needs of economically backward areas so as to ensure their development.

Pending the development of heavy and basic industries, the demand for more consumers' goods should be met, as far as possible, by maximum utilisation of capacities of existing industries and by encouragement of and aid to small and cottage industries.

The Communist Party recognises that in the present stage of our development, patriotic-minded Indian capitalists can make an important contribution towards the economic development of our country. The Party desires that Indian industries should be protected against foreign competition, that all legitimate rights of the capitalists should be ensured and that their active co-operation

should be secured for implementation of the plan of national reconstruction.

In order to augment the resources for national development and create a powerful state sector, the Party demands the nationalisation of banking, general insurance, coal-mining, aluminium industry, manganese, copper, iron and gold-mining, as well as the nationalisation of British-controlled jute mills and tea and coffee plantations.

A ceiling should be imposed on export of profits. Profits in excess of the ceiling should be taken over as compulsory loan

A ceiling should be imposed on profits of all big industries and commercial concerns and the excess should be taken over as compulsory loan. These, together with the reserves of large companies, should form a National Development Pool, to be invested in state and private sectors in accordance with national needs.

The state should have a monopoly of foreign trade in the principal commodities-- which would give it large profits, besides making it possible to diversify our trade and develop it on the basis of mutual advantage with other countries. State trading should be developed inside the country also. Import of luxury goods should be drastically reduced

Heavier taxation should be imposed on corporate profits and on capital gains. There must be a ceiling on personal and family incomes, and a tax on personal wealth.

The payment of compensation to big landlords should be postponed. The privy purses paid to princes should be stopped and their hoarded wealth requisitioned as compulsory loan.

An energetic drive must be launched against income-tax evasion.

Salaries and allowances of highly-paid officials must be reduced.

Effective measures must be taken to combat wastage in government undertakings.

All these proposals are eminently practical and can be undertaken within the framework of our Constitution. They would place in the hands of the state vast resources for national

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reconstruction— besides heightening the morale of the people who would willingly contribute their utmost to make up the deficit that might still continue.

Working Class

Economic development needs industrial peace and a contented working class. Strife and discord which have become a marked feature of our industrial life, caused immense suffering to our working people, and led to repeated interruption in production and loss of millions of work-days in recent years, can be eliminated only by the adoption of sound and progressive labour policies, and ensuring the working class its just share in the wealth created by its labour.

The present rationalisation drive should be given up.

A national minimum wage should be fixed and workers should be assisted to secure fair wages in all organised industries.

Pending such fixation, an immediate increase of 25 per cent should be granted to workers on the basis of already increased productivity of labour. Dearness allowance should be amalgamated with basic wages.

A Pay Commission should be appointed to examine the pay scale, dearness allowance, security of service as also trade union rights of all government employees and workers in state concerns

Social insurance schemes should be extended to all organised industries and should cover all spheres.

Provision must be made for unemployment benefit

The housing problem should be energetically tackled through specialised agencies in which the workers themselves may play the decisive role.

Workers and employees through democratically elected committees should have an effective voice in the management and administration of industrial enterprises.

The development of healthy trade unionism, which is essential for industrial peace and for the growth of democracy, is hampered today because of the government's policy of imposing official-backed unions on workers. This policy also hampers trade union unity. The Communist Party, therefore, opposes this policy as also

all legislation which facilitates the imposition of particular unions on workers. It will advocate measures which help the workers to unite in one trade union in each industry on the basis of trade union democracy.

The National Security and Safeguarding Rules under which workers in government undertakings are arbitrarily dismissed must be annulled.

All restrictions on the right of collective bargaining, the right to join trade unions of one's own choice, the right of association, strike and demonstration should be removed.

Middle Class

The middle class has a special role to play in the rebuilding of the nation. But it is denied the necessary opportunities and is tormented by growing unemployment and economic difficulties. The Party will fight for expansion of employment and other opportunities so that the economic distress of this class is relieved and its talent and potentialities are fully tapped for the rejuvenation of the country.

Agriculture and the Peasantry

Agriculture remains and will continue to be, for a considerable period, the mainstay of our people. Rapid improvement of agriculture alone can meet the raw material needs of our industries and the necessities of our people. Rapid improvement in agriculture alone can improve the condition of our peasantry and create a stable and expanding internal market for industrial goods. This improvement, however, is hampered by the policies of the government above all, its policies on the issue of land reforms.

The Communist Party demands that the slogan of land to the tiller should be implemented without any further procrastination or delay. Further, there must be substantial reduction of the burden of rent and taxes.

Ceilings should not exceed three times a family holding and all land in excess of the ceiling should be distributed among agricultural workers and peasants without payment.

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Democratically-elected agricultural labourers' and peasants' committees should be entrusted with the work of implementing the agrarian reforms.

All government-owned cultivable waste-land should be distributed among the poor peasants and agricultural labourers and state aid given to bring them under cultivation.

Land should be restored to peasants evicted by landlords in recent years and all mala fide transfers declared null and void.

There must be substantial scaling down of debts owed by peasants to landlords and moneylenders. Unconscionable debts should be cancelled and arrangements should be made for the liquidation of the remaining debts in easy instalments spread over a number of years.

The peasants must be guaranteed a fair price for their produce.

Agricultural labourers must be assured a minimum wage. The debts owed by them to moneylenders and landlords should be cancelled.

Irrigation works should be expanded by undertaking, in addition to major projects, a large number of smaller projects. Water-rates should be brought down substantially.

There should be wide extension of cooperatives for rural credit, marketing of produce as well as for supply of implements, fertilisers, seeds, etc. Existing cooperative laws should be drastically amended so as to curtail the power of officials appointed from above and ensure democratic functioning.

Effective steps should be taken to improve the quality of the livestock and to provide for veterinary treatment in all rural areas.

Refugees

The Party will demand measures for the speedy rehabilitation of refugees, for enabling them to secure gainful employment.

Education and Language Policy

The cultural level of our people remains at an extremely low level. This hampers the work of national reconstruction. It prevents the vast majority of people from paying their due role in the evolving and implementation of the policies of the

government. It encourages arbitrariness, violation of laws by officials and harassment. It restricts the functioning and growth of democracy. The liquidation of cultural backwardness of the people is, therefore, a vital national task.

The Communist Party considers that for this the following measures should be taken immediately.

There must be compulsory and free elementary education up to the age of 14 years. Arrangements must be speeded up for imparting education to adults who are illiterate.

The educational system should be so reorganised as to meet the requirements of scientific and technological advance and conform to the objective of rapid industrial development. Adequate provision should be made for technical and scientific education.

Tuition fees, prices of textbooks and other costs of education should be brought down within the reach of the common people.

Education at all levels, including university education, should be in the regional language of the State concerned. Provision has to be made for the teaching of minorities where they are in sufficient numbers in their mother tongue up to the end of the secondary stage of education.

Adequate protection should be given to Urdu and provision made for imparting education in it to Urdu-speaking people.

The study of Hindi should be encouraged in every State as the language of the Union government and for communication between governments and peoples of different States.

Teachers and students must be ensured their academic rights as well as their democratic rights as citizens.

Adequate salaries must be guaranteed to all teachers.

Art and Culture

The flowering of the rich and variegated culture of our people is an essential part of nation-building. Recent years have witnessed considerable growth of cultural activity in all areas. But their development is hampered because of lack of facilities and of adequate help from the government and local authorities.

The Communist Party will advocate that:

—Steps be taken by the government in each State, in consultation with cultural, literary and other bodies, to help the development of works of literature and art, the production of educational and progressive films, dramas, etc.

—Facilities for learning music, dance, etc., be introduced in educational institutions.

—Theatres and music halls be built in all towns.

—Performances by amateur groups not be subjected to entertainment tax.

—The Dramatic Performance Act be repealed.

—Social benefits and old age pension be provided to disabled and needy writers, artistes, dancers and composers, etc.

Linguistic States

The Communist Party will continue to support the struggle of the people of Maharashtra and Gujarat for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat. As regards certain areas in other States about which disputes persist, the Party stands for their being settled by methods of negotiation between the governments of the States concerned.

Scheduled Castes and Tribes

The Communist Party will fight for social, economic and political measures for the improvement of the condition of the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes.

The Party will demand implementation of the assurance given to them in the Constitution. The period of the assurance should be extended.

The Party will demand practical measures to implement the law against untouchability.

More allocation should be made for schemes that benefit the scheduled castes and tribes. They should be directly associated with the implementation of various plans and projects.

The Sixth Schedule of the Constitution should be suitably amended to confer regional autonomy on compact tribal areas so that these areas are democratically administered.

Military operations in the Naga areas should be stopped and peaceful solution of the problem sought.

Women

For many centuries the women of our country have occupied an inferior position in society and suffered from numerous disabilities. Despite certain laws that have been enacted, many of these disabilities continue in practice, preventing women from playing their rightful role in our society.

The Communist Party which has consistently championed the cause of women, will advocate equal rights for women in every sphere and advocate policies and measures which would enable women to improve their social, economic and educational position so that these rights can be exercised.

The Party will demand equal pay for equal work, removal of restrictions in respect of employment of married women, full right of women to inheritance, including land. It will demand maternity leave, maternity benefit and substantial provision in social welfare schemes for cultural and economic advancement of women.

Minorities

In order to consolidate the unity of the nation, great attention needs to be paid towards the just demands of minorities, whether based on religion or language. Their rights must be adequately protected. Incitement of hatred against minorities must be severely punished. All discrimination against minorities which, in various forms, persist should be ended. Publications which vilify any religion and its teachers should be banned.

Extension of Democracy

These measures are essential for the rebuilding of our country.

But these measures cannot be implemented by mere legislation or by mere decrees from above. What is needed, besides suitable legislation, is the unleashing of the creative energies of the people and of their initiative on a vast scale.

This is possible only through systematic and all-sided extension of democracy.

Without this, even the best of legislation will remain on paper. Without this, popular cooperation, the most vital factor in the

work of national reconstruction, cannot be secured. Without this, corruption and waste which are rampant cannot be eliminated.

With a view to taking of effective steps towards the extension of democracy, the Communist Party puts forward the following proposals.

The Directive Principles of State Policy in the Indian Constitution have to be speedily implemented and made a part of the fundamental rights of citizens which should be justiciable.

The Upper House in the legislature should be abolished.

The States should be vested with wider power, especially in the sphere of finance.

The judiciary should be separated from the executive.

Proportional representation should be introduced in all elections.

All elections, including panchayat elections, should be by secret ballot.

The people should have the rights to recall those elected members who, in their opinion, have failed to serve them effectively.

The unrestricted rights of the government to attack the civil liberties of the people and the wide powers of the bureaucracy and the police are incongruous in a democratic set-up. These rights and powers have to be severely curtailed.

The Preventive Detention Act must be repealed. Article 21 of the Indian Constitution should be suitably amended so as to prevent enactment of such laws in future.

Laws enabling the government arbitrarily to ban meetings, processions and demonstrations should go.

Radical revision must be made in the Police Code, curtailing the powers of the police to resort to shooting, lathi-charge, etc.

In all cases of resort to firing, there should be judicial enquiry and exemplary punishment meted out to officials guilty of excessive violence.

For the growth of a healthy public life effective measures must be taken to end the domination of a handful of monopolists over the Indian press. The recommendations of the Press Commission for weakening this monopoly ownership must be forthwith

imlemented. The All-India Radio must duly reflect the democratic opinions in the country and for this purpose broadcasting facilities must be extended to all accredited democratic organisations.

Organs of local self-government, like village panchayats, municipalities and district boards, occupy a pivotal position and can play an extremely important role in our political, economic and social life. For this, they must have effective authority. They must be freed from bureaucratic restrictions. They must have adequate funds and sources of income. They must have power to control the officials and supervise their work so that the officials act as servants of the people and not as their masters.

Further, all local development work such as Community Projects, National Extension Services, etc., should be entrusted to panchayats and other elected organs of the people.

3

OUR APPEAL

The speedy and effective implementation of such a programme will enable the country to put an end to the present state of backwardness, poverty and destitution. It will reduce conflict in our political life and unite the people. It will lead to an upsurge of patriotic endeavour in every area for the task of national reconstruction.

It will enable our country to play an ever-increasingly important role in world affairs. It will create favourable conditions for the struggle for socialism and for advance towards that goal peacefully in accordance with the genius of our own people and their great democratic traditions.

Expressing the interests of the toiling people of our country and of all patriotic elements, the Communist Party will work for this programme and will seek to unite all democratic forces for policies and measures which will facilitate its implementation.

The ensuing General Elections offer a great opportunity to our people to record their verdict on ten years of Congress rule. It will enable them to express in clear terms the policies which they want the country to adopt in order to put an end to destitution and misery, repression and misrule, denial of democracy and authoritarianism and thus pave the way to all-round progress.

In these elections the Communist Party will try to forge unity with all democratic parties and elements with a view to ensuring that the maximum number of seats are won by forces who will fearlessly champion the cause of the people in the legislatures.

In those States where the democratic movement is especially strong the Communist Party will strive to create conditions in which democratic governments, based on a coalition of democratic parties and individuals can be formed. Such governments will work on the basis of an agreed programme and serve the people to the best of their capacity.

In other States, the Party's endeavour will be to strengthen its own position and the position of the democratic opposition in the legislatures.

A determined effort has to be made in the coming elections to put an end to the monopoly position which the Congress enjoys. This position has meant callous betrayal of pledges, defiance of popular will, stifling of political life.

Through their experience the masses have come to recognise the necessity of a strong opposition. Democratic minded Congressmen themselves whose sentiments and opinions are often ignored by the ruling circles, desire such an opposition. They know it will help their own struggle inside the Congress. They know it will increase their strength and make their voice effective.

The emergence of a democratic opposition will strengthen the fight for the rights and liberties of the people. It will strengthen the fight for popular policies and measures. It will strengthen the forces of socialism and democracy in our political and economic life.

But this will be possible only if the Left parties in the country and progressive individuals unite in a common front. This was

proved in the last General Elections. A number of bye-elections have also proved this.

Hence, the Communist Party will do everything in its power to achieve unity among the Left and democratic forces in the coming elections. Significant successes have already been won in this respect in some States. These successes will inspire our Party to intensify its efforts for unity.

The Communist Party will put up its own candidates in areas where it has a sufficiently strong mass base.

The Communist Party seeks the support of the people not merely on the basis of its programme but also on the basis of its work for the country and devoted service to the people.

Ever since its birth, the Communist Party of India, the Party of the Indian working class, has fearlessly championed the cause of the working people and fought for democracy and national freedom. It is the Communists who first raised the banner of socialism in our country. It is the Communists who laid the foundation of the working class and peasant movements and led their first great struggles. It is the Communists who made the oppressed and exploited masses conscious of the need for unity and organisation in order to win their demands.

Terror has failed to crush our Party. Slander has failed to isolate it from the people. Difficulties have failed to arrest its steady growth because it is a Party that bases itself on the people and draws strength from them.

In recent years, in the struggle for peace and Asian unity, in the struggle for the liberation of French and Portuguese-held territories, in the movement for linguistic States, in every battle of the workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, teachers, students, and other suffering sections of our society, our Party has been in the forefront. Scores of our members have laid down their lives, many have suffered imprisonment, but the Party has never wavered.

A number of our candidates were elected to the State legislatures and the Parliament. They have consistently exposed the anti-people policies of the government. They have resolutely

defended the people and their interests. They have fought for progressive policies and measures. Backed by the movement of the people, they have been able, on several issues, to modify the policies of the government and win important concessions for the people.

We enter the election battle with unbounded faith in the people and in their judgment. We are confident that the men and women of our country whom we have loyally served will give us their support in abundant measure. We are confident that the verdict of our people will strengthen the position of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in our country. We are confident that the great movement of our people for a happy and prosperous life will gain new strength and win new successes and victories.

The Second (Five Year) Plan And The Elections*

Within a few weeks will take place the second general elections of our Republic. One of the key issues in the elections will be the Second Five Year Plan.

Seven months have passed since the Plan in its final shape was adopted by the Parliament. Opinions differ sharply about the merits of the Plan. But on one point there will be general agreement. As yet, there is little enthusiasm in the country among the common people about the Plan. The prevalent attitude towards it is one of apathy.

It cannot be said that this is due to lack of adequate propaganda on the part of the government and the ruling party. Nor can the absence of popular enthusiasm for the Plan be ascribed to the failure of the government to explain to the people as to what is being sought to be achieved. As a matter of fact, the authors of the Second Plan had defined the objectives in clear and unambiguous terms and these objectives had been given wide publicity.

The principal objectives of the Second Plan were declared to be:

"a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;

"rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of heavy and basic industries;

"a large expansion of employment opportunities;

"reduction of inequalities of income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power."

Our standard of living is one of the lowest in the world, our economy one of the most backward. Vast numbers of people have no jobs. Our society presents a staggering contrast between wealth and poverty. One could have expected, therefore, that the very formulation of the objectives of the Plan would give rise to tremendous enthusiasm among the common people.

It should be remembered in this connection that our people displayed prodigies of valour in the struggle for national independence, that they hailed the dawn of freedom on 15 August 1947 with tumultuous joy. Spirit of sacrifice, enthusiasm, self-confidence—these qualities, our people have repeatedly proved and possess in abundance. The task of national reconstruction no less than the achievement of national freedom, needs for its fulfilment precisely these qualities. It needs a vast upsurge of national fervour embracing all sections of our people and covering every city, every town, every village of our country. It needs national unity for sweeping away the obstacles that stand in the path of national advance, for overcoming our age-old backwardness for the remaking of our country and the refashioning of our life.

In the ultimate analysis, therefore, this is the decisive test of a Plan—what vision it opens up before the people, what hopes it holds forth, what concrete steps it proposes to take to realise these hopes, what it does in order to forge national unity and rouse national fervour.

The basic weakness of the Second Five Year Plan lies here—it fails to conform to this test. The masses see the glaring contradiction between the aims of the plan and the measures it proposes.

In a number of articles and resolutions as well as in the speeches of the members of our Party inside and outside the Parliament, we have defined our attitude towards the Plan. In the articles that are printed in this number of our journal—several aspects of the Plan have been subjected to a critical analysis. It is not necessary to cover all these points in this editorial.

That the Second Plan in several respects constitutes an advance over the First Plan, that the objectives which it defines are correct, that the emphasis on heavy and basic industries is welcome, that there is a greater recognition in this Plan than in the earlier Plan

for the need of agrarian reforms—all this has been stressed by us several times. Nevertheless, the grave defects from which the Plan suffers, defects to which we have drawn attention often, can be minimised or glossed over only by those who refuse to face realities. It is precisely these defects that are responsible for the fact that despite its laudable objectives, the Plan has failed to evoke popular enthusiasm.

These defects are not fortuitous. They arise from the class outlook behind the Plan. They arise from the fact that the Government of India, despite its professions of socialism, is a government led by the bourgeoisie which under pressure makes heavy concessions to foreign capitalists, to Indian monopolists and to landlords.

It was because of this that the recommendations of the Plan-frame were watered down in several respects—notably in the allocation to industry and mining and in the investments in these respects in the public sector. It was because of this that the demand for the nationalisation of such industries as coal, jute and tea plantations where foreign capital predominates has not been heeded and even the proposal for stoppage of remittances of profits abroad has been turned down. It was because of this that the unanimous recommendations of the Land Reforms Panel, recommendations to which Congressmen also were a party, were unceremoniously whittled down in favour of landlords. It was because of this that ignoring several constructive proposals for the finding of resources, deficit-financing was resorted to on a massive scale which sent prices sky-rocketing and inflicted immense misery on the people--calling forth demonstrations in many parts of the country and a general strike in Calcutta in which over a million workers took part. It was because of this that the demand voiced by all sections of the trade union movement—including the INTUC—for a 25 per cent increase in workers' wages, has not been conceded. It was because of this that the new excise duty on cloth was imposed on the plea that it would mop up extra profits while in reality it meant new hardships on the people.

The class outlook behind these policies have to be exposed. These policies have to be combated. To the extent these tasks are carried out, the Plan will be modified in such a way that it conforms to the needs of national reconstruction and to the interests of our people.

That such modification is possible, through popular pressure, can be seen from the nationalisation of life insurance and certain taxes imposed by the central government—taxes whose main burden falls on the rich. True, these measures fall far short of the needs of the situation and do not alter the basic character of the government's methods of finding resources, but they are an indication of the possibilities that exist—possibilities which can materialise only through popular unity and mass action.

With the vast opportunities that have opened up because of the change in the relationship of world forces and the emergence of the socialist world which is in a position to give considerable assistance for our economic reconstruction with the strength that the democratic elements inside our country have attained in recent years, both inside and outside the Congress, with radical democratic and socialist ideas gaining ground among all sections of our people, with the growing spirit of resistance and struggle among our people against reactionary policies and for democratic reconstruction—a determined battle for the remoulding of the Plan can enlist the support of all patriotic and progressive forces in our country.

For this battle to succeed, it is imperative to record popular protest against the anti-people policies of the government and to strengthen the position of the Communist Party and of the democratic opposition inside the Parliament and in the State legislatures.

The task of national reconstruction is inseparably linked with the task of strengthening the forces of democracy in our economic, political and social life. Only those can fail to see the link for whom the people and their efforts are of minor importance in the task of rebuilding the country.

By strengthening the democratic opposition in the Parliament and the legislatures, the people will be strengthening their own battle for remoulding the Plan in conformity with their own interests. They will be strengthening the position of those forces in the Congress who really desire to attain the declared objectives of the Plan. They will be strengthening the forces of national unity and weakening the forces of national disruption. They will help in creating conditions in which all the democratic forces can unite to make our country happy and prosperous and register progress in every sphere.

Electoral Alignments in Kerala 1957 General Elections*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

"Ten lame men joining together cannot make a strong man", was the comment with which Prime Minister Nehru at one time tried to pour ridicule on the Communist Party and other parties of the democratic opposition who were trying to form a united front.

Little did he realise at the time that, at least in one State, his own party would have to share the fate of being a lame man trying to become strong by joining together with other lame men. Little did he realise that his organisation's all-India "electioneering expert", Sri S K Patil, would have to rush to Kerala and advise his friends and colleagues of the Congress to try to form a united front with all the non-Communist parties. "This is the only way", Sri Patil advised the Congressmen of Kerala, "in which you can avert the disastrous defeat that awaits you".

Patil Faces Difficulties

Unfortunately for Sri Patil, the effort at such a united front in Kerala was full of difficulties. The parties with which he had to build united front in Kerala were mainly three—the Muslim League, the Kerala People's Party and the PSP. It was his ambition to bring at least the first two of these, if not all the three, into his united front.

So far as the third, i.e. the PSP, was concerned, it was an all-India party, whose Andhra unit had not joined his united front even in the 1955 elections. Furthermore, it had recently made clear at its Bangalore conference that its main political aim today was to help the formation of a strong opposition to the

authoritarian rule of the Congress. Finding it difficult, therefore, to bring such a party of opposition into a united front with the Congress—that too against another all-India party of opposition, the Communist Party—Sri Patil confined his initial efforts to the Muslim League and the Kerala People's Party.

He, however, found that even this was full of difficulties. The very first suggestion that he made to the effect that the Congress should come to a united front with the Muslim League roused intense opposition in the ranks of the Congress. Muslim Congressmen, as a whole, came out very strongly against the proposal. Large sections of non-Muslim Congressmen too voiced their opposition. Even certain Congress leaders who were in favour of the proposal (because of the obvious advantage that they could obtain from such an alliance), were opposed to the shameless manner in which Sri Patil went about his job of making approaches to the League leaders.

Opposition to the Congress-League alliance was voiced not only in the ranks of the Congress, but in the ranks of the League too. The leaders of the League had for long been telling their followers that it was because of the anti-Muslim policies of the Congress leaders that their legitimate rights as a religious minority had not been safeguarded. They had told their ranks that they had to remain in opposition to the Congress so long as they did not get reliable guarantees that their interests as a religious minority would be properly safeguarded.

But, the alliance that was proposed by Sri Patil and favourably considered by the League leaders did not contain any such guarantee. The alliance was to be confined to the allocation of seats between the Congress and the League and, it is rumoured, certain key jobs to some Muslims. Would it not be better, some sections within the Muslim League asked, for the Muslim League to have a closer alliance with the parties and elements of the democratic opposition, with a view to strengthening the democratic movement as a whole and, with its help, the Muslims' own struggle for protection required by them as a religious minority?

Congress High Command Decides

It was not, however, the opposition inside Kerala that sealed the fate of Sri Patil's efforts. Whether it came from within the Congress or the League ranks, opposition in Kerala could well have been steamrollered if only the proposal secured the blessing of the Congress High Command. The leaders of the League and Sri Patil had agreed among themselves that the Congress would not insist that the League as a political party should be dissolved and its members individually join the Congress and contest elections as Congressmen (this, it may be recalled, was the condition imposed by the Congress High Command on the Akalis of Punjab). The Congress would be prepared to accommodate a certain number of candidates standing on League ticket with the symbol of the League, in the list of candidates which the Congress would recommend to the electorate.

The League, for its part, would not insist, as it had so far done, that all the Muslim candidates who would be contesting the elections should be League nominees; they would be prepared to accommodate some Congress Muslims standing as Congress candidates, or non-League Muslim candidates standing as independents.

This, however, was not acceptable to the Congress High Command. The Indore session of the Congress was the occasion when the protagonists and opponents of an alliance with the League put their respective cases before the Congress High Command. These discussions were reported to have led the High Command to the conclusion that it could not bless the Patil plan. Probably because of the fear that an open alliance with the Muslim communal organisation in Kerala would have serious repercussions in those parts of the country where the Hindu communal organisations are pretty strong the Punjab, Rajasthan, Madhya Pradesh, etc.—the High Command turned down the proposal.

Kerala People's Party

A similar fate befell Sri Patil's effort at united front with the Kerala People's Party. The difficulty here was the very origin of

this political party. It was only a few weeks before Sri Patil came to Kerala that this new party had been born. Its founders and leaders are all former Congressmen who, for factional reasons, only recently left the Congress and formed their own party. It was their revolt against the State leadership of the Congress that had led to the fall of the last Congress Ministry in the former Travancore-Cochin State (six Congress MLAs abstained from voting on the crucial motion which decided the fate of the ministry).

Between this initial revolt on their part and the final act of the formation of the new party, a series of efforts had been made by the all India leaders of the Congress to patch up the differences between these "rebel Congressmen" and the State Congress leadership. All these efforts had failed in the background of the "rebel Congressmen's" demand for a change in the leadership of the State Congress, coupled naturally with stiff opposition on the other side. The efforts to take them back to the Congress now proved as fruitless as the earlier efforts.

It was the failure of the Patil plan that led the Congress leaders to make the pompous declaration that the Congress was not going to have any alliance in Kerala. People know well enough that this is a case of "sour grapes".

Stand of PSP

One factor which helped the failure of Sri Patil's efforts was the position taken by the PSP. Sri S. K. Patil had come to Kerala and initiated his talks on a united front of non-Communist parties at a time when talks between the Muslim League and the PSP had reached an advanced stage. The leaders of the PSP had the ambition of acting as the "go-between" in evolving a non-aggression pact between the Communist Party and the Muslim League. They planned to divide all the seats for the Malabar part of Kerala in between the Muslim League, the PSP and the Communist Party. They had similar plans of an electoral alliance with the Kerala People's Party with regard to the division of seats in the Travancore-Cochin part of Kerala.

These efforts had to be temporarily stopped when the Patil plan of Congress-League alliance received the support of the League leaders. But, as soon as news came that the efforts at a Congress-League alliance had failed, talks were resumed between the League and the PSP. In a couple of days an agreement was signed by the League and the PSP leaders according to which 39 out of 49 seats in the Malabar part of Kerala were divided between the two parties (22 for the PSP and 16 for the League). A similar agreement is expected to be arrived at between the PSP and the KPP on the question of division of seats in the Travancore-Cochin part of Kerala.

It was the possibility of such a combination of the League, the KPP and the PSP that strengthened the hands of the KPP on the question of their going back to the Congress. They calculated that, if the Congress leadership does not take them back into the Congress on their (KPP's) own terms, they can fall back upon the support which they can very well expect from the PSP.

It was this very consideration that helped the PSP, too, to make a hard bargain, and ultimately break off the talks, with the Communist Party on adjustment of seats. The Communist Party offered very generous terms for an electoral understanding between itself and the PSP. For example, in the Malabar part of Kerala, where the PSP had secured less than 10 per cent of the votes and just 1 seat in the last district board elections while the Communist Party had secured nearly 40 per cent of the votes and 24 seats, the PSP was offered more than 25 per cent of the seats. Even this was turned down by the PSP as inadequate.

Furthermore, the PSP made it clear that they could not support the Communist candidates even in those constituencies, which would be allotted to it under the terms of the Communist-PSP agreement, which would be contested by another non-Congress party (obviously meaning the Muslim League). It was this fantastic stand taken by the PSP that led to the breakdown of the talks between the two parties. The factor that encouraged the PSP to make such fantastic claims was the expectation of falling back upon the alliance with the Muslim League in the Malabar part of Kerala and with the KPP in the Travancore-Cochin part.

Three main forces have, thus, emerged on the electoral scene in Kerala—the Congress, the PSP League-KPP alliance and the Communist Party with its allies.

RSP Breaks Off

It would, however, be incorrect to look upon these three main electoral forces as having made their final and ultimate alignment for the period of the elections. Still further changes and realignments are possible between now and the time of voting.

The position of the third electoral force mentioned above—the Communist Party with its allies—is yet to be finally decided. The alliance of the Communist Party with the RSP and other democratic forces has not taken the form which had been originally visualised.

Taking advantage of the anxiety of the Communist Party for an electoral alliance (for which it was and is prepared to make considerable sacrifices), the RSP began making claims which were as fantastic as those of the PSP. They demanded seats in areas where there was not a single member of their party. The Communist Party, for its part, made the utmost possible concessions to the claims of the RSP.

It is well-known that there is not a single seat in the whole State which, the RSP can claim, it can win on its own; yet the Communist Party offered it more than a dozen seats, several of which are seats which, if the Communist Party were to contest on its own, can be won for it. Even these concessions did not satisfy the RSP and it ultimately led to a deadlock in the Communist-RSP talks.

The RSP had declared that it does not propose to pursue the talks with the Communist Party but will contest a few seats which it considers it can fight on its own. The Communist Party, on the other hand, has stated that it does not consider the present break in the talks as final and irrevocable, but that they can be resumed. The final picture in this respect is yet to emerge. In the meanwhile, the names of the Communist candidates, together with a large number of democratic-minded individuals whom the Communist Party supports, have been announced for nearly 80 seats (out of 126).

Possible Adjustments

It is yet to be seen what the League-PSP-KPP alliance proposes to do in those constituencies in which they have no candidates of their own, but for which there is a straight fight between the Congress and the Communist Party or Communist-supported candidates. There are 11 such seats in the Malabar part of Kerala and the number of such seats in the Travancore-Cochin part is not yet known.

Efforts are still being made to see that at least in such constituencies, the present three-party alliance is further expanded into a four-party alliance embracing the Congress as well. Proposals are being made that such seats should be contested not by any party candidate but by independents acceptable to all the non-Communist parties.

Similar efforts are also being made to see that, at least in such constituencies, the Communist Party and the PSP act together in order to secure a decisive victory over the Congress. Furthermore, efforts are still being made to bring about local adjustments between the Communist Party and the PSP, so that the possible victory of the Congress on account of triangular contests may be minimised.

How these efforts, being made from two ends, will develop in the coming days cannot now be forecast.

Efforts are being made on the part of non-League Muslims to set up independent candidates, who can unite all the non-communal forces in the Muslim majority areas of Malabar. These efforts, too, have yet to take final shape.

Above all, the impact of the alliances so far made, and still being sought, on the followers of the various parties is yet to be seen. This is a very important factor, because the alliances that were sought to be made by the Congress, the PSP and the Muslim League have not been taken well by their followers. Even inside the Communist Party, considerable dissatisfaction began to emerge when it was seen that big sacrifices were being made as the price to be paid for the alliances with PSP and the RSP. This dissatisfaction within all the political parties may affect the election campaign at least in the sense that their followers become

frustrated and inactive, i.e., they do not carry on that active campaign for their party's candidates which alone can assure victory for them.

It is against this background that the Communist Party in Kerala has to carry on its struggle for the electoral defeat of the Congress, which will pave the way for the formation of an alternative government in the State.

This struggle has, of course, become far more difficult than originally visualised. The absence of a Communist-RSP-PSP alliance, the emergence of a PSP-League-KPP alliance and the consequent triangular contests in a large number of constituencies may make it possible for the Congress candidates to win many seats which they would otherwise have lost. Further, the failure of the parties and elements of the democratic opposition to unite has led to the absence of that hope and confidence among the mass of the people which alone could inflict a decisive defeat on the Congress.

Alternative Government Prospects

It would nevertheless be wrong to consider that the objective of defeating the Congress, paving the way for the formation of an alternative government has receded into the background. It cannot be assumed that triangular contests would automatically lead to the victory of the Congress in all or a majority of constituencies, which they would otherwise have lost. Previous elections show that while triangular contests lead to the victory of Congress candidates in some constituencies, in others they lead to the victory of Communist or PSP or League candidates.

It will be difficult to forecast the ultimate outcome of the large number of triangular contests that are now taking place. Much will depend on the tempo created by each party during the election campaign, the extent of each party's mobilisation of its own forces, the extent of shifts taking place among the uncommitted sections of the electorate etc. So far as the Communist Party is concerned much depends on how it is able not only to mobilise all its own forces for its election campaign but also to skilfully utilise all the shifts that are likely to take place among the mass of uncommitted voters.

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It can, in any case, be forecast with a certain amount of confidence that the main forces of the democratic opposition—the Communist Party, the PSP, the RSP and the democratic-minded individuals allied to them—will have considerable representation in the State legislature, that will come into existence in Kerala. These three parties of the democratic opposition together obtaining a majority in the State legislature is not yet outside the realm of possibility. It is this possibility that is being sought to be realised by the Communist Party when it carries on its campaign for the return of as many Communist and Communist-supported candidates as possible throughout the State. If this possibility becomes a reality, it is obvious that the struggle for an alternative government will once again become a question of practical politics.

Salute Kerala*

*Editorial of NEW AGE, Weekly
On Formation of Communist Government in
Kerala: 1957*

A new alternative Government led by the Communists has assumed office in the newborn State of Kerala. On this momentous occasion we send our warmest greetings and best wishes to the victorious people of Kerala and the Government they have today ushered in. We are perhaps too near the event to assess its full significance. All the same we venture to say that this new Government in Kerala is the symbol of the new stirrings that are sweeping India today. It marks a turning point in the political life of the country. That is the reason why all eyes are turned towards that geographically small but politically great State of the Indian Republic.

What has come about in that picturesque land is no isolated event. Kerala is the highest watermark yet reached in the rising tide of democratic and socialist forces in this great country of ours. The advent of the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala has to be viewed in the context of the massive advance of these forces of the twelve million votes that our Party alone has polled in the General Elections.

We Communists want to rebuild our country according to the genius and traditions and peculiarities of our own great people—in India's own way. We want to build it, wisely and democratically. We have worked tirelessly for the success of our parliamentary system while the ruling classes have loudly sworn by it only to throttle its growth and, worse still to pervert and distort it in actual practice. We have fought for adherence to the noble sentiments and aims pronounced in the Preamble and

Directive Principles of our Constitution, while its false prophets have cynically disregarded them.

We are today happy to say that our efforts and the efforts of all those who have worked to this common end have not gone in vain. The remarkable growth of the Democratic Opposition all over the country and the crowning event of the formation of a Comminunist-led Ministry in one of the Republic's constituent States underline our successes.

The promise of the new Government in Kerala lies in that it will, while doubtless functioning within the four corners of the Constitution, make a resolute break from the unwholesome and undemocratic ways of the State Governments under the Congress. The Communist-led Ministry will return to the welcome but hitherto forsaken declarations of the Constitution and strive to realise them in flesh and blood, so that whatever the Constitution intends to give for the well-being of the people is given here and now. •

The Communist-led Government will derive its authority from the Constitution, not to serve the privileged and the wealthy few, but to minister to the needs of the down-trodden millions. It will invoke the authority of the law and the Constitution to remake Kerala and being in its own contribution to the gigantic task of the rejuvenation of this great Republic.

It is through such loyal service to the progress of the country and for the uplift of the people that the Communist Ministry will strive to take the State under its rule in the direction of "JUSTICE: social, economic and political" which our Constitution solemnly enjoins. It is again through such service that the Communist Government will proceed to translate into a living reality the Directive Principles the Constitution has laid down.

We are conscious that no miracle can be performed overnight. Yet we believe that given the opportunity and necessary cooperation, the Communists will be able to do much that could be done for the country and its people but which unfortunately remains still undone. They will be able to reorganise the administration on democratic principles and eradicate corruption and inefficiency.

But this is not to say for a moment that the task is going to be easy. For, apart from the limitations of the Constitution itself, there are certain retarding factors even more powerful than the Articles of the Constitution. One has to reckon with the fact that the State power in India remains in the hands of the exploiting classes. It is these classes, again, which occupy a dominating position in the economic life of the country. It will be the worst illusion, therefore, to think that these classes will take kindly to the advent of a popular democratic Government in Kerala or reconcile to the democratic and historic process that would inevitably follow. At the same time there is no cause for despondency either.

Millions are today on the move to rebuild the nation's wealth and make Indian democracy and its parliamentary system a success. This popular urge transcends party barriers and many even inside the Congress share it today. It is on these broad popular forces that the new Government will, we are confident, rely for sustenance and support. It should be the constant endeavour of the Government to win the goodwill of all, regardless of ideological or political affiliation, who want our people to be happy and our country to prosper.

Our Constitution is such that no State Government can possibly achieve significant results or discharge its full responsibility towards the country and its people without the ungrudging cooperation and assistance from the Central Government. It is the Central Government which not only holds the reins of real power but commands the resources so necessary for the nation-building tasks.

We earnestly hope that the political and ideological differences between the Congress and our Party will not be allowed to enter into the constitutional plane and come in the way of cooperation and assistance which the new Government in Kerala would rightly expect of the Centre. The normal guiding principles of a Federal Constitution and healthy democratic conventions must guide the relations between the State and Central Government. This today has become imperative for the growth of Indian democracy itself.

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It is not merely on the new Ministry or the Central Government on whom the responsibilities devolve. The organised democratic movement too has a great responsibility to shoulder. It becomes the task of the democratic forces not only to watch with sympathy the developments in Kerala. It becomes their task to strengthen the new Government with their counsel and fraternal support.

The experience of the new Government as well as its achievements will be keenly followed by the entire people of India. For, what happens in Kerala today will inevitably project into the future and influence the course of India's progress.

Protest Against Kerala Governor's Undemocratic Action*

Prior to Formation of Communist Government in Kerala: 1957

The Secretariat of the Kerala Committee of the Communist Party met in a two-day session in Ernakulam on April 1 and 2, 1957 and a resolution released to the Press at the end of the first day's session has made the Party's attitude clear towards certain actions of the President of the Republic, the State Governor and the State Government. The resolution reads:

"Within two or three days, the Communist Party is taking over power in Kerala. The Communist Party is anxious to create and maintain the best democratic conventions in administration and relations between the Central and State Governments.

"When the Communist Legislative Assembly Party has been formed with sixty-five members elected on the Communist ticket and with Communist Party support and a leader has been elected for the formation of the Government, the Secretariat wishes to point out that certain actions of the Central Government, the President of the Republic and the Governor are unfortunate.

"First, we cannot understand the meaning and propriety of the Governor calling the five Independent Members separately and individually. They have publicly declared their unconditional support to the Communist Party in forming a Government. The Governor himself stated at a Press Conference that there was no *prima facie* case to think that they all do not support the Communist Government. They had informed the Governor that they are members of the Communist Assembly Party and they had

elected their leader. Yet the Governor calling them separately amounts to an insult to them and their leader. The Secretariat records its protest against this undemocratic procedure.

"Secondly, it is not proper for the President to nominate an Anglo-Indian member to the Assembly on his own. Without consultations with the representative organisations of the Anglo-Indian community in Kerala, without seeking the advice of the leader of the Party called to form the Government, it is wrong on the part of the President to nominate a man of his choice in such hurry. Constitutionally it is not necessary to complete the nomination before the new Ministry has assumed power; politically the President's action is undemocratic. On previous occasions, the nomination was used to increase the strength of the Congress Party. The excuse was that the Congress was in power. Now the refusal is to seek the advice of the Party going to assume power. Naturally the present action of the President could not but be viewed with suspicion.

"Thirdly, in the opinion of the Secretariat, it is not correct on the part of the Governor to increase the pay scale of the higher officers in the State Government service on the eve of the Ministry coming to power. Such action can only be interpreted as the Governor yielding to certain interested parties to face the new Ministry with a *fait accompli* on this question. The Governor ought to have given an opportunity to the new Ministry to study the financial implications and decide how and to whom the pay increase should be given. The Secretariat joins in the universal protest against this action of the Governor.

"The Secretariat of the Party is pointing out these facts because it is anxious to maintain democratic precedents. In Kerala the Communist Party has come to power. In future such developments are possible in other States. In the new situation, when different parties are in power in the States and in the Centre, to maintain healthy relations between the Centre and States,

democratic precedents have to be strictly adhered to. That is why the Communist Party is pointing out to these facts which the Party considers undemocratic.

"At the same time, the Party welcomes the authoritative statements of the Central Government spokesman that the Communist Government in Kerala will in no way be discriminated against."

First Communist Government Formed in India in Kerala*

*Statement of Policy issued by E.M.S. Namboodiripad
on April 5, 1957, after taking oath as Chief Minister
of Kerala*

I have just now been sworn in and taken charge as Chief Minister. So have my colleagues, Messrs C. Achutha Menon, K. C. George, K. P. Gopalan, T. V. Thomas, P. K. Chathan, K. R. Gowri, T. A. Majeed, Joseph Mundasseri and Dr. A. R. Menon. Another colleague of ours, Sri V. R. Krishna Iyer, will take charge in a few days.

We realise that we are undertaking a heavy responsibility. The administration of a State, which is called the "Problem State", is a task which is not easy for anybody. Furthermore, most of us are relatively inexperienced in administrative matters. We have also to work within the framework of a system which includes several regulations and procedures which are not to our liking.

Despite these unfavourable circumstances, however, we hope to face these difficulties and go forward in discharging the tasks that are ahead. There are two factors which give hope and confidence in this respect.

The *First* of these two factors is our realisation that it is not as individuals, but as representatives of a great movement which is as old as nearly a quarter of a century, that we are undertaking this responsibility. It gives us great moral courage and self-confidence to recall that we have behind us, the sacred memory of thousands of martyrs who laid down their lives for the cause; also that there are hundreds of thousands of Party workers who have done and are still doing their utmost to build the movement in whose name we undertake this responsibility. It is as a symbol of our humble revolutionary homage to all of them that we did offer, this

morning, flowers at the final resting place of our departed leader, Comrade P. Krishna Pillai. In the name of our dear departed Comrade who was the first to raise the banner of our Party and of the organised working class movement in Kerala; in the name of the Martyrs who laid down their lives in the various struggles beginning with the Kayyur heroes and ending with the heroes of the Mahe struggle; we pledge ourselves to see that nothing will stop us from fulfilling the great responsibility that we have now undertaken. We are determined to show the same spirit of self-sacrifice in removing all the obstacles that stand in the way of our duty and shall, in this respect, emulate the example shown by our departed Comrades.

The *Second* factor which gives us self-confidence and courage is the large number of greetings which I and my colleagues have received during the last few days from all sections of the people. Those who have sent such greetings come from all castes, creeds and political affiliations and include among them personal friends, colleagues in public work and the well-wishers of ourselves as individuals and the Party as a whole. These greetings stand as a proof to us that we are undertaking this responsibility not in the name of our party alone, but in the name of all men of goodwill who are desirous of building a new democratic and prosperous Kerala.

I take this opportunity to thank all those friends and well-wishers who have given us self-confidence and courage by sending these messages of greetings. I take this opportunity also to assure them, as well as to assure the voters of Kerala who gave us an absolute majority in the legislature, that I and my colleagues will individually and collectively do all that is in our power to fulfil our tasks, viz., the undertaking of the first steps towards the building of a new and prosperous Kerala.

Our Party has placed before the people a blue-print for the building of such a democratic and prosperous new Kerala through its Election Manifesto. I would like to make it clear that it would be our endeavour to see that this programme is fully implemented.

Certain interested quarters are going about saying that the programme that we have outlined in the Election Manifesto is an

impracticable programme, that we ourselves realise now that it cannot be implemented and that, therefore, we are no more popularising that programme.

There is no truth in this propaganda. We adhere to that programme. Our Ministry collectively and every Minister individually will make our utmost efforts to take all possible legislative and administrative steps to rapidly implement every item in that programme.

We are under no illusion that this programme can be very easily implemented through orders issued by the Government one fine morning. We hope that the people too will have no such illusions. There are some items in the programme which can immediately be implemented through Government orders; still others require some time, but can be implemented through Government orders. There are certain items in the programme which can be implemented only through the process of drafting bills, introducing them in the legislature and getting them adopted through discussions and debates in the Select Committee, etc. Since this latter category involves some time to get the legislation through, some items in the programme may require the issuing of certain emergency regulations giving temporary relief to the people. Similarly, there are subjects on which detailed discussions are necessary either with the other parties and sections in the State or with the Central Government. It is only after these various procedures are adopted one after another, that the programme as a whole can be implemented.

All these procedures, however, will not stand in the way of the programme being implemented. Every item in the programme can be gradually and step by step implemented, if we get the support and cooperation of the other parties and sections in Kerala, as well as of the Central Government, in doing so. We have no doubt on that score.

In order that this general position may be made clearer, I will now proceed to examine the major items included in our programme.

1. Programme of Development

We have included in our Manifesto a 16-point programme of development. This programme was prepared in view of the actual conditions in Kerala which has several characteristic features, such as high density of population, a great degree of unemployment and backwardness in industrial and agricultural development. No item in this 16-point programme has become a target of criticism except the first which concerns the "raising of the allotment to Kerala in the Second Five-Year Plan up to Rs. 200 crores".

The seven-point programme which we have outlined for finding solutions for the coir, handloom, cashewnut and fishing industries has also not been subjected to serious criticism.

It is, therefore, quite feasible for us to take the following measures in order to have these programmes of development properly and rapidly implemented:

Firstly, we will convene a conference of representatives of all parties and organisations in Kerala, as well as individuals who are experts in such matters, in order to discuss the question of an agreed programme of development for Kerala to be undertaken during the period of the Second Five-Year Plan. In preparing this programme, care should obviously be taken to keep the special features of Kerala's economy in view.

Secondly, the decisions of the above conference should be brought to the attention of the Central Planning Commission. Discussions should be organised with the Commission with a view to fitting the programme, prepared for Kerala, into the framework of the all-India Plan. If it becomes necessary to make some modifications in this programme in the light of such discussions, such modifications should be made.

Thirdly, when the programme, prepared as described above, starts getting implemented, it will be necessary to organise Planning Boards at different levels in order to help and advise the Government in reviewing the implementation of the Plan. These boards should have adequate representation of all the parties and sections of people, as well as individuals who are experts in such matters.

2. Financial Resources

Many people say that the above-mentioned plans of development will founder on the rock of financial difficulties. This apprehension, however, has no basis in reality. For,

- (a) There are several institutions and enterprises which are already under the ownership and management of the State; making their management more efficient will help the Government in realising more revenue out of them.
- (b) Again, there are some enterprises which are today under private ownership but can be brought under public ownership; this would help to not only make their management more efficient and beneficial to national interests, they can also be used as another source of income for the State.
- (c) Furthermore, there are several items of taxation which are, according to the Constitution, within the jurisdiction of the State Government, but yet are not today tapped. The levying of such taxes will help the Government in enhancing the income without increasing the burdens of taxation on those sections of the people who are not in a position to bear it. There is nothing that stands in the way of the Government and the people of Kerala jointly tapping these resources and enhancing the financial resources of our State.

It is true that the tapping of these sources will have to be supplemented by certain vital changes in the policy now being pursued by the Central Government.

For example, it is in Kerala that a programme of development is essential more than anywhere else in the country. It is, however, here that it is being carried out less than anywhere else. Furthermore, the allocation of resources between the Centre and the States is today not organised in such a way as to help our State to obtain sufficient resources for the carrying out of developmental as well as non-developmental activities, while Bengal and certain other jute-producing States are getting a part of the Centre's income from the jute industry, no such provision is made with regard to the Centre's income from such products of Kerala as coconuts, pepper and rubber.

As important as this neglect of Kerala's problems is the policy pursued by the Centre with regard to certain types of property. For instance, the Centre is not prepared to discuss the question of ending foreign domination in such a vital sector of the economy as the plantations on the sole consideration as to whether such a step will benefit Kerala from a financial and economic point of view. They take the stand that plantations should not be nationalised, even if by such a single step Kerala can get several crores of rupees to be used for its development. Similarly, the Centre shows the tendency to oppose such measures of taxation as fall on the shoulders of wealthy people, even though they help our State to tide over its financial difficulties.

We will do our utmost to have the policy of the Central Government modified in these respects. In doing so, we shall use to the utmost all the powers that are conferred on the State Government by the Constitution; we would similarly adhere strictly to the limitations imposed on the State Government by the Constitution. I appeal to all sections of the people in Kerala to give us their support and cooperation in our effort in this direction.

3. Peace in Industry

One of the most essential pre-requisites for the successful operation of the Five Year Plan is that the relations between the employers and employees should be friendly and cordial. It is in the interest of the employees, the employers and of the country generally to see that every industrial dispute is settled as and when it arises, that strikes and lock-outs are avoided as far as possible and that the process of production goes on uninterruptedly.

The main obstacles in the way of such an atmosphere in the industry are that the employers are reluctant to recognise the organisations of employees; that, even when they recognise them, they reduce such recognition to a mere formality and that they are reluctant to concede the legitimate demands of the employees with regard to the wage and the salary scales as well as conditions of work. Our Government will do its utmost to see that a change is brought about in this attitude of the employers'.

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We are sure that, if such a change is brought about in the attitude of the employers, the employees and their organisations will be prepared to so arrange the employer-employee relations that there will be peace in industry. However, since it is likely that some employers have no such confidence, I would like to utilise this opportunity to make it clear that we, on our part, will try to bring about such an attitude on the part of the employees.

As a beginning in the direction of working for peace in industry on the above lines, the Government will take steps to convene a tripartite conference of the representatives of trade unions, of the employers and of the Government. Apart from such a conference at the State level embracing all industries, we would also take steps to convene separate tripartite conference for individual industries.

Just as the above-mentioned tripartite conference in the private sector, so for the public sector, we would take steps to organise discussions and consultations between the representatives of managements and trade union representatives in order to find solutions for industrial disputes.

While taking steps to see that the legitimate demands of the employees of both the public as well as private sectors are realised, it is necessary to make the employees realise the vital role that they have to play in bringing about efficiency in production and management, thereby making the Five-Year Plan a success.

The employees and their organisations should realise their responsibility in bringing to light and overcoming the irregularities, inefficiency and corruption either in the management or in production. They have also to realise their responsibility in bringing about very effective technical improvements in production and management. At the same time, the employers and the Government should create the necessary pre-requisites for enabling the employees and their organisations to fulfil their responsibility in this respect. To this end,

1. The employers and the Government should recognise all existing unions;

2. The Government should offer its good offices in bringing about the unity of different unions in those industries where there are more than one union, on the principle of "one union in one industry";
3. In those industries where such unification of unions is not thought possible, the basis should be laid on which industrial disputes can be handled. How this should be done should be discussed at the tripartite conferences whose decisions should be incorporated in a new trade union law to be adopted;
4. "Works Committees" should be organised in every industrial enterprise and they should have wide powers in regulating and controlling the conditions of work in the respective industries;
5. Management Councils should be organised in enterprises in order to help managements in bringing about efficiency in the enterprises as well as to familiarise the employees with the financial and other problems facing the enterprise. Such councils should be adequately represented by the representatives of employees.

While regulating the employer-employee relations in the industrial field on the above lines, the Government will try to take steps to regulate the wage and salary scales, as well as working conditions, of the agricultural labourers, middle-class employees including the non-gazetted officers, etc.

4. Agrarian Reforms

It is acknowledged by all that the agrarian question in our State is rather complicated. This question will, therefore, require consultations with the various sections of the people concerned for working out the details of agrarian reforms. Certain broad lines of policy have already been worked out which can provide the basis for such discussion. These are the lines of policy laid down by the Land Reforms Panel of the Planning Commission. They have secured the support of such all-India parties as the Congress, the Communist Party and the PSP as well as of several organisations representing the peasantry. Therefore, the above

mentioned consultations need not take a long time, but can be finished relatively quickly. Within a short and definitely-fixed time-limit, we expect to prepare one or more bills fixing fair rent, giving fixity of tenure to the tenant, fixing a ceiling on landholdings in keeping with the peculiar conditions of Kerala, distributing surplus land above the ceiling fixed, giving such safeguards as are legitimate for those small landholders who stand to lose by the above-mentioned reforms, etc. Since the peasants require some immediate relief while the above-mentioned reforms are being worked out, it will be necessary to bring in emergency legislation staying all evictions.

5. Government and People

I would like to draw the attention of the people to something which is common to the above-mentioned lines of action, as well as to several others which are not explained in this statement. That is the question of the relations between our Government and the organisations of various sections of the people.

The programme which we have outlined for the development of Kerala is one which touches every aspect of the life of the people of Kerala. Our Party has its own distinct views and definite proposals on each of them. At the same time, we require full and detailed consultations with all sections of the people who are connected with every one of the items included in the programme; only such consultations with the organisations of the people will enable us to work out our programme in its detailed and final form.

For instance, as I have already indicated the development programmes of Kerala will be made the subject-matter of consultation with all political parties, mass organisations and individuals or groups of experts. Similarly, we will try to find solutions to the problems of industrial labour through tripartite conferences and have agrarian problems solved through consultation with all these sections of the people who are connected with that problem. It is as a basis of such consultations that the party's manifesto has made certain proposals on the above-mentioned subjects.

The same approach is made by us with regard to education, medical aid, culture, etc. We would concretise and finalise our programme in the field of education only on the basis of consultations with the organisations of teachers and students, and it is for such consultations that we would take the proposals made in the Manifesto as a working basis. So, too, shall we take the proposals made with regard to medical aid for consultations with doctors and its proposals regarding the cultural field for consultations with cultural workers.

I am giving below some of the major problems for which solutions have to be found through such consultations and the broad lines on which we propose to initiate the discussions.

(a) *Unemployment* A full and permanent solution for this problem cannot obviously be found under the present set-up. But a partial solution for the problem of rural unemployment can be found by carrying out the programme of fixing a ceiling on landholdings and distributing the surplus land above the ceiling as also the available Government lands. Similarly unemployment in the sectors of small and cottage industries can be partially solved through the machinery of co-operative organisations in these fields. Partial solution can also be found for the problem if the agricultural and industrial development plans that we have in view are implemented. There would, of course, be sections of people who will not get relief through any of these measures. That being so, the question will arise is there any feasible way of giving such sections of the people employment opportunities and if so, what? This will have to be discussed in the Planning Conference envisaged above.

(b) *The Place of Malayalam Language* The broad policy that we have adopted is to make Malayalam the language of administration right up to and including the work of the State Legislature and of the State Secretariat, as well as the language of education right up to and including university education. There are however questions such as how much of these can be immediately implemented which of them

will take some time, which of them are today facing certain technical difficulties and how to overcome them, etc. On all these questions, consultations will have to be organised with the sections of the people concerned.

- (c) *Local Self-Government:* There should be elected organs of administration at every level side by side with the official organs if democratic institutions are to grow strong in our country. But what exactly should be the form of such elected organs; should there be taluk boards at the taluk level and district boards at the district level; or is it necessary to have only village panchayats; what should be the relations of local self-government institutions at various levels among themselves and with the official organs of administration- these are questions which require further consultation.

To facilitate such consultations, the Government should give all help and encouragement to such of the people's organisations as already exist and are in a position to fulfil these tasks. At the same time, such organisations should be created in those fields and for such sections of people where such organisations do not exist. The Government will consider it as one of its tasks to help the emergence of such organisations.

6. A Decent Administration

If the above-mentioned items of our programme are to be carried out, it is necessary to put an end to the evils of corruption and injustices that continue in the administration and to create a good and decent administration.

We have no illusions that it would be an easy task to bring about such a change in the administration. We know that considerable improvement will be registered in this respect only if we wage a constant and uncompromising struggle against those evils that have become deep-rooted not only in the present system of administration but in the whole social order. We pledge ourselves to look upon this as one of our major tasks. At the same time, I would like to inform the people that the Government's attention will be drawn to the following three tasks connected

with it. I would also appeal to the people to help us with suggestions and comments on how to carry out each of the three tasks given below.

Firstly, it should be made part of the consciousness of the entire people that it is the responsibility of every citizen to expose every single action taken by those in authority—from Ministers down to the village officials—which are against the accepted rules and regulations as well as justice; to draw the attention of those in authority to these misdeeds and to help the taking of prompt steps against them. It is the task of every organisation and every individual, who is interested in justice being done, to raise their voice against every single action taken by any official by way of bribery, nepotism and other evils. So, too, is it the task of the higher authorities to make prompt enquiries and to take appropriate steps against whom such complaints are made. To create this consciousness among the people and to bring about a corresponding change in the attitude of Government officials—this is a task in which a very important role has to be played by the organisations of Government employees.

Secondly, the present mode of functioning and procedures of business of Government departments from the Secretariat of the State Government down at every level, are such as encouraging, rather than putting an end to, several evils in the administrative set-up. The gulf that exists between the administrative machinery and the people, the red-tapism that makes for undue delay in carrying on business, the facilities that are available to certain sections to influence those in authority these are factors that lay the basis for the evils in administration. How to put an end to this state of affairs, how to work out such modes of functioning and procedures of business as to make the business of administration more efficient and more just this is a question to which the Government will pay its immediate attention and start appropriate discussions.

Thirdly, it is necessary to bring about an order and system in the personal life and official activities of the Ministers themselves. It will prove a big obstacle in the way of a good and

decent administration if the impression is created that the relatives, friends, colleagues in public work, etc., of the Ministers can exert a good deal of pressure on them. Each of us will do our best to see that such an impression is not created. This, however, is inadequate. It is equally necessary to evolve certain rules of conduct which are clear and capable of strict enforcement in order to guide the activities of the Ministers. Whatever discussions we hold among ourselves on this question will be made known to the people. At the same time, I request the people to give their advice and suggestions on how this is to be actually implemented.

I do not propose to further prolong this statement which is already long enough. I am closing this with an appeal to all men of goodwill belonging to all political parties and sections of the people to help us in carrying out the programme outlined above. In doing so, I deem it necessary to specially address those parties which will be functioning in the legislature as opposition as well as to those parties who are not in the legislature but are fighting our Government from outside the legislature.

I would like to tell them that we would welcome every step they take by way of criticising our Government, pointing out the mistakes and inadequacies in the bills that we introduce and in the executive measures that we undertake; bring out the injustices that we, Ministers, individually or the Government as a whole, perpetrate. This is certainly the responsibility of the parties and organisations of the opposition. At the same time, I would remind them that their criticism should be such as to help us in correcting our mistakes and that they should offer us their support whenever we do something which is good and beneficial to the people.

I may remind them that this is the manner in which the Communist Party functions in the Central Parliament and in the State Legislatures of those States where our Party is in the minority. The greatest example of this attitude of ours is the support that we render to the Congress Government in the matter of its foreign policy and to certain aspects of its internal policies.

In the Travancore-Cochin State Legislature, too, our Party supported the land reform measures introduced by the PSP and later the Congress Government which we thought were good and beneficial to the peasantry, so far as they went. I hope that these parties which are in opposition now will adopt towards us this same attitude which we adopted towards them when they were in Government.

I have no doubt in my mind that, if the other parties adopt this attitude, the new Government will be able to take the first steps towards building a democratic and prosperous new Kerala and to carry forward the struggle for it.

Trivandrum,

5.4 1957

Elections and Democratic Advance*

Ajoy Ghosh

The second General Elections, which held the centre of India's attention for the past few months and which the world watched with excitement, have now concluded. The time has come to take stock, for all political parties to analyse the verdict of the electorate, to draw lessons and go forward to new tasks.

The central committee of the Communist Party of India at its meeting this month will be faced with this important task. A full review must, therefore, await these deliberations. Yet the elections have unmistakably shown the broad contours of India's political mind—the trend of its development. It is necessary to outline these contours, to draw out their significance.

Election Background

In the first place attention should be drawn to the background against which the mighty electoral battle was waged, and to the basic line the Communist Party pursued during the elections.

Big developments had taken place in India during the five years following the 1951-52 General Elections. A radical reorientation had occurred in the foreign policy of the government, towards which the democratic movement and the Communist Party had made a major contribution. India's role for peace, for coexistence, for friendship with the socialist countries and for welding the mighty Asian solidarity, had won for it a place of honour in the comity of nations. The name of India was now pronounced with respect in the world and every patriotic Indian felt within him a deep pride at the influence his country wielded, after centuries of bondage.

*NEW AGE, Monthly, May 1957.

Certain welcome changes had occurred in the internal sphere also. The princely bastions of reaction had disappeared. Except for Bombay, the States of India had been reorganised on a linguistic basis. The national urge for reconstruction had found partial reflection in the aims and some of the proposals of the Second Plan, in the greater emphasis given to heavy industries, as well as in the nationalisation of the Imperial Bank and life insurance. The growth of democratic sentiments and the increasing attraction of the vast masses towards socialism, was echoed—albeit in a distorted way—in the adoption by the government of the goal of a socialist pattern of society.

These changes had been welcomed by the democratic movement and the Communist Party. What has to be stressed—because it is overlooked by some—is that in the bringing about of these changes the struggles of the masses, the determined campaign of the Communist Party and the dogged fight put up in the legislatures by the democratic opposition, had played a decisive role. Left to itself the bourgeoisie, whose representatives head the government, would have solved its conflict with imperialism, would have furthered its own plans for development entirely and completely by pushing the burden on to the masses. The struggles of the masses—workers, peasants, students, middle-class employees—and virtual national upheavals in Kerala, Andhra, West Bengal, Maharashtra, Gujarat, etc., as well as a corresponding shift in the mass mood towards radicalisation had been, thus, a marked feature of the past five years.

In spite of these welcome changes, however, the internal policies of the government fell far short of the needs and possibilities of the situation, they still remained essentially undemocratic and anti-people in vital respects. In its Election Manifesto the Communist Party had thus characterised the situation:

. . . the claims made by the Congress that all-sided advance has been registered by the country in recent years are belied by facts. Some little progress has been made here and there—but the totality of the picture that emerges from a study of the Indian scene is far from what the ruling party would like us

to believe. Not merely has very little advance been made but even the foundations of real advance have not been laid.

Conditions have not been created for effective utilisation of the vast resources and manpower of the country for national reconstruction. Conditions have not been created for forging that popular unity and for rousing that ardour and enthusiasm without which the gigantic task of rebuilding the country cannot be carried out.

This is not an accident. Nor is it due to factors beyond human control. It is due to the policies of the government in the internal sphere—policies which in vital respects are anti-people and undemocratic.

They are policies of appeasement of foreign capital and of refusal to take determined action for its nationalisation. They are policies of reliance on the profit-motive of the big capitalists, of serving their interests and of succumbing to their pressure. They are policies of concessions to landlords and of opposition to radical agrarian reforms. They are policies of throwing the main burden on the common people, while refusing to introduce an equitable taxation system. They are policies which, under phrases of socialism, enrich the wealthy few and pay little attention to the need and requirements of the vast majority of our people—workers, peasants, artisans, middle-class employees, teachers, traders and small manufacturers.

All the statements contained in the Manifesto were backed up by the factual studies contained in the pamphlets issued by the Communist Party as a part of its election campaign. These studies were compiled from figures supplied by official sources and they sharply pinpointed the *malaise* of India's economic and political life. We shall not repeat these¹ facts and figures, which are familiar enough to the readers of this journal.

In addition to this searing critique the Communist Party formulated a concrete and detailed programme showing the measures that should and could be carried out to ensure national advance and regeneration. At the State level the various committees of the Party further concretised these alternative policies, in keeping with the actual situation.

Communist Strategy

Against this background the Communist Party sketched out its general line for the elections. It held that the elections have to be fought primarily as a struggle against the anti-popular policies of the government, with a view to revise and modify them. It held that the elections must be viewed as a struggle to make decisive inroads into the political monopoly enjoyed by the Congress, without which national advance would be retarded. It held that throughout the country the position of the parties of the democratic opposition had got to be strengthened in the State legislatures and in parliament. Without this determined effort to weaken the unhealthy monopoly of the Congress (still dominated by its right-wing leadership) the modification and reversal of the anti-popular policies of the government would not be possible.

The power of reaction inside the Congress was eloquently demonstrated in the choice of candidates—among whom there were a number of former princes, as well as many big landlords and direct representatives of big business.

The Communist Party knew that in the existing situation and with the present correlation of forces, it was impossible to remove the Congress from power in the centre and in the majority of States. Hence the specific tasks it placed before itself were:

In those States where the democratic forces are especially strong, the Communist Party will strive to create conditions in which democratic governments, based on a coalition of democratic parties and individuals, can be formed. Such governments will work on the basis of an agreed programme and serve the people to the best of their capacity.

In other States, the Party's endeavour will be to strengthen its own position and the position of the democratic opposition in the legislatures.

The Party Election Manifesto also stressed:

A determined effort has to be made in the coming elections to put an end to the monopoly position which the Congress enjoys. This position has meant callous betrayal of pledges, defiance of popular will, stifling of political life.

Through their experience, the masses have come to recognise the necessity of a strong opposition. Democratic-minded Congressmen themselves, whose sentiments and opinions are often ignored by the ruling circles, desire such an opposition. They know it will help their own struggle inside the Congress. They know it will increase their strength and make their voice effective.

The emergence of a democratic opposition will strengthen the fight for the rights and liberties of the people. It will strengthen the forces of socialism and democracy in our political and economic life.

The slogan of alternative government wherever possible (Kerala and West Bengal offered such possibilities in our opinion) and the slogan of strengthening of the democratic opposition were, therefore, not conceived in a narrow, sectarian spirit. They were advanced as essential tasks for the strengthening of the democratic movement as a whole.

Some people saw a contradiction between the *general* slogan of the Party—the slogan of unity of all popular forces—and the *specific* slogan advanced by the Party in the elections—the slogan of assault on the monopoly position of the Congress, the strengthening of the democratic opposition and the establishment of non-Congress democratic governments where possible. In reality, there was no contradiction because it is the anti-popular and undemocratic policies of the Congress government that stand as the biggest single obstacle in the path of national unity, and the Congress is able to pursue these policies with impunity because of the overwhelmingly dominant position it occupies in the parliament and in State legislatures. Due to this, even democratic elements inside the Congress feel frustrated. They are not able to assert themselves and make their voice heard. The weakening of the position of the Congress, the strengthening of the position of the Communist Party and of the democratic parties were, therefore, essential for the building of popular unity. These were the key tasks to be carried out in the elections.

With these tasks in view, the Communist Party strove for united front with the Praja-Socialist and other Left parties. A great

measure of success was achieved in West Bengal and in certain States. In Bombay State, the main issue on which electoral alliance was achieved was the formation of linguistic States of Maharashtra and Gujarat, as well as opposition to the police atrocities against the people. In many of the States, however, no agreement could be reached—primarily because of the attitude of the Praja-Socialist Party.

Election Forecasts

Various predictions were made by political pundits on the eve of the elections. They differed among themselves on some minor points. But on major points there was unanimity. *Firstly*, the Congress would sweep the polls, securing a much higher percentage of the votes and capturing many more seats than in 1951-52. *Secondly*, the parties of the democratic opposition would be unable to retain even their existing position. *Thirdly*, the Communist Party would suffer a "debacle" and would emerge much weaker than before.

So powerful was this propaganda on the basis of these assumptions that even many democratic-minded people, including friends of the Communist Party, were influenced by it. Dazzled by the apparent achievements of the government, totally under-estimating the depth of mass discontent and extent of mass radicalisation, they too apprehended "sweeping victories" for the Congress and "debacle" for the Communist Party.

A typical comment about the position of the Communist Party as seen by "political observers" is given below:

The Communist Party faces India's second General Elections at a particularly depressed period of its history The conflict at Madurai (Third Congress) between the two wings, the great debate at Palghat on the tactical line and the continuous reports of divergent approaches inside the Party to the ruling party in India are facts of great importance. But even more than this, the crisis in international Communism as indicated by the denigration of Stalin, the events in Poland and Hungary and the post-Hungary trends in the policy statements

of the USSR have confused and demoralised the Party as never before. Even the most ardent Communist would not doubt the validity of this statement.

(*National Politics and 1957 Elections in India*. Published under the auspices of the Diwan Chand Indian Information Centre in cooperation with the Indian Council of World Affairs, pp. 31-32.)

The author of "this statement," added cautiously: "How far the impact of these events would be felt on Indian opinion about the Communist Party, only the election results can indicate", but his whole discourse on the subject left no doubt in one's mind as to what he anticipated.

But he was not alone. As late as 3 March, a columnist of the *Times of India* gloated: "The non-Congress parties have gone to the polls like sheep to the slaughter-house." Others wrote in the same vein.

Today the same gentlemen are singing a different tune. A columnist of the *Hindustan Times* said on 2 April:

Many of the Congress members elected to the parliament and presidents and secretaries of the provincial Congress committees gave a true picture of the feeling of the people. Everyone seemed to support that government at the lower level was not good government. . . .

The Communists on the other hand feel like victors. They have done better than they expected. . . . They feel they will do still better during the next elections.

And "Darem", the political commentator of the *Times of India* moaned on 27 March:

A great illusion has been shattered. A policy of friendship with the Communist bloc, combined with a solid programme of economic development at home was expected to deflate the position of Communists within the country.

That illusion was encouraged by the successes achieved by the Congress Party against the Communists in Andhra (where, it may be remembered, the CPI polling over 30 per cent of the votes won only 13 out of 196 seats in the State legislature—A.G.). The result of the current elections, however, indicate

that the Communist Party has steadily forged ahead in all States except Madras and Telangana, since the last General Elections five years ago.

So much for the predictions of bourgeois circles before the elections and their comments afterwards—comments meant to create panic in the ruling circles and instigate repressive measures against the Communist Party.

This "Communists have done better than they expected" is a pet theme of the Indian bourgeois press which quite often equates its own "expectations" with the expectations of the Communist Party. The same thing was said after the last elections. It may be noted that we stated publicly on the eve of the elections that we shall "substantially improve our position, that the Left opposition would become stronger and that possibilities existed for dislodging the Congress from power in the States of Kerala and Bengal". It is necessary to emphasise that the election results are no "miracle", no "bolt from the blue". It is the bourgeois commentators who have had their estimates upset. It is the expectations of the Communist Party that have been confirmed.

People Judge Deeds

It is necessary to combat another insidious theory, propagated by Pandit Nehru among others. The figures of the election results given elsewhere in this issue of the journal show that the Congress expectations have been belied. In an attempt to explain away this reverse Pandit Nehru stated that where the Congress lost it was because of the predominance of local issues, which had nothing to do with the international and national policies of the Congress government. In the first place, this is a sophism. It is hard to understand how Pandit Nehru can make this rigid separation of "local issues" and "national policies". Can we call the bilingual Bombay State a "local issue"? Was it not a direct and clear all-India directive of the Congress majority in parliament? Are not the evictions of the peasants, the tremendous tax burden, unemployment, the callousness and ruthlessness of the police and bureaucracy, the rank corruption of the administration, and a host of other ills besetting the people, a part

and parcel and a concrete manifestation of Congress policies? If these policies had been different, had they been democratic then these "local issues" could not have cropped up; or if they had, would have benefitted the government party.

What happened was that the people refused to be brow beaten or lured by the glamour of phrases. They judged policies by the actual effect these had on their daily lives. They judged the Congress government by its deeds, by what it had done to redeem its pledges to give them a better life. Only this can explain why the Congress received set-backs in areas stretching throughout the country and not in a few isolated pockets. It is in the battle over policies that the Congress has been worsted in areas where the Communist and other parties of the democratic opposition had worked among the people and organised them.

New Features

The Congress remains in power throughout India, except for Kerala. It has secured 47 per cent of the votes and has a huge majority in parliament. Yet nobody can say that the *status quo* remains. Everybody admits that something new has happened, that the political landscape has altered. It is to an analysis of these new factors that attention has to be drawn.

Firstly, the Communist Party of India has doubled its votes since 1951-52 and has emerged as the second party in the country in terms of seats won as well as in terms of votes polled. The Party has won seats in every State legislature in the country, whereas it had none in several States before the elections. In most of the industrial and working class centres of the country, the Communist Party, unlike in the last General Elections, has fared very well. The Communist Party has increased its strength from 28 to 49 in West Bengal assembly. In the city of Calcutta, the Communist Party won 10 out of the 26 seats and 8 more seats were won by the Left alliance as against only 8 in all secured by the Congress. Comrade S. A. Dange has polled the highest number of votes secured by any candidate in the country. In the State of Kerala, the Communist Party, together with Independents allied to it, has won 65 out of 126 seats.

Secondly, the democratic opposition has been able to strengthen its position in most of the State legislatures. Of great significance are the successes of the Communist Party and Left parties in the States of Uttar Pradesh, Bombay, Bihar and West Bengal which were the main bases of the national movement and in the former three of which the democratic opposition was extremely weak in the legislatures. Detailed figures are not yet available but it is evident that the Communist Party, together with the Praja-Socialist Party and other Left parties and the Scheduled Castes Federation which joined hand with the Left parties have polled a substantial proportion—not less than 28 per cent—of the total votes.

Thirdly, the Congress has suffered heavy defeats in the major industrial and working class centres of the country—a clear verdict of the working class against the labour policy of Congress. Among the defeated Congress candidates is Sri Khandubhai Desai, the former central labour minister. In most of the major working class centres it is Communist candidates who have won.

Fourthly, the parties of communal reaction have failed at the polls. It is true that the Jan Sangh has doubled its votes but the proportion of votes secured by it has increased by less than 3 per cent. Further, if we take all the three parties of Hindu communal reaction together—the Jan Sangh, the Hindu Maha Sabha, the Ram Rajya Parishad—their combined votes come to only 8 millions—an increase of less than 2 millions since the last General Elections. In Punjab, the Jan Sangh has been able to strengthen its position among Hindus largely due to the Congress policy of alliance with the Akalis, but even there the Communist Party has polled 10,93,506 votes—as compared with the Jan Sangh which has polled 6,42,799 votes. The parties of Hindu communal reaction have won a fair number of seats in Rajasthan and Madhya Pradesh where feudal elements are still powerful and in certain areas of Uttar Pradesh where the government itself under Sri Sampurnanand has pursued a communal policy. The Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, a party led by former princes and big landlords has won 51 out of 140 seats in the State assembly

by using radical slogans and thanks mainly to the State government's policy of appeasement of and concessions to feudal elements. All the seats won by the Ganatantra Parishad are from the former princely areas of Orissa. In the greater part of the country, the parties of communal reaction have failed to make any impression. In West Bengal they have suffered a total rout—losing all the 12 seats they held.

Fifthly, some of the most reactionary elements in the country—both inside and outside the Congress—have been defeated. These include Sri C. B. Gupta, the "strong man" of Uttar Pradesh Congress Committee and Sri Mahesh Prasad, the transport minister and prospective chief minister of Bihar, Sri Bansal, the secretary of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry, Sri N. C. Chatterjee, president of the Hindu Maha Sabha, Sri Pardiwalla of the "Democratic Research Service", Sri Homi Mody and Sri Da Costa, direct representatives of monopoly interests who mouth slogans of "free enterprise".

Sixthly, the Congress itself has been able to retain its present position to a great extent only because of the progressive foreign policy of the government and its declarations about socialism. A large number of those who have voted for the Congress, have done so not because they approve all its actual policies but because they see no alternative to it and also because they have been influenced by its foreign policy, certain progressive measures, and promises.

Seventhly, and above all, in the State of Kerala, a new government led by the Communist Party has been formed—an event of tremendous significance for our country.

In its totality, therefore, the elections have belied the confident predictions made by bourgeois commentators. They indicate an *important shift of the masses to the Left*. It is a shift towards ideas of socialism—which in the concrete situation in India has come to be associated with the urge for radical agrarian reforms, extension of the state sector and curb on monopoly, equitable burden of taxation and reduction of the disparity in income, living wage and trade union rights for workers, drastic reduction in the power of the bureaucracy and police and extension of civil

liberties, combating of corruption, determined measures against unemployment and fuller democracy in every sphere, creating conditions for popular unity and all-round national advance.

It is significant that all major political parties in the country conducted the election campaign in the name of socialism. The only exception were the parties of communal reaction who failed to win support, except in some areas. The tremendous popularity which the ideas of socialism have gained has been strikingly revealed in the elections.

The elections have vindicated the line of the Communist Party of India and proved the correctness of its slogans. They have shown a considerable strengthening of the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in our political life. The results are a tribute to the self-sacrificing and devoted work carried out by Party members and militants over many years—despite repression, despite difficulties and hardships.

At the same time, it would be a mistake not to see serious weaknesses that have been revealed and the setbacks that have been suffered. Parties of feudal and communal reaction, though unable to register advance in most areas, still remain strong in several States, and, in Orissa have gained ground. In the State of Madras and in the Telangana areas of Andhra, the Communist Party won only 4 and 22 seats respectively—a compared with 13 and 32 seats in the last elections. In many of the rural areas of West Bengal, we failed to win seats. A large number of sitting members were defeated in several States. The causes of these defeats will be reviewed by the central committee in its next meeting. These defeats and setbacks, however, do not alter the general picture which is one of growing strength of the Communist Party and of Left forces in general.

High Point of Kerala

The development in Kerala has attracted the attention of people all over the country and also abroad. But Kerala is no isolated phenomenon. It was in Kerala that the rising tide of the democratic movement reached its highest level. The advent of the Communist-led ministry in Kerala has to be viewed in the

context of the big strides made by the democratic and socialist forces in the country, and the 12 million votes polled by the Communist Party.

At the same time, Kerala has a significance all its own. That significance lies in the fact that for the first time in India—and perhaps in any capitalist country—a Communist-led government has been formed through the process of elections conducted under bourgeois rule. It would be an illusion to think that a socialist revolution has taken place in Kerala. And no Indian Communist suffers from that illusion. The powers of the State government are limited. It has to function within the framework of the Indian Constitution which proclaims all private property to be sacred and inviolable, besides conferring wide powers on the President of the Republic. Further, the ministry has to carry out its work through the existing judicial and bureaucratic administrative machinery whose higher officials have been trained to look upon themselves as a privileged caste. It must also be borne in mind that Kerala is a small State, with a high density of population, heavy pressure on land, very few industries and a large unemployed population.

Despite these limitations and despite unfriendly attitudes and actions from some sections of the ruling party and its government, the Communist government in Kerala has been hailed by the widest sections of democratic opinion. They see in it a new type of government, not just a non-Congress ministry. They see in it the representative of the downtrodden and the oppressed who have now won through to power, albeit in a single State. They see in it a government which will go forward to implement the noble declarations of the independence movement, the Faizpur and Karachi declarations, as far as its powers allow it to.

Above all, they see in it the registration of a new political fact of momentous import—that the Congress can be dislodged from power. After the reverse in Andhra many people had thought that while opposition might be possible, the replacement of the Congress by a democratic ministry in any State was not. Now Kerala will put fresh heart into all democrats, will give them

a great impetus to exert their utmost, to strengthen their forces and mount the challenge to the Congress.

Thus the very fact of the new ministry will act as a radicalising and unifying force. Already the first measures of the Communist ministry have created a tremendous stir that will surely develop into a mighty movement demanding that the ministries in other States follow suit, for example, in the case of evictions or the new type of pay commissions.

The new movement that is bound to develop will be joined not only by those who voted for the democratic opposition. The Communist Party is confident that large numbers of Congressmen and Congress voters—who form an extremely large section of the democratic masses in India—also will fall into its ranks. The radicalisation registered through the elections has undoubtedly had its impact on the democrats who are either inside the Congress or give it their political allegiance.

Abandoning all sectarianism, the Communist Party will not only seek to consolidate and widen the Left unity already achieved, but equally to draw into united work and struggle all democrats, including Congressmen, all those who want India to speed ahead into the future. The Communist Party offers its hand of cooperation to all who believe in India and wish to humbly serve our great and talented people. Conscious of its tasks and responsibilities in the new situation and determined to carry them out, the Communist Party sends out to all its call for unity in the cause of a prosperous and socialist India.

Directives to Party MPs*

The parliament has already come to occupy a place of great importance in the life of our nation and our Party in parliament happens to be the main opposition, based on 12 million votes. Communist members from 8 States and one centrally administered area have been returned to the Lok Sabha. In every State legislature (Kashmir is not included) our Party is today represented; in one State it is the ruling party; in West Bengal, the Communist bloc constitutes the main opposition and in Andhra similar position is occupied by the Communists in the Communist-PDF bloc. In the context of India's parliamentary system, our Party is looked upon as the rising force of the future and it has already attained the status of the country's second political party. People have naturally great expectations about the work of the Communist Party in parliament and in the State legislatures.

All these developments naturally endow our parliamentary work with great political significance. The direction of the country's political life, growth of the mass movement and indeed the progress of the nation depend, in no small measure, upon how the Party conducts itself in the parliament and in the State legislatures. The growth and expansion of the Party again is also likewise dependent on this aspect of the Party's activity.

Hence, it is of utmost importance that the Party as a whole duly concerns itself with its work in the legislatures and the leading Party committees, in particular, give the fullest possible attention to this work. The parliament and State legislatures have become

* Adopted by the Polit Bureau of the C P I at Trivandrum, July 1957

the most important forums for fighting for the cause of the people and the country, for uniting the democratic masses on policy issues, for combating illusions which the bourgeoisie and the Congress are trying to create and for rallying the masses to the ideas of socialism.

Our legislative work has an important part to play in the propagation of the ideas of socialism and for ensuring the growth of democracy. Every effort, ideological, political and organisational must, therefore, be made to constantly improve our work on the legislative front and our legislative activities must necessarily be closely linked with the mass movement outside. The Party functions in the parliament and the State legislatures as the tribune of the people, always expressing their aspirations and urges. In order that this role may be fulfilled efficiently and in a manner worthy of the Party, the Polit Bureau lays down the following main directives for our work in the parliament. The principles of these directives apply also to our work in the State legislatures.

(1) It will be the task of Communist members of parliament to carry out the line of the Party inside the parliament and they must speak and function in absolute conformity with the Party line. In case of any confusion involving the line of the Party on any issues, the PB or at least the CC sub-committee must be consulted in order that there is no departure from the Party line.

Comrades must not take *extempore* positions which are likely to give rise to serious controversy inside the Party and in respect of which there is no clear Party position. In all such matters also the opinion of the PB or at least the CC sub-committee must be sought.

(2) Our work in parliament must reflect the mass movement and comrades must constantly develop a truly national approach on all matters. At the same time, they must take the position of the exploited classes, particularly our own class—the working class. This class standpoint must on no account be abandoned or compromised. This means that our comrades must approach all questions from the point of view of the working class. One must always be on guard so that in the name of national approach,

ideas of the bourgeoisie are not smuggled into our parliamentary work. Comrades must combine unrelenting exposure of the reactionary policies of the government with support to the progressive measures. They must popularise the policies of the Party in a manner understandable to the people and, as far as possible, in terms of their living experience.

(3) The attendance in the house must be regarded as the most elementary duty of every Communist member of parliament and the old practice of treating this obligation as something which affects only the MPs concerned or the parliamentary group must be discarded. Without attendance our work in parliament cannot be much improved and hence, attendance is an issue which involves the entire Party and its prestige among the people. In view of this, all Party MPs must be in Delhi during the parliament session and place themselves at the disposal of the parliamentary group and the Party centre. They must not absent themselves from parliament without the prior approval of the group or the CC sub-committee. Discipline in this respect must be strictly enforced. It must always be remembered that our people have not elected them as members of parliament to remain absent from the parliament and neglect their duties and obligations there. Failure on this score affects not only the particular comrade or his constituency; it affects the entire Party organisation in the State concerned and indeed the whole Party.

(4) All our comrades in parliament must be active on the floor of the house and otherwise. And it will be the task of the executive committee of the parliamentary group to ensure that this is done. Prestige and effectiveness in work in parliament depends on how the team as a whole collectively behaves and fulfils its role. Comrades who may not be well-up in parliamentary work at the start must be given all necessary assistance for this purpose.

Our MP comrades must divide up the various subjects for systematic study amongst themselves. It should be the responsibility of every Communist MP to equip himself or herself for work in parliament through personal exertions. Such exertions have become all the more necessary in view of the fact

that the Party finances today do not permit the maintenance of a big staff to help them. Neglect of self-effort or excessive reliance on the staff must be overcome. The Communist MPs must keep track of all important developments, including those connected with the mass movement which bear on their work in parliament. For this purpose, not only is self-study necessary; it is also necessary to keep in close touch with the PCs, other Party committees and mass organisations.

(5) The Communist MPs must develop contacts with the progressive elements in all parties and groups inside the parliament and explore every possibility of cooperation with them. Tendencies to move in one's own narrow groove must be discarded.

(6) Efforts should, in particular, be made to develop coordination in day-to-day work among all the groups and individuals of the democratic opposition through mutual consultations and personal contacts.

(7) Live contacts must be maintained with the constituencies. All necessary steps should be taken so that the constituencies are kept informed of the work of their respective representatives. The responsibility towards one's electorate must be discharged to the best of one's abilities, inside the parliament as well as outside it. For this purpose, it will be necessary for Communist MPs to keep themselves informed of the views of their electors and constantly present themselves amongst them. The tendency to neglect the constituencies in the name of "other important work" must be eliminated.

(8) In both their public and private life the Communist MPs must practice simplicity and avoid all showiness and extravagance which are often a concomitant of bourgeois parliamentary life. In their contact with the people and Party members, the Communist MPs must show humility and their behaviour generally should be such as exudes confidence among all those whom they happen to come in touch with. In short, the attitude and behaviour of the Communist MPs should not only be above board but they should also set an example.

(9) Communist MPs must pay Party levies regularly and without any default. These levies should be regarded as the first charge on their earnings.

(10) The sub-committee which the CC has appointed shall be responsible to the latter for the work of the Communist group in the parliament. It will be the task of the sub-committee to give, in close touch with the PB, broad political guidance to the parliamentary group and, in certain cases, also discuss organisational and other practical questions in connection with the work in the parliament and take necessary decisions on them. Final decisions on all *major* political questions shall, however, be taken in consultation with the PB.

The routine work in the parliament shall be conducted by the general body of the parliamentary group and its executive committee. Ordinarily, decisions of the general body and, in the absence thereof, of the executive committee shall be binding on all comrades. All decisions of the executive committee shall be placed before the general body meeting for its consideration. On no account must Communist MPs speak in two voices.

In case of emergency, when decisions have to be taken in regard to any matter immediately on the floor of the house, the leader or in his absence the deputy leader shall be responsible for taking such decision but as far as possible in consultation with the comrades present in the house.

The executive committee should be constituted of comrades who undertake executive jobs and help in functioning the group as a whole. With this end in view, members of the executive committee should be assigned specific jobs. The executive committee shall have its own secretary.

At the end of the session, the general body shall review its work and the executive committee shall prepare a report on the basis of discussions at the general body meeting. This report shall be submitted to the Central Committee.

Tasks Among Students*

Early this month a meeting of the leading student comrades from different States (West Bengal, Andhra, UP, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and Delhi) was held in Delhi. A brief report of this meeting has been published in the *New Age*, weekly of 14 July 1957. Also the resolution on "Work Among the Students" adopted unanimously at the meeting has been circulated to the PCs and DCs. The present circular is only to stress the tasks of the PCs and DCs in regard to the Party's work on the student front.

In the course of the discussion it was revealed that our work among the students is badly neglected and that the Party committees such as the PCs and DCs take practically no interest. Even where our student comrades are engaged in some form of mass work whether in the unions, AISF or otherwise, the ideological activities and generally the Party-building tasks have been virtually abandoned. There is no effort even to push the Marxist-Leninist literature and Party journal, not to speak of recruitment of students into the Party. And all this is happening at a time when there is a definite swing to the Left on the part of the broad masses of the students.

On the basis of the critical review of our work, the meeting of the student comrades discussed the main tasks that confront them. It was decided that our comrades working on the student front must bend all their energies for developing Party-building activities amongst the students. This can only be done if the leading Party committees—the PCs and DCs—give up their present attitude of indifference, take proper interest in the student

*Circular of the Polit Bureau of the C.P.I. to all Provincial and District Committees, dated July 17, 1957. Published in NEW AGE, Monthly, September 1957.

work and constantly help the student comrades. It is, therefore, proposed that both at the PC and DC levels sub-committees should be formed consisting of leading student comrades and the members of the PCs or the DCs as the case may be. These sub-committees should be entrusted with the responsibility of initiating and conducting measures for developing Party-building activities amongst the students.

Leading Party committees must also acquaint themselves with the problems of Party-building amongst the students, as well as of mass work amongst them so that they are in a position to effectively guide the Party's work among the students. There should be proper arrangement for periodical reviews of the work from time to time. It has to be remembered that sale of Party literature and Party journals, discussions and debates and personal contacts play an important role in drawing the students into the Party. These activities must be organised in a sustained manner. The leading student comrades must equip themselves for such ideological work. Personal example is to be regarded and practised as of great value in this context. All tendencies to shrink or tone down Party-building tasks in the name of mass organisation or on any other pretext must be resolutely combated and eliminated.

The problems of broad mass activity as well as of the mass organisation of the students were also discussed at length. It is unanimously agreed that in the changed political situation of India and in the new conditions arising therefrom, the college unions are emerging as the common forums of activity for the masses of students. This, however, is not to say that in every place the development of such unions has been uniform. In many places there are still no unions at all. In others, unions are run undemocratically, still limiting the possibilities of mass student activity on democratic lines.

Nevertheless, it is necessary for the Party and the student comrades to recognise this process and do everything in their power to accelerate it, resulting in the formation and strengthening of the federations of unions as has been explained in the resolution already circulated. The Party comrades must

cooperate with others in developing mass work among the students through the unions and thus contribute their share in the building of national union of students. It should be noted that the resolution stresses that federation of unions should be developed as the united mass organisation of students and unions should be taken as the basis of mass work among them.

Now the question remains as to what is going to be our attitude towards the All-India Students' Federation. It was unanimously agreed at the meeting that the Students' Federation cannot be expected to fulfil the functions of a united student mass organisation. At the same time, it has a significant part to play in the context of student activity, especially in building the college unions and the federation of unions. Of course, as matters stand today, the AISF will have other activities to undertake in addition to the union work, e.g., the AISF can make some positive contribution towards the development of the youth movement. In view of this, therefore, there must now be an end to the controversy whether the AISF should remain or should go out of existence.

So, instead of speculating on the future of the AISF, what is necessary now is to activise its units in order that it may fulfil its due role in developing the united student movement. Later, on the basis of experience we can discuss the question of the future of the Students' Federation which, it should be realised, cannot be separated from the level of the growth of the college unions and their federation. It will be necessary for the provincial and district committees to hold joint meetings with leading student comrades to concretise the tasks on the student front in the light of the resolution adopted at the Delhi meeting of the student comrades. These committees are asked to take *immediate* steps accordingly.

Work Among Students*

(a) The absence of systematic political work among the students, utter neglect of the task of Party-building, and the callous attitude of total indifference adopted by Party committees at all levels to the student movement has created a serious crisis in the student front.

This has happened at a time when the swing towards Left politics and progressive ideology is greater than ever before.

Party-building is the main task among the students today.

(b) In the changed political situation of India, the college unions have emerged in a large number of States as the common forum of the mass of students and in other places they have that inherent potentiality.

While it is incorrect to hastily impose any organisational form on the mass of the students, what needs to be understood is that the federation of college unions (NUS) is the real mass organisation of the students today. As such, it is the task of the Communist students to hasten up this process and carry on mass work through unions in that manner. Under no pretext should this task of the formation and strengthening of the national union of students be delayed.

(c) Federation of unions should be developed as united mass organisation of the students and unions should be taken as the basis of mass work among the students. At the same time the AISF has to be developed in order to build NUS as a powerful and democratically functioning organisation.

*Resolution unanimously adopted at the meeting of Leading Student Comrades in June 1957 Published in NEW AGE, Monthly, September 1957

Thus, it is one of the main tasks of the Communist students to so work inside the AISF that this organisation plays its due role in the student movement today—the role of helping and accelerating the process of forming NUS.

This apart, the Communist students should also so work inside the AISF that it contributes significantly in the formation and development of youth movement in our country, leading to the emergence of an all-India youth organisation.

The AISF should, therefore, be revitalised in its work so as to contribute effectively in unifying the student movement inside a real NUS and bringing the students nearer to other sections of youth through a youth organisation.

To conclude:

- Party-building is the primary task among students;
- The Party should concentrate its energies towards building unified student movement inside NUS;
- AISF should be revitalised so that it plays its due role in the task of building NUS and youth organisations.

Report of the Official Language Commission*

Ajoy Ghosh

The Report of the Official Language Commission has become the subject matter of heated controversy in many parts of the country. This is not surprising. Sharp and genuine differences do exist on the issue, which affects the life of every individual in the country. But the manner in which the differences have been posed and the way in which the controversy is being conducted are likely to do serious damage to all languages in India and give rise to bitterness and animosity, endangering the unity of the country and its people.

That the menace is real can be seen from the serious situation that has developed in Punjab on the language controversy. It is a warning that none can afford to ignore.

The Official Language Commission was appointed in terms of Articles 343 to 351 of the Constitution of India. It was declared in the Constitution that Hindi in Devanagari script shall be the official language of the Union. At the same time, it was stipulated that for a period of 15 years, English would continue to be used for all those official purposes of the Union for which it was being used earlier.

The Constitution also called upon the President of the Indian Union to constitute, at the end of five years from the commencement of the Constitution, a Commission in order to make recommendations to the President as to

- (a) The progressive use of the Hindi language for the official purposes of the Union,
- (b) Restrictions on the use of the English language for all or any of the official purposes of the Union,

- (c) The language to be used for all or any of the purposes mentioned in Article 348,
- (d) Any other matter referred to the Commission by the President as regards the official language of the Union and the language for communication between the Union and a State or between one State and another and their use
(Report of the Official Language Commission p 426)

It was further stated that "in making their recommendations, the Commission shall have due regard to the industrial, cultural and scientific advancement of India and the just claims and the interests of persons belonging to the non-Hindi-speaking areas in regard to the public services" (*Ibid*)

The Commission was appointed on June 1955 with Sri B G Kher as Chairman and 20 other members. It submitted its report on 31 July 1956. The report was not unanimous. It contained two minutes of dissent one by Dr Sumit Kumar Chatterjee and another by Dr P Subbarayan. Sri Maganbhai P Desai, who seems to agree with many points of the main report nevertheless felt it necessary to submit a separate note explaining in detail his own approach to the problem.

Incorrect Approach

It is evident from the terms of reference to the Commission as quoted above that the whole problem was approached in a narrow restricted way. The question of official language of the Union was viewed in isolation from and not in the context of the general cultural and linguistic problems facing the country. The primary and almost the only purpose for which the Commission was appointed was to make recommendations facilitating "the progressive use of Hindi for the official purposes of the Union". Only a sort of warning was issued that in making their recommendations certain other factors also should be taken into account.

Although many of the actual recommendations of the Commission are correct a wrong approach has vitiated the whole *Report* as can be seen by anyone who has cared to study it carefully. It attempts to cover a vast field but does so in a

slipshod and rambling manner. It is a confused and bewildering document -- full of equivocation, contradictory statements and make-shift proposals which arise inevitably out of the desire to press the claim of Hindi not merely in opposition to English, but also to all other languages while simultaneously trying to balance the claims of other languages and also English, against Hindi. The result is a curious hotchpotch-- thoroughly disappointing in every respect and lacking that clarity, precision and vision which one had every right to expect from the distinguished persons who constituted the Commission.

A number of recommendations made by the Commission are such that they violate every democratic principle, and are bound to be opposed by large sections of people in non-Hindi-speaking regions.

For example, the Commission proposes that eventually "the language of legislation of the *States as well as the parliament* and also, of course, consequently, the language of all statutory orders, rules, etc., issued under any law should be the Hindi language". The "authoritative enactments not merely at the centre but in *all States* would be in Hindi" though "there may be need, for the sake of public convenience, to publish translations of the enactments in different regional languages". (*Ibid.* p. 412 Emphasis added).

Again, "when the time for the change-over arrives, the language of the judgements, decrees and orders of high courts must be a common linguistic medium for the whole country, and, therefore, this should be in the Hindi language in all regions" (*Ibid.* p. 414).

Only, "so far as processes, decrees and orders of the high court are concerned, we would suggest that *wherever necessary* it should be provided that they would issue in regional languages in their authorised translations in addition to their *original issue in Hindi*". (Emphasis added).

The Commission approvingly quotes the views of Gandhiji that the medium of education should be one which is "understood by the people". However, almost immediately afterwards, it says that it "would not view the adoption of the Hindi medium at the

university stage in the non-Hindi areas in any sense unfeasible or out of court" The Commission considers this to be "the simpler and superior solution", for higher education—"the adopting of a common medium in all universities"—though it admits, with an evident note of regret, that this "may not be available", and hence one "may have to be content with a more complex solution" (*Ibid* pp 91-93)

It is evident from the above and from the general tenor of the *Report* that some members of the Commission had only one objective in view how to ensure not only that Hindi becomes with the utmost rapidity the official language of the Union but also replaces English in as many spheres as possible They suffered from a strong bias against the regional languages It almost appears that they looked upon the existence of these languages as something in the nature of an evil which unfortunately had to be tolerated and to which concessions had to be made

The Commission has summarily rejected the suggestion that for students in the Hindi-speaking regions the learning of another modern Indian language should be made obligatory

Advocates of Status Quo

The notes of dissent to the majority report submitted by Dr Suniti Kumar Chatterjee and Dr Subbarayan while making some correct points, suffer from a strong bias against Hindi According to Dr Chatterjee if Hindi becomes the official language of the Union, Hindi-speaking people will have a natural and permanent advantage over non-Hindi speakers and a privileged class' of Hindi speakers will be created Dr Subbarayan also entertains the same fear He is obsessed with the menace of "Hindi imperialism" While resenting the attitude of some protagonists of Hindi towards other languages, he does not hesitate to make a contemptuous reference to Hindi as an ill-developed second-class instrument' Both Dr Chatterjee and Dr Subbarayan are opposed to making the study of Hindi as a second language compulsory, for, that, in their opinion, would again be "imposition of Hindi"

Dr. Chatterjee thinks that the "retention of English" as the official language of the Indian Union "will not be against the best interests of a free Indian people". He would like English to remain "the language of general administration" and also retain it as "medium of all-India services examinations of the supreme court, high courts and of the central legislature (as at present), so long as non-Hindi people do not voluntarily take to Hindi and so long as Hindi itself does not come up to the standard". (*Ibid.* pp. 310-311).

He believes that "in order to maintain the all-India character of our university education, as well as unimpeachably high standards which are so vital for the advance of our nation's men and women, the place occupied by English as a medium of instruction supplemented by the mother-tongue should be restored and strengthened all over the country". (*Ibid.* pp 310-311). Dr. Subbarayan thinks that the language "both in the central parliament and in the State legislatures should be English for a long time". He wants university education to be imparted in a common medium in all States. And "The medium of instruction at the university level should be English till such time as Hindi gets equipped for replacing English as the medium" As for all-India services, "English should remain, for many years, as the sole medium of examinations". (*Ibid.* pp. 328-329)

It is evident that while recognising it formally, the majority of members of the Commission have failed to take into account the basic fact that India is a multi-lingual country with developed languages spoken by millions of people in well-defined contiguous regions. They have failed to take into account the elementary principle of democracy that the language of administration, legislation, judicature in each region and at all levels has to be the language, which is commonly spoken and understood by the people. They have failed to take into account the deep love that people in each region have got for their own language, a love which has nothing narrow or parochial about it but is natural, desirable and essential for the cultural uplift of our people and for the full flowering of democracy

As regards the views of the minority of members of the Comission, we have already described some of them. It has to be noted that one of their main arguments is that Hindi being the language of some regions of India, the making of Hindi the official language of the Union would give a "natural and permanent advantage to some Indians as against the others" and a "privileged class" of Hindi speakers would be created. They have advanced a number of other arguments also, such as the undeveloped state of Hindi, the absence of knowledge of Hindi on the part of a large number of people, etc., which arguments certainly have validity and have to be taken into account when making concrete proposals. But, as is clear from their minutes of dissent, the fear of a "privileged class" of Hindi-speaking people dominating the services is what worries them most.

The inevitable logic of this position is that not merely now but *even in the remote future*, no Indian language should become the language of the Indian Union and the language of inter-State communication because no matter which language is chosen for this purpose, those who speak that language would have "a natural and permanent advantage" over others. This logic leads inevitably to the retention of English as the official language because of its virtue of being equally difficult for all Indians. Evidentially, if this policy were to be followed, the upper-class Indians of all States knowing English would continue to be, as they are today, the only "privileged class" in Indian society.

Such is the sorry result that the labour of the Commission has produced. On the one hand, the majority, ignoring the sentiments of the vast number of non-Hindi-speaking people and in defiance of democratic principles, express views which intensify fears and suspicions in many parts of the country and make recommendations, some of which are utterly unjust and untenable. They constitute a concession to those protagonists of Hindi who would like to reduce all other languages to an inferior status. On the other, the minority, while making correct criticism of some points, is obsessed by fears of "Hindi-imperialism", refuses to recognise that a foreign language like English, understood only by a microscopic minority of Indians, cannot continue indefinitely to

be the official language of the Indian Union and the language of inter-State communication.

This has happened because, as stated earlier, the basic approach of the Commission as a whole to the problem has been defective. It has not been a genuine national, patriotic and democratic approach. It has not been an approach from the point of view of the needs and interests of the masses. It has been essentially the approach of the upper-class intelligentsia. The fundamental problems have not been correctly posed.

British Policies

As everyone knows, English was the official language of India, the language of administration and also the medium of instruction even in the secondary school stage, till a few years before the end of British rule. English occupied a position of pre-eminence in the cultural and political life of the country. What has been the result of this? One may think that on this there could be no two opinions. Unfortunately that is not so. This is evident from the views expressed by Dr. S. K. Chatterjee and Dr Subbarayan. Dr. Chatterjee says:

English is our most valuable vehicle of knowledge and it is a great legacy we have received from Europe. Like the railway, the motor-car, telegraph, television and other amenities of Modern Civilisation, the English language has been a powerful means of communication which helped to bring about the political (and even cultural) unity of India, as well as her recent pre-eminence in science. As has been said, if English rule was a cloud which had placed India under a shadow, the English language was the silver-lining to this cloud. It helped to develop the latent qualities of our modern languages by our best writers in the present age being generally also well acquainted with English. I can speak particularly for Bengali and I think it is similarly true of most of our modern Indian languages (*Ibid.*, p. 291).

Developing the theme further, he says: "English has now almost become *the* common language of a world civilisation" (Italics in original).

Dr Subbarayan has expressed the same ideas and almost in identical words

English is our most valuable vehicle of knowledge and it is a great legacy we have received from Europe. Like the railway, the motor car, the telegraph and other modern amenities of civilisation, English is a powerful means of communication which helped to bring about the unity of India, as well as her recent pre eminence in science (*Ibid* p. 323)

Comment is superfluous. Surprisingly enough, while repeating like the liberals of pre-1919 days, the 'positive' features of British rule these eminent persons appear to be completely oblivious of the *totality* of the result that British rule in general and the dominant position given to English in particular brought about in the cultural and political spheres with far reaching effects on all aspects of our life. Hence first of all one has to see where our country stands culturally in the present-day world before examining that our tasks in this sphere will

Concise on the effects of the language policy pursued by the British Gandhi wrote in 1928

Such a self-demonstrated proposition that the youth of a nation can keep or establish a living contact with the masses until their knowledge is received and assimilated through a medium understood by the people. Among the many evils of foreign rule the blighton imposition of a foreign medium upon the youth of this country will be counted by history as one of the greatest. It has sapped the energy of the nation, it has shortened the lives of the pupils, it has estranged them from the masses, it has made education unnecessarily expensive. If this process is still persisted in, it bids fair to rob the nation of its soul. The sooner, therefore, educated India shakes itself free from the hypnotic spell of the foreign medium, the better it would be for them and the people (*Ibid*, p. 91)

It is worthnoting that Gandhiji concentrated his attack not on the English language but on the policy of making it the *medium* of instruction and administration

Today many may tend to dismiss the sentiments expressed by Gandhiji as being old-fashioned. Therefore, it is necessary to study the present position in some detail.

India is a country with an ancient civilisation. It has a proud heritage of culture. It made notable contribution to the world treasures of art, science and literature. Yet India today is one of the most backward countries of the world, culturally and educationally.

This is not due to any inherent defect of the Indian people. It is due to the policies pursued by the British. They kept India backward. They prevented and thwarted the growth of Indian languages by making English the medium of instruction and the language of the state.

According to the 1951 Census Report, the total number of literate people in India was only 6 crores or about 16.6 per cent of the population. In a number of States, the percentage of literacy was well below the all-India average.

But the percentage of literacy by itself cannot convey an adequate picture of the cultural state of our people. Of the 6 crores of people reported in the Census Report as literate only a small fraction had even the modicum of education. The total number of people who have passed at least the matriculation examination or its equivalent and, who therefore, possess some knowledge of English, number only 38 lakhs or 1.06 per cent of the population of the country.

Indian languages have not developed to the same extent as other modern languages of the world. Their literature remains poor in many respects. This is true of all Indian languages including those like Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, etc., which are relatively more developed. This is inevitable because for the development of any language, it is not enough that, that language is made one of the *subjects of study*. It is also essential that all subjects are *taught in that language*. Indian historians, Indian philosophers, Indian economists, Indian scientists, Indian jurists, have had to study with English as medium and write books meant for students who also have English as the medium for higher study. Inevitably, most of the books written even by Indian authors on these subjects

are in English There is very little literature in Indian languages not only on physical sciences, but even on such subjects as history, philosophy, law, politics, economics, literary criticism and humanities in general It is practically impossible for an Indian, without adequate knowledge of English, to educate himself properly in *any* subject And, as we have seen, the number of Indians with such knowledge of English is very small The language policy of the British, therefore, has had disastrous effects on the entire cultural life of our people It has thwarted their intellectual growth It has raised a wall between the upper-classes who know English and the masses who do not

Due to English also being made the official language of the government at the centre as well as in provinces, a vast majority of people were denied the right of effective participation in legislative and administrative work

English was not merely the medium of instruction and the language of Central and State legislatures It was also the only common language taught in all parts of the country The vast majority of people speaking different languages had no common medium in which to communicate with each other

This prevented rapid strengthening of the bond of national unity and also hampered the growth of the democratic movement Today the work of most all-India organisations, including the organisations of the working class and peasants, has to be conducted in English Inevitably, only well-educated members of the middle and upper-middle-classes can participate in the deliberations of these organisations at all-India level They alone in practice, can function as members of the all-India executives of these organisations Even delegates not knowing English find it hard to participate effectively in the deliberations of all-India conferences Everyone who has any experience of the mass movement knows what difficulties this creates

The effect of the educational and language policies pursued by the British and especially the dominant position of English in all spheres has, therefore, meant

Illiteracy on the part of the overwhelming majority of the Indian people.

- Extremely low level of culture even among the bulk of the literates,
- Inadequate development of every Indian language which makes it virtually impossible for an Indian to educate himself in any subject without sufficient knowledge of English,
- Denial of the right of effective participation in the affairs of the state and in leading positions of all-India organisations to the common people and the monopolisation of this right and these positions by upper-class intellectuals,
- The weakening of national unity and difficulties in the way of development of the democratic movement

Such are the evil legacies of British rule which we have got to liquidate. Today when people speak of the menace represented by this language or that language they tend to forget that the actual domination which has prevailed in our country not merely in the political but also in the cultural sphere is English domination. They tend to forget that in the cultural sphere this domination still persists. They tend to forget that this domination constitutes the biggest obstacle in the path of India's cultural advance in the path of development of every Indian language and that therefore its removal is the paramount task.

Broadly speaking the tasks facing us in the cultural sphere are

- Liquidation of illiteracy
- Expansion of higher education among the people on the basis of the language spoken by them
- Rapid development of Indian languages and the creation of adequate literature in them.
- Conducting of administrative legislative and judicial work in every State in the language spoken and understood by the people.
- The formation of linguistic States to facilitate all these.
- The imparting of a minimum amount of knowledge of one Indian language to people in all parts of the country so that, that language can become, as rapidly as possible, the official language of the Union as well as the means of communication between people of different regions. Being the language

which is spoken and understood by a larger number of people than any other language of India, Hindi can be such a language.

These tasks are inseparably interlinked. They are a part of the general task of national reconstruction—strengthening of national unity and the development of democracy.

We do not entertain any hatred towards English as a language. On the contrary we respect it as one of the most developed languages of the world. English has a rich treasury of knowledge in every subject which Indian languages still lack. We want that people should learn English and that it should have an important place in the curriculum of our educational institutions. Also other modern European languages should be taught. But evidently English cannot indefinitely continue to be the official language—the language of inter-State communication or the medium of instruction even in the higher stages of study. This today should be evident to everyone.

Gandhiji's Views

Which language it is often asked will take the place of English?

Of great importance in this respect are the views of Gandhiji. He held that the position accorded to English as the official language of the government and as medium of instruction has caused havoc and has thwarted the intellectual and cultural development of our people. He wanted that position to go. At the same time he made it clear in all his pronouncements on the language question that no other single language could take the place of English in all spheres. That place had to be taken jointly by Hindi or Hindustani and other languages of India. Hindi should be the *Rashtra Bhasha* (official language) as well as the *Antar Bhasha*, i.e., medium of inter-State and all-India communication. As such it was necessary that all Indians learnt it. But simultaneously according to Gandhiji, the mother-tongue of the child—the language in which the people speak—*Swabhava* must be made the medium of instruction in all stages of education.

and also the language of legislative, administration and judicial work in all provinces. (*Ibid.* pp. 368, 369, 381, 382).

Gandhiji also linked this issue with the issue of linguistic provinces. In his prayer meeting at Delhi on 25 January 1948 he said:

The redistribution of provinces on a linguistic basis is necessary if provincial languages are to grow to their full height. Hindustani is to be the *lingua franca* (*Rashtra Bhasha*) of India but it cannot take the place of provincial languages. It cannot be the medium of instruction in the provinces—much less English. Its function was to make them realise their organic unity with India.

Gandhiji as is well-known favoured the adoption of both Devanagari and Persian script for writing in Hindi-Hindustani. He took special care to define what Hindi should be and what purpose it should serve. "Hindi is that language", he said, "which is spoken in the north by both Hindus and Muslims and which is written either in Nagari or the Persian script. This Hindi is neither too Sanskritised nor Persianised. The sweetness which I find in the village Hindi is found neither in the speech of Muslims of Lucknow nor in that of the Hindi Pandits of Prayag. The language which is easily understood by the masses is the best . It is not necessary for Hindus to reject Persian words or for Muslims to reject Sanskrit words from their speech". (*Ibid.* p. 380). The present trend of Hindi towards Sanskritisation and the deliberate eschewing of even those Persian words which have come into normal usage did not find favour with Gandhiji at any time.

The principles formulated by Gandhiji about the language question were not born out of mere sentiment or out of a diplomatic desire to please everybody by making concessions to all. They were the result of a concrete assessment of the cultural state of our people brought about by many years of British rule. They were the result of painstaking study of the situation in India and consciousness of the necessity to bring about the full development of the Indian people and strengthen their unity.

One need not agree with everything that Gandhiji said and wrote on the language question. Some of his views were one-

sided and only partially correct. Some of the solutions offered by him were oversimplified. Many complex problems especially those arising out of the difficulties of the "transitional period" were not even touched by him. But few can deny that the approach adopted by him and the principles formulated by him were basically sound. As such, what was needed was the continuation of that approach and the adherence to these principles while elaborating them further, applying them concretely and modifying them where needed. Unfortunately this is precisely what the Government of India as well as the Official Language Commission has failed to do.

Declaration of Communist and Workers' Parties of Socialist Countries*

Moscow, 14-16 November 1957

Representatives of the Albanian Party of Labour, the Bulgarian Communist Party, the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, the Vietnamese Working People's Party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the Communist Party of China, the Korean Party of Labour, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, the Polish United Workers' Party, the Rumanian Workers' Party, the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia discussed their relations, current problems of the international situation and the struggle for peace and socialism.

The exchange of opinions revealed identity of views of the parties on all the questions examined at the meeting and unanimity in their assessment of the international situation. In the course of the discussion the meeting also touched upon general problems of the international communist movement. In drafting the Declaration the participants in the meeting consulted with representatives of the fraternal parties in the capitalist countries. The fraternal parties not present at this meeting will assess and themselves decide what action they should take on the considerations expressed in the Declaration.

I

The main content of our epoch is the transition from capitalism to socialism which was begun by the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Today more than one-third of the population of the world-- over 950,000,000 people -- have taken the road of

*This Document is known as "12 Communist and Workers' Parties Declaration"

socialism and are building a new life. The tremendous growth of the forces of socialism has stimulated the rapid extension of the anti-imperialist national movement in the post-war period. During the last twelve years, besides the Chinese People's Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam and the Korean Democratic People's Republic over 700 000,000 people have shaken off the colonial yoke and established national independent states.

The peoples of the colonial and dependent countries, still languishing in slavery are intensifying the struggle for national liberation. The progress of socialism and of the national liberation movement have greatly accelerated the disintegration of imperialism. With regard to the greater part of mankind imperialism has lost its one time domination. In the imperialist countries society is rent by deep going class contradictions and by antagonisms between those countries while the working class is putting up increasing resistance to the policy of imperialism and the monopolies fighting for better conditions democratic rights for peace and socialism.

In our epoch world development is determined by the course and results of the competition between two diametrically opposed social systems. In the past forty years socialism has demonstrated that it is a much higher social system than capitalism. It has insured development of the productive forces at a rate unprecedented and impossible for capitalism and the raising of the material and cultural levels of the working people.

The Soviet Union's strides in economics science and technology and the results achieved by the other socialist countries in socialist construction are conclusive evidence of the great vitality of socialism. In the socialist states the broad masses of the working people enjoy genuine freedom and democratic rights. People's power insures political unity of the masses equality and friendship among the nations and a foreign policy aimed at preserving universal peace and rendering assistance to the oppressed nations in their emancipation struggle. The world socialist system, which is growing and becoming stronger, is exerting ever greater influence upon the international situation in the interests of peace and progress and the freedom of the peoples.

While socialism is on the upgrade, imperialism is heading towards decline. The positions of imperialism have been greatly weakened as a result of the disintegration of the colonial system. The countries that have shaken off the yoke of colonialism are defending their independence and fighting for economic sovereignty, for international peace.

The existence of the socialist system and the aid rendered by the socialist nations to these countries on principles of equality and cooperation between them and the socialist nations in the struggle for peace and against aggression help them to uphold their national freedom and facilitate their social progress.

In the imperialist countries the contradictions between the productive forces and production relations have become acute. In many respects modern science and engineering are not being used in the interests of social progress for all mankind, because capitalism fetters and deforms the development of the productive forces of society.

The world capitalist economy remains shaky and unstable. The relatively good economic activity still observed in a number of capitalist countries is due in large measure to the arms drive and other transient factors. However, the capitalist economy is bound to encounter deeper slumps and crises. The temporary high business activity helps to keep up the reformist illusions among part of the workers in the capitalist countries.

In the post-war period some sections of the working class in the more advanced capitalist countries, fighting against increased exploitation and for a higher standard of living, have been able to win certain wage increases, though in a number of these countries real wages are below the pre-war level. However, in the greater part of the capitalist world, particularly in the colonial and dependent countries, millions of working people still live in poverty. The broad invasion of agriculture by the monopolies and the price policy dictated by them, the system of bank credits and loans and the increased taxation caused by the arms drive have resulted in the steady ruin and impoverishment of the main mass of the peasantry.

There is a sharpening of contradiction, not only between the bourgeoisie and the working class but also between the monopoly bourgeoisie and all sections of the people, between the United States monopoly bourgeoisie on the one hand and the peoples, and even the bourgeoisie of the other capitalist countries on the other.

The working people of the capitalist countries live in such conditions that, increasingly, they realise that the only way out of their grave situation lies through socialism. Thus, increasingly favourable conditions are being created for bringing them into the active struggle for socialism.

The aggressive imperialist circles of the United States, by pursuing the so-called "positions of strength" policy, seek to bring most countries of the world under their sway and to hamper the onward march of mankind in accordance with the laws of social development. On the pretext of "combating communism", they are angling to bring more and more countries under their dominion, instigating destruction of democratic freedoms, threatening the national independence of the developed capitalist countries, trying to enmesh the liberated peoples in new forms of colonialism and systematically conducting subversive activities against the socialist countries.

The policy of certain aggressive groups in the United States is aimed at rallying around them all the reactionary forces of the capitalist world. Acting in this way they are becoming the centre of world reaction, the sworn enemies of the people. By this policy these anti-popular, aggressive imperialist forces are courting their own ruin, creating their own grave-diggers.

So long as imperialism exists there will always be soil for aggressive wars. Throughout the post-war years the American, British, French and other imperialists and their hirelings have conducted and are conducting wars in Indo-China, Indonesia, Korea, Malaya, Kenya, Guatemala, Egypt, Algeria, Oman and Yemen.

At the same time the aggressive imperialist forces flatly refuse to cut armaments, to prohibit the use and production of atomic and hydrogen weapons, to agree on immediate discontinuation of the tests of these weapons; they are continuing the "cold war" and arms

drive, building more military bases and conducting the aggressive policy of undermining peace and creating the danger of a new war. Were a world war to break out before agreement on prohibition of nuclear weapons is reached, it would inevitably become a nuclear war unprecedented in destructive force.

In West Germany militarism is being revived with United States help, giving rise to a hotbed of war in the heart of Europe. The struggle against West German militarism and revanchism, which are now threatening peace, is a vital task facing the peace-loving forces of the German people and all the nations of Europe. An especially big role in this struggle belongs to the German Democratic Republic—the first worker-peasant state in German history—with which the participants in the meeting express their solidarity and which they fully support.

Simultaneously the imperialists are trying to impose on the freedom-loving peoples of the Middle East the notorious "Eisenhower-Dulles Doctrine", thereby creating the danger of war in this area. They are plotting conspiracies and provocations against Independent Syria. The provocations against Syria and Egypt and other Arab countries pursue the aim of dividing and isolating the Arab countries in order to abolish their freedom and independence.

The SEATO aggressive bloc is a source of war danger in East Asia.

The question of war or peaceful coexistence is now the crucial question of world policy. All the nations must display the utmost vigilance in regard to the war danger created by imperialism.

At present the forces of peace have so grown that there is a real possibility of averting wars, as was demonstrated by the collapse of the imperialist designs in Egypt. The imperialist plans to use the counter-revolutionary forces for the overthrow of the people's democratic system in Hungary have failed as well.

The cause of peace is upheld by the powerful forces of our era: the invincible camp of socialist countries headed by the Soviet Union; the peace-loving countries of Asia and Africa taking an anti-imperialist stand and forming, together with the socialist countries, a broad peace zone; the international working class and above all its vanguard, the communist parties; the liberation

movement of the peoples of the colonies and semi-colonies, the mass peace movement of the peoples, the peoples of the European countries who have proclaimed neutrality, the peoples of Latin America and the masses in the imperialist countries are putting up increasing resistance to the plans for a new war

An alliance of these mighty forces could prevent war, but should the bellicose imperialist maniacs venture, regardless of anything, to unleash a war, imperialism will doom itself to destruction, for the peoples will not tolerate a system that brings them so much suffering and exacts so many sacrifices

The communist and workers' parties taking part in the meeting declare that the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence of the two systems which has been further developed and brought up to date in the decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the Soviet Communist Party is the sound basis of the foreign policy of the socialist countries and the dependable pillar of peace and friendship among the peoples. The idea of peaceful coexistence coincides with the five principles advanced jointly by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India and with the programme adopted by the Bandung Conference of African Asian countries. Peace and peaceful coexistence have now become the demands of the broad masses in all countries.

The communist parties regard the struggle for peace as their foremost task. They will do all in their power to prevent war.

II

The meeting considers that in the present situation the strengthening of the unity and fraternal cooperation of the socialist countries, the communist and workers' parties and the solidarity of the international working class national liberation and democratic movements acquire special significance.

In the bedrock of the relations between the countries of the world socialist system and all the communist and workers' parties lie the principles of Marxism-Leninism, the principles of proletarian internationalism which have been tested by life. Today the vital interests of the working people of all countries call for their support.

of the Soviet Union and all the socialist countries who, pursuing a policy of preserving peace throughout the world, are the mainstay of peace and social progress. The working class, the democratic forces and the working people everywhere are interested in tirelessly strengthening fraternal contacts for the sake of the common cause, in safeguarding from enemy encroachments the historic political and social gains effected in the Soviet Union - the first and mightiest socialist power - in the Chinese People's Republic and in all the socialist countries, in seeing these gains extended and consolidated.

The socialist countries base their relations on principles of complete equality, respect for territorial integrity, state independence and sovereignty and non-interference in one another's affairs. These are vital principles. However, they do not exhaust the essence of relations between them. Fraternal mutual aid is part and parcel of these relations. This aid is a striking expression of socialist internationalism.

On a basis of complete equality, mutual benefit and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states have established between themselves extensive economic and cultural cooperation that plays an important part in promoting the economic and political independence of each socialist country and the socialist commonwealth as a whole. The socialist states will continue to extend and improve economic and cultural cooperation among themselves.

The socialist states also advocate all-round expansion of economic and cultural relations with all other countries, provided they desire it, on a basis of equality, mutual benefit and non-interference in each other's internal affairs.

The solidarity of the socialist countries is not directed against any other country. On the contrary, it serves the interests of all the peace-loving peoples, restrains the aggressive strivings of the bellicose imperialist circles and supports and encourages the growing forces of peace. The socialist countries are against the division of the world into military blocs. But in view of the situation that has taken shape, with the western powers refusing to accept the proposals of the socialist countries for mutual abolition of military

blocs, the Warsaw Pact Organisation, which is of a defensive nature, serves the security of the peoples of Europe and supports peace throughout the world, must be preserved and strengthened

The socialist countries are united in a single community by the fact that they are taking the common socialist road, by the common class essence of the social and economic system and state authority, by the requirements of mutual aid and support, identity of interests and aims in the struggle against imperialism, for the victory of socialism and communism and by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism which is common to all

The solidarity and close unity of the socialist countries constitute a reliable guarantee of the sovereignty and independence of each. Stronger fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries call for a Marxist-Leninist internationalist policy on the part of the communist and workers' parties for educating all the working people in the spirit of combining internationalism with patriotism and for a determined effort to overcome the survivals of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism. All issues pertaining to relations between the socialist countries can be fully settled through comradely discussion, with strict observance of the principles of socialist internationalism.

III

The victory of socialism in the USSR and progress in socialist construction in the people's democracies find deep sympathy among the working class and the working people of all countries. The ideas of socialism are winning additional millions of people. In these conditions the imperialist bourgeoisie attaches increasing importance to the ideological moulding of the masses. It misrepresents socialism and smears Marxism-Leninism, misleads and confuses the masses. It is a prime task to intensify Marxist-Leninist education of the masses, combat bourgeois ideology, expose the lies and slanderous fabrications of imperialist propaganda against socialism and the communist movement and widely propagate in simple and convincing fashion the ideas of socialism, peace and friendship among nations.

The meeting confirmed the identity of views of the communist and workers' parties on the cardinal problems of the socialist revolution and socialist construction. The experience of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries has fully borne out the correctness of the Marxist-Leninist proposition that the processes of the socialist revolution and the building of socialism are governed by a number of basic laws applicable in all countries embarking on a socialist course. These laws manifest themselves everywhere, alongside a great variety of historic national peculiarities and traditions which must by all means be taken into account.

These laws are: guidance of the working masses by the working class, the core of which is the Marxist-Leninist party, in effecting a proletarian revolution in one form or another and establishing one form or other of the dictatorship of the proletariat; the alliance of the working class and the bulk of the peasantry and other sections of the working people; the abolition of capitalist ownership and the establishment of public ownership of the basic means of production, gradual socialist reconstruction of agriculture; planned development of the national economy aimed at building socialism and communism, at raising the standard of living of the working people; the carrying out of the socialist revolution in the sphere of ideology and culture and the creation of a numerous intelligentsia devoted to the working class, the working people and the cause of socialism; the abolition of national oppression and the establishment of equality and fraternal friendship between the peoples; defence of the achievements of socialism against attacks by external and internal enemies; solidarity of the working class of the country in question with the working class of other countries, that is, proletarian internationalism.

Marxism-Leninism calls for a creative application of the general principles of the socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the concrete conditions of each country, and rejects mechanical imitation of the policies and tactics of the communist parties of other countries.

Lenin repeatedly called attention to the necessity of correctly applying the basic principles of communism, in keeping with the specific features of the nation, of the national state concerned.

Disregard of national peculiarities by the proletarian party inevitably leads to its divorce from reality, from the masses, and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism and, conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities or departure, under the pretext of national peculiarities, from the universal Marxist-Leninist truth on the socialist revolution and socialist construction, is just as harmful to the socialist cause.

The participants in the meeting consider that both these tendencies should be combated simultaneously. The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries should firmly adhere to the principle of combining the above universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the specific revolutionary practice in their countries, creatively apply the general laws governing the socialist revolution and socialist construction in accordance with the concrete conditions of their countries, learn from each other and share experience. Creative application of the general laws of socialist construction tried and tested by experience and the variety of forms and methods of building socialism used in different countries represent a collective contribution to Marxist-Leninist theory.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism derives from dialectical materialism. This world outlook reflects the universal law of development of nature, society and human thinking. It is valid for the past, the present and the future. Dialectical materialism is countered by metaphysics and idealism. Should the Marxist political party in its examination of questions base itself not on dialectics and materialism, the result will be one-sidedness and subjectivism, stagnation of thought, isolation from life and loss of ability to make the necessary analysis of things and phenomena, revisionist and dogmatist mistakes and mistakes in policy. Application of dialectical materialism in practical work and the education of the party functionaries and the broad masses in the spirit of Marxism-Leninism are urgent tasks of the communist and workers' parties.

Of vital importance in the present stage is intensified struggle against opportunist trends in the working class and communist movement. The meeting underlines the necessity of resolutely overcoming revisionism and dogmatism in the ranks of the communist and workers' parties. Revisionism and dogmatism in

the working class and communist movement are today, as they have been in the past, international phenomena. Dogmatism and sectarianism hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in the changing conditions, replace the study of the concrete situation with merely quoting classics and sticking to books and lead to the isolation of the party from the masses. A party that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism and that has lost contact with the masses cannot bring victory to the cause of the working class.

In condemning dogmatism, the communist parties believe that the main danger at present is revisionism or, in other words, right wing opportunism, which as a manifestation of bourgeois ideology paralyses the revolutionary energy of the working class and demands the preservation or restoration of capitalism. However, dogmatism and sectarianism can also be the main danger at different phases of development in one party or another. It is for each communist party to decide what danger threatens it more at a given time.

It should be pointed out that the conquest of power by the proletariat is only the beginning of the revolution, not its conclusion. After the conquest of power, the working class is faced with the serious tasks of effecting the socialist reconstruction of the national economy and laying the economic and technical foundation of socialism. At the same time the overthrown bourgeoisie always endeavours to make a come-back, the influence exerted on society by the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and their intelligentsia is still great. That is why a fairly long time is needed to resolve the issue of who will win—capitalism or socialism. The existence of bourgeois influence is an internal source of revisionism, while surrender to imperialist pressure is its external source.

Modern revisionism seeks to smear the great teachings of Marxism-Leninism, declares that it is “outmoded” and alleges that it has lost its significance for social progress. The revisionists try to exercise the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period

of transition from capitalism to socialism, deny the leading role of the Marxist-Leninist party, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and call for rejection of the Leninist principles of party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the communist party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society

The experience of the international communist movement shows that resolute defence by the communist and workers' parties of the Marxist-Leninist unity of their ranks and the banning of factions and groups sapping unity guarantee the successful solution of the tasks of the socialist revolution, the establishment of socialism and communism

IV

The communist and workers' parties are faced with great historic tasks. The carrying out of these tasks necessitates closer unity not only of the communist and workers' parties but of the entire working class, necessitates cementing the alliance of the working class and peasantry, rallying the working people and progressive mankind, the freedom and peace loving forces of the world.

The defence of peace is the most important worldwide task of the day. The communist and workers' parties in all countries stand for joint action on the broadest possible scale with all forces favouring peace and opposed to war. The participants in the meeting declare that they support the efforts of all states, parties, organisations, movements and individuals who champion peace and oppose war, who want peaceful coexistence, collective security in Europe and Asia, reduction of armaments and prohibition of the use of tests of nuclear weapons.

The communist and workers' parties are loyal defenders of the national and democratic interests of the peoples of all countries. The working class and the peoples of many countries are still confronted with the historic tasks of struggle for national independence against colonial aggression and feudal oppression. What is needed here is a united anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front of the workers, peasants, urban petty-bourgeoisie, national

bourgeoisie and other patriotic democratic forces. Numerous facts show that the greater and stronger the unity of the various patriotic and democratic forces, the greater the guarantee of victory in the common struggle.

At present the struggle of the working class and the masses of the people against the war danger and for their vital interests is spearheaded against the big monopoly group of capital as those chiefly responsible for the arms race, as those who organise or inspire plans for preparing a new world war and who are the bulwark of aggression and reaction. The interests and the policy of this handful of monopolies conflict increasingly not only with the interests of the working class, but the other sections of capitalist society : the peasants, intellectuals, petty and middle urban bourgeoisie.

In those capitalist countries where the American monopolies are out to establish their hegemony and in the countries already suffering from the US policy of economic and military expansion, the objective conditions are being created for uniting under the leadership of the working class and its revolutionary parties, broad sections of the population to fight for peace, the defence of national independence and democratic freedoms, to raise the standard of living, to carry through radical land reforms and to overthrow the rule of the monopolies who betray the national interests.

The profound historic changes and decisive switch in the balance of forces in the international sphere in favour of socialism and the tremendous growth of the power of attraction exerted by socialist ideas among the working class, working peasantry and working intelligentsia create more favourable conditions for the victory of socialism.

The forms of the transition to socialism may vary for different countries. The working class and its vanguard— the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole as well as with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class headed by its vanguard has the opportunity, given a united working

class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political cooperation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, to win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. It has this opportunity while relying on the majority of the people and decisively rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords. The working class, then, can defeat the reactionary anti-popular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch a non-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution.

All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the ruling classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful¹ transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The possibility of one or another way to socialism depends on the concrete conditions in each country.

In the struggle for better conditions for the working people, for preservation and extension of democratic rights, winning and maintaining national independence and peace among nations, and also in the struggle for winning power and building socialism, the communist parties seek cooperation with the socialist parties. Although the right-wing socialist party leaders are doing their best to hamper this cooperation, there are increasing opportunities for

cooperation between the communists and socialists on many issues. The ideological differences between the communist and the socialist parties should not keep them from establishing unity of action on the many pressing issues that confront the working class movement.

In the socialist countries where the working class is in power, the communist and workers' parties which have the opportunity to establish close relations with the broad masses of the people should constantly rely on them and make the building and defence of socialism the cause of millions who fully realise that they are masters of their country. Of great importance for enhancing the activity and creative initiative of the broad masses and their solidarity, for consolidating the socialist system and stepping up socialist construction are the measures taken in recent years by the socialist countries to expand socialist democracy and encourage criticism and self-criticism.

To bring about real solidarity of the working class, of all working people and the whole of progressive mankind, of the freedom loving and peace-loving forces of the world, it is necessary, above all, to promote the unity of the communist and workers' parties, to foster solidarity between the communist and workers' parties of all countries. This solidarity is the core of still greater solidarity, it is the main guarantee of the victory of the cause of the working class.

The communist and workers' parties have a particularly important responsibility with regard to the destinies of the world socialist system and the international communist movement. The communist and workers' parties represented at the meeting declare that they will tirelessly promote their unity and comradely cooperation with a view to further consolidating the commonwealth of socialist states and in the interests of the international working class movement, of peace and socialism.

The meeting notes with satisfaction that the international communist movement has grown, withstood numerous serious trials and won a number of major victories. By their deeds the communists have demonstrated to the working people on a world-wide scale the vitality of the Marxist-Leninist theory and their ability not only to propagate the great ideals of socialism, but also to realise them in exceedingly strenuous conditions.

Like any progressive movement in human society, the communist movement is bound to encounter difficulties and obstacles. However, as in the past, no difficulties or obstacles can change now, nor will they be able to change in the future, the objective laws governing historical progress or affect the determination of the working class to transform the old world and create a new one. Ever since they began their struggle, the communists have been baited and persecuted by the reactionary forces, but the communist movement heroically repels all attacks, emerging from the trials stronger and more steeled. Communists, by further consolidating their unity counter-attempts by the reactionary imperialist forces to prevent human society from marching towards a new era.

Contrary to the absurd assertions of imperialism about a so-called crisis of communism, the communist movement is growing and gathering strength. The heroic decisions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of communism in the USSR, they have also opened a new stage in the world communist movement and pushed ahead its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines. The results of the congresses of the communist parties of China, France, Italy and other countries in recent times have clearly demonstrated the unity and solidarity of the party ranks and their loyalty to the principles of proletarian internationalism. This meeting of the representatives of communist and workers' parties testifies to the international solidarity of the communist movement.

After exchanging views, the participants in the meeting arrived at the conclusion that in present conditions it is expedient, besides bilateral meetings of leading personnel and exchange of information to hold, as the need arises, more representative conferences of communist and workers' parties to discuss current problems, share experience, study each other's views and attitudes and concert action in the joint struggle for the common goals—peace, democracy and socialism.

The participants in the meeting unanimously express their firm confidence that, by rallying the working class and the peoples of all countries, the communist and workers' parties will surmount all obstacles in their onward movement and accelerate further big victories for the cause of peace, democracy and socialism.

Documents of Historic Importance*

Editorial of NEW AGE, Monthly, January 1958

The fortieth anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution was an event of profound significance for the Soviet people, for the countries of the socialist world at whose head stands the USSR, for the international Communist movement and for the whole of progressive mankind.

The events of the forty years since November 1917 have witnessed the progressive decline of capitalism and the growing power and strength of socialism. They have witnessed the gravest economic crisis in the history of capitalism and a continuous growth of socialist economy at a pace unprecedented in history. They have witnessed the defeat of fascism and of its sinister bid at world domination by a coalition whose most outstanding leader was the USSR. They have witnessed the great revolution of the Chinese people which altered the balance of forces on a world scale. They have witnessed the victory of the toiling people led by the working class in States inhabited by 950 million people. They have witnessed the break up of the colonial order and the attainment of national freedom by many countries in Asia and Africa.

The big fact that emerges from these events and from the basic trend in world politics is that the main content of the epoch, we are living in, is the transition from capitalism to socialism.

In these developments which have changed the very face of the world, the central and decisive role has been played by the October Revolution, by the ideas it propagated and by the USSR.

This is actually a review of the Declaration of 12 Communist and Workers Parties of Socialist Countries issued from Moscow 14-16 November 1957 covered under item N 12 of this volume

No country, it is admitted by all, has so decisively influenced the course of history in the last forty years as the USSR. It is natural, therefore, that the Soviet Union is the leader of the socialist camp. It is natural and inevitable that the experience of the Soviet Union is of utmost importance for all those countries which have taken to the path of socialism as well as those that are striving for it.

Tracing the path that the Soviet people have traversed in these forty years, Comrade N. S. Khrushchev in his report to the jubilee session of the Supreme Soviet of the USSR said on 6 November:

Comrades, the progress made by the Soviet people has exploded the myth spread by our enemies to the effect that the Bolshevik Revolution would mean the destruction of civilisation or perhaps its complete ruin. The experience of our state, now forty years old, has shown beyond all doubt that a people that has taken power into its own hands is the thriftiest master and a tireless producer of more and more material and spiritual values. It has shown that only under socialism does there begin a rapid, genuinely mass forward movement in all spheres of social and private life, steady progress in material production and an unprecedented advance of science and culture involving the entire population.

That these were not empty words no longer needs an elaborate explanation. And if there were any, who even after all the evidence that has been advanced tended to doubt whether socialism could really beat capitalism, whether the slogan given by Soviet leaders of outstripping the USA was really feasible have been silenced by the launching of the two Sputniks—a concrete and visible demonstration of the height to which man's creative endeavour can rise when freed from the shackles imposed by capitalism. The Sputnik not only heralded the conquest of space by man, but also the inevitable triumph of socialism over capitalism all over the world.

For the first time, the capitalist world has been forced to admit that in important spheres of science and technology, the socialist world has already surpassed it. For the first time, the leaders of the most advanced capitalist state in the world—the USA—have

raised the slogan of catching up with the Soviet Union In this momentous event, the basic question of our epoch, the question as to who will beat whom has already been answered

That answer is so emphatic and so decisive that the most aggressive circles of imperialists see there only salvation in war war to reimpose colonial slavery on the peoples who have won freedom, war to destroy the power of the working people who are building socialism, war to win mastery of the world and reverse the wheel of history But here again, they find their path barred They find ranged against themselves the mighty camp of peace They find ranged against themselves the resurgent peoples of the east, the militant working class and peace-loving people of capitalist countries, who number hundreds of millions Above all they find ranged against themselves powerful socialist States strong enough not only to defend themselves but also come to the help of the victims of aggression and aggressive designs Those among the imperialists who forgot the lesson of what happened in Egypt only a year ago, were sternly reminded of the change in the world situation when they planned adventures in Syria They had to beat a retreat

No wonder therefore, that the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution took place in an atmosphere of pride and confidence— pride about the achievements of the past confidence about still greater achievements in future And this pride and this confidence permeated not only the Soviet people and the peoples of the socialist world, but also all Communists all genuine socialists all lovers of peace, freedom and progress

The celebrations of the fortieth anniversary of the October Revolution were also marked by a striking demonstration of the strength and solidarity of the international Communist movement the most powerful world revolutionary movement of our epoch

Already, before the Second World War Communism had become a mighty force with the working class in power in the USSR, with a membership of over three millions in all Communist parties which led battles of the toiling peoples in many lands But the expansion that has taken place since then is unprecedented in its sweep

Today the banner unfurled by the October Revolution flies triumphantly in 13 countries. The membership of the Communist parties has risen to 33 millions. In several capitalist countries, the Communist parties have become the leading parties. Everywhere they stand in the forefront of the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

Present at the fortieth anniversary celebrations were the leaders and representatives of sixty-four Communist parties. They used this opportunity to discuss the common problems facing them. The meeting of the Communist parties of 12 countries where the working people are in power unanimously adopted a declaration. The meeting of the 64 Communist parties unanimously adopted a manifesto on peace after thorough discussion on the current international situation.

These meetings and their decisions reveal the unity and solidarity of the world Communist movement, held in an atmosphere of cordiality, complete understanding and mutual respect, they showed how baseless is the assertion of the bourgeoisie that the world Communist movement has been disrupted and is in a crisis.

The imperialists and their agents have been at pains to make out that a great conspiracy was hatched in Moscow, under the cover of the October celebrations. The conspiracy they have in mind but about which they do not openly speak is the decision for a concerted action against the organisers of a new world war. The imperialists speak as though only the heads of the imperialist governments and their satellites who constitute the aggressive bloc, and only the bourgeois and social-democratic leaders have the right to gather together and as though that right, if it is exercised by Communists, constitutes a menace to mankind.

No honest person, however, can be deceived by this propaganda. Everyone knows that ever since its inception, the world Communist movement has always been marked by the consciousness and spirit of proletarian internationalism. Adhering to the common ideology of Marxism-Leninism, working for the common goal of socialism and Communism, united in the common struggle for the conquest of power by the working

people, battling for freedom for each country and for friendship among peoples, for democracy and in defence of the interest of the masses, Communists have always striven for solidarity amongst themselves. As early as 1848, the founders of scientific socialism—Marx and Engels—in their historic *Communist Manifesto* stated: "In the national struggles of the proletariat of different countries, Communists point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality."

The conference of 64 Communist parties that met to discuss the current international situation was the most representative conference of Communist parties ever held. It decided for concerted action in defence of peace which, as pointed out in the declaration, is the most important world-wide task today. The manifesto adopted at the conference of 64 Communist parties is an inspiring document which will play a momentous role in further strengthening the world-wide struggle for this common task. The manifesto is not merely a proclamation of faith in peace. It is permeated with confidence born out of experience that peace can be preserved. It puts forward a concrete programme of action which can unite all lovers of peace, irrespective of their political affiliations and the countries where they live. It is the sacred task of every Communist Party to ensure that the broadest mobilisation is brought about on the basis of this proclamation.

The declaration of the 12 Communist parties has already been hailed by Communists of many countries as a creative development of Marxism-Leninism which sums up the collective experience of the world Communist movement. It throws light on issues on which confusion has existed. It shows the path forward and arms the working class and Communist parties with a weapon of exceptional power. Basing itself on the propositions of the Twentieth Congress of the CPSU, whose correctness has been vindicated by life, the declaration at the same time combats the opportunist interpretations, that some people try to put on them and re-emphasises the truth of the basic laws of socialist revolution—laws that apply to all countries, laws that recognise no national frontier, laws the ignoring of which would disarm the

proletariat in its struggle for the overthrow of capitalism and for the preservation and consolidation of the socialist system where the working people have already won victory Of exceptional importance for all Communist parties are the formulations in the declaration which point out the specific manner in which tendencies of revisionism and dogmatism manifest themselves today, their class roots, their internal and external sources, the conditions that have given rise to them and the urgent task of combating them

The decisive changes in the balance of forces in the international sphere and the powerful growth of the ideas of socialism among working people and progressive sections all over the world create vast possibilities and favourable conditions in many countries for the victory of socialism through peaceful methods, in ways different in several respects from those which had to be adopted in the past Every Communist party has to strive its utmost to translate these possibilities into reality At the same time it has to be remembered that precisely these factors are also utilised by elements hostile to socialism and also by people who have erroneous ideas to divert the working masses from the path of revolutionary struggle and to instil the concept that the basic teachings of Marxism Leninism have become obsolete that the transition to socialism will take place through a process of smooth revolution, free from sharp conflicts and crisis and by exclusive reliance on bourgeois democracy and parliamentary activity, Communists who allow themselves to fall victim to such concepts who do not wage a relentless struggle against them would objectively help the bourgeoisie in its efforts to paralyse the activity of the masses and weaken their movement

Right wing opportunism it is necessary to stress, does not always express itself in a crude form in open opposition to basic formulations of Marxism Leninism Right-wing opportunism manifests itself often in vague and subtle forms above all, in actual practice in relation to mass struggles, mass organisations, in relation to organisational concepts and methods, in relation to habits, outlook and methods of the bourgeoisie A concrete

struggle against right-wing opportunism can be fought, therefore, only by focusing attention on its specific manifestations in each country and each party.

The declaration simultaneously stresses that mere adherence to basic principles of Marxism-Leninism is not enough. These principles have to be concretely applied in each country, taking into account its specific features:

Disregard of national peculiarities by the proletarian party inevitably leads to its divorce from reality, from the masses and is bound to prejudice the cause of socialism, and conversely, exaggeration of the role of these peculiarities or departure under the pretext of national peculiarities from the universal Marxist-Leninist truth on the socialist revolution and socialist construction is just as harmful to the socialist cause.

In the struggle against the instigators of a new world war and the enemies of national freedom in the struggle against monopoly capitalists and the most reactionary elements in each capitalist country, in its struggle to defend the immediate interests of the people, the working class has to build the broadest united front, shedding all sectarianism and dogmatism. A party that is serious about revolution cannot afford to ignore this vital task and content itself by mouthing empty slogans and phrases which may appear extremely radical but have little relation with realities and, therefore, hamper the task of uniting the masses.

"Dogmatism and sectarianism", the declaration states, "hinder the development of Marxist-Leninist theory and its creative application in the changing conditions, replace the study of concrete situation with merely quoting classics and sticking to books, and lead to the isolation of the party from the masses. A party that has withdrawn into the shell of sectarianism and that has lost contact with the masses cannot bring victory to the cause of the working class".

The declaration stresses the importance of working for the establishment of unity of action with the socialist parties, pointing out that ideological differences on many issues should not stand in the way of such unity.

The declaration also stresses the immense importance of unity of the world Communist movement. It has to be admitted that in recent periods, the imperative necessity of this unity was not sufficiently realised by several Communist parties. It has to be admitted that in several parties, ideas of bourgeois-nationalism have grown. This has to be fought and eliminated.

Marxism-Leninism has always taught and experience of recent years has re-emphasised that the unity and solidarity of the Communist movement—inside each country and on an international scale—is a factor of paramount importance. The specific form in which that unity was achieved in the past is no longer suitable in the present historic situation. Past forms, therefore, should not be revived. All Communist parties are agreed on this point.

At the same time, there is the necessity of closer contact between Communist parties, greater exchange of experience and views, concerted action on common issues. To everyone who attended the fortieth anniversary celebrations and participated in the discussion with brother parties, the importance of such contact was brought home with great force and clarity by actual experience. The fortieth anniversary celebrations and the two conferences of the Communist parties thus consolidated the unity of the world Communist movement. This is a development of great importance and will strengthen the struggles that the working people are conducting in all countries.

Great victories have been won by the forces of peace, democracy and socialism in recent years. Still greater victories await them. The unity of the international Communist movement which was reaffirmed and consolidated in Moscow in the month of November is one of the surest guarantees of that victory.

Language Policy*

Ajoy Ghosh

In the article on the *Report of the Official Language Commission* published in the October 1957 issue of this magazine a critique was made of the underlying attitude and general approach of the authors of the *Report* as well as of the two minutes of dissent. The central committee of the Communist Party of India in its meeting in October 1957 laid down the details of the lines along which this problem has to be approached and solved. In the present article an attempt will be made to present the broad principles which form the basis of the approach of the central committee, as well as to indicate the immediate key steps which the government should take if advance is to be made by our country in this important sector of our national life.

Hindi Chauvinism

As our national movement began to gather momentum as it began to spread from the restricted upper and middle class circles among whom it had been earlier confined to the broad masses of our people, two complementary tendencies developed in the linguistic field. Firstly, there was the growing popularity of Hindi as the language symbolising the unity of India against imperialism as the language of Swadeshi and Swaraj as opposed to English, the language of our alien oppressors. It began to be increasingly felt that Indians had to have some language of their own for communication between each other, that at national

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gatherings some Indian language should be used as the common medium and not English. Naturally the choice fell upon Hindi, not in its heavily Sanskritised purist form, but as spoken by a very large section of our people and understood by an even larger section. This was a healthy trend and to begin with had no trace of chauvinism or revivalism about it. Rather it was a sign of the resurgence of the self-respect of our great but subjugated country.

Side by side with this, and in no way antagonistic to it, could be seen the second tendency of increasing attention and devotion to regional languages. Together with an emphasis on Hindi as opposed to English we had the simultaneous flowering of Bengali, Marathi, Tamil, Malayalam, Telugu, etc. As a matter of fact as the national and democratic movements really penetrated to the very thick of Indian humanity the wonderful and rich diversity of our country and its culture began to manifest itself. The demand was increasingly raised for education in one's mother tongue the vast masses flocking to meetings or to organisations began to insist that speeches be made and the administration be run in a language which they could understand. Those who talk too glibly of linguism or the fissiparous trend for unilingual States should ponder a little over the history of our national movement, should consider the problem from the angle of how to give meaning to the term democracy should understand that if the masses are really to be the masters of their own lives state affairs must be conducted in a language in which they can be most at their ease.

Unfortunately in the subsequent decades more especially after the attainment of freedom, this healthy correlation and balance between Hindi as the common medium and the fullest development of all regional languages could not be maintained. For this the major share of the guilt must be borne by chauvinist protagonists of Hindi themselves. Not only did they make unreasonable claims for Hindi but also took up a contemptuous attitude towards the other languages of India. They pressed the claims of Hindi as against the regional languages. Some of them began to speak as though the Hindi-speaking people alone were the true repositories of the glory and tradition of India's culture.

Their whole campaign for Hindi was linked up with the worst forms of communal revivalism. It is no accident that many of the most vociferous advocates for the supremacy of Hindi were—and are—also the stoutest opponents of social reforms, the stoutest champions of casteism, ban of cow slaughter, etc. It is no accident that the Jan Sangh and Jan Sangh-minded elements inside the Congress are to the fore in pressing the claims of Hindi. Naturally enough, this attitude and campaign roused misgivings and fear among peoples who spoke languages other than Hindi.

These fears were only accentuated by the wrong policy pursued by the Government of India. It has to be remembered that in India a large part of the total revenues of the country is appropriated by the central government. It is the centre essentially that has got the funds. And the policy of the central government has been one of sponsoring, financing and aiding in every possible way only the development of Hindi. The central government has not acted as the custodian of the interests of *all* Indian languages, it has not done all in its power to further the development of India as a vast multi-lingual state. It has left the development of languages other than Hindi to the state governments, who were handicapped by paucity of funds. Naturally, this has resulted in a violent reaction in the opposite direction on the part of the protagonists of the regional languages. It is precisely this wrong attitude that has stoked the fires of separatism and given a handle to those who take up an antagonistic attitude to Hindi.

Restoring the Balance

It is in the context of this situation that the problem has to be tackled. In addition, as has been pointed out in the earlier article, certain principles have to be borne in mind. The language question should not and must not be made a matter for political wranglings but should be seen as a problem within the general need of our national reconstruction and of the raising of the cultural and intellectual level of our whole people. It has to be viewed from the angle of strengthening the unity of India and of basing that unity on the equality and fraternity of all our language groups. It has to be considered from the standpoint of further

broad-basing our democratic institutions, for bringing the administration closer to the masses, of bringing about the actual participation of the masses in government.

It is within this framework that the resolution of the central committee has come to be formulated. Stress has rightly been laid on the development of the regional languages not only by the State governments but by the Union government as well. Such development can only take place if the administration in the States as well as education at all levels is carried on in the regional language. It would be quite wrong to attempt to make Hindi take the place of English as far as the States are concerned-- which, unfortunately, is what the Language Commission has attempted, though in a veiled and subtle way. The underdeveloped state of all our languages can only be removed if ever greater functions are devolved upon them. Initially certain difficulties will be experienced lack of technical terms, the habit of administering in English, lack of text-books, the special difficulties of science-teaching and so on. But these are not insurmountable by any means and have to be surmounted in any event. It is on this that the major stress must be laid. It is only on this basis that Hindi itself will gradually come to be accepted as the language of inter-State communication

Simultaneously, with this stress must go the gradual spread of Hindi as the language of the Union. The key step in this regard is to make the learning of Hindi compulsory in all States in the last four years of the higher secondary stage of education. The present chaotic policy must be given up. The *Report* states that at present Hindi is a compulsory subject of study in all Hindi States as also in Bombay, Hyderabad, Andaman and Nicobar. In Mysore and Visva-Bharati University it is taught as a non-public examination compulsory subject of study. In Orissa it is taught up to class IX only as compulsory subject of study. In the States of Madhya Pradesh, Assam and the then State of Travancore-Cochin, Hindi is a compulsory subject of study with the option for the respective regional languages. In Madras State, Hindi is a "third language," with the option for learning an additional craft or occupying oneself in any other approved activity. This chaotic picture from

the *Report of the Official Language Commission* is alarming—some minor modifications may have since been made but the general situation is unaltered.

This mess has to give place to the orderly and standard advance of the coming generation in acquiring a general grasp over some common Indian language, which obviously must be Hindi. For all-India purposes gradually and in a planned way Hindi has to replace English. Certainly the dateline of 1965 is too near, nevertheless we must prepare the coming generation for this future when an Indian language will be used by the Union government and when Indians will be able to communicate with one another in some common Indian language. But the Hindi that will be taught will have to be Hindi that is spoken and not the heavily Sanskritised version put out by the revivalists and the All-India Radio. To begin with also passing in Hindi need not be made essential for promotion to a higher class or for admission to the university, though a pass in Hindi will be necessary for candidates for central services. Without the gradual spread of Hindi, however, the present dominant position of English will be perpetuated with great harm to our national and intellectual life, for it has to be admitted that Hindi will be far easier to learn for most Indians than English, to say nothing of such a thing as national self-respect.

Side by side with this and in the same manner in the Hindi-speaking regions one or another modern Indian language must be made a subject for compulsory study during the last four years of the high school stage. Not only will this facilitate the acceptance of Hindi in the non-Hindi areas but it will also greatly aid the development of Hindi itself, which is comparatively less developed than several other Indian languages. It will strengthen the bonds of national unity and make more real the concept of India as a multi-languaged yet united state.

As a matter of fact the resolution of the Congress working committee of 4 April 1954 approached the language question broadly along similar lines — though in practice it has remained a pious wish. The working committee categorically stated that the medium of instruction as well as that of the public services

examination should be the regional languages. It went on to add

It should be the objective of the government, through the educational system and by other means to encourage and develop Hindi, both as a regional language and as the All-India National Language for official and other purposes. At the same time, the other regional languages named in the Constitution should be given full encouragement. The object aimed at should be the development of an Indian literature through all these great languages of India, which should, therefore have close contact with each other. While Hindi as the All-India National Language, should be a compulsory subject at various stages in schools and colleges, it is necessary that people in the Hindi-speaking areas should learn at least one other Indian language.

Linguistic Minorities and English

Not only have the regional languages and Hindi to be developed but all measures must be taken to safeguard the interests of linguistic minorities within each region. It is necessary to struggle against any chauvinism towards the languages of minority groups. The problem exists of Hindi-speaking persons in West Bengal, of Gujaratis in the Samyukta Maharashtra of the future of Tamil speaking people in Kerala and so on. The different State governments must guarantee the right of persons belonging to these minority languages to receive education in their mother tongue where more than 15 per cent of the population demand it while at the same time teaching them the language of the State and Hindi.

Of particular importance is the place of Urdu which is under fire these days from the Hindu communalists. It must be remembered that Urdu is still spoken and written by a large number of Indians, that it has made a substantial contribution to the development of India's literature and culture and that its decay will mean a great loss to the entire country. Provisions must be made to help the development of Urdu for making it the medium of instruction wherever necessary and for preventing any discrimination against it.

In utter disregard of the needs of national reconstruction in

some States like Bihar, UP and Saurashtra, English was made an optional subject of study in the high school stage. Again, in Uttar Pradesh, English was an optional subject of study in the schools and even intermediate stage of university education. In general, the same chaos prevails with regard to English as in the case of Hindi—again the facts cited above are to be found in the *Report*. The total abjuring of English can only be detrimental to the intellectual and scientific advancement of India. It must be admitted that for all their richness *all* our languages are in a state of arrested development—thanks to the centuries of British rule. Particularly in the fields of science and economics, there is comparatively little of any significance to be found in our languages. This is likely to continue for quite some more years. In the meantime, we shall need large number of scientists, technicians, planning experts, and economists, etc., for the rapid growth of industry and of the total national economy.

It will be futile to expect that in a very short time all the relevant text-books, reference works and technical journals can be translated into Hindi and the regional languages. This work will take a number of years, during which we cannot afford to wait. As the foreign language which is most familiar to us and as a highly developed language of the world, English will have to fill the gap. It will be necessary to ensure that English is made a compulsory subject of study during the last four years of the high school stage, but without making promotion dependent on passing in English except for those going in for higher scientific studies.

At the same time, the nature of teaching English has to be completely altered. At present, English is taught essentially as literature and as a language of communication. In future, English will have to be taught as a language of *comprehension*, as a language in which books can be read with ease and speed but not necessarily in which one can communicate orally or in written form. Of course, facilities should be provided for those students who wish to master the English language. At the university level, provision may be made for the study of other foreign languages. The replacement of English as the medium of instruction in higher education and as the language of administration by the

regional languages and Hindi does not mean a severing of all our links with that language.

Translation and Terminology

Due to the long years of colonial rule not only has inter-State communication in an Indian language become an acute problem but the more urgent question confronts us of lack of good and authoritative text books, especially for higher educational purposes. It is a sad fact that to this day a good command of English gives a very great advantage to any student. The enormous waste of young intellects simply because books do not exist in languages they know is not only appalling but criminal. The nation cannot afford to let this waste go on. On top of this quite an amount of the translation work has been left to private agencies, who have generally played havoc and made standard terminology quite impossible.

Apart from teaching English as a language of comprehension, therefore, it is necessary to undertake a vigorous and sustained programme of translations in all Indian languages under central guidance and with central aid. Standard terms have to be worked out, eschewing all "purism" and adopting all the necessary international scientific and technical words. As far as possible, the terms should be the same in all-Indian languages. Priorities have to be fixed as to which books have first to be translated and a detailed schedule worked out in the context of the needs of national reconstruction. Competent translators have to be appointed and arrangements made for checking up their work to ensure a certain standard as well as accuracy. Above all, care has to be taken to see that the translations are such as can easily be understood by students who may have grasp over only their own language.

Services and Courts

The problem of Union service posts is an acute one and likely to cause a great deal of controversy and bitterness unless properly solved. Actually one of the main reasons for a violent opposition to Hindi among the middle classes of non-Hindi areas and vice

versa is precisely this question. And it is a quite understandable apprehension which should not be sneered at.

As far as State services are concerned, the regional language should be the medium of examination and Hindi should not be compulsory. At present and during the transitional period for Union service examinations, the candidate should be allowed to answer papers in English, Hindi or in his regional language. When Hindi is made the Union language, apart from being able to answer papers in the language of his choice each candidate whose mother-tongue is not Hindi will have to answer a compulsory paper in Hindi and the candidate whose mother tongue is Hindi a compulsory paper in a modern Indian language. Those already in central government service and whose mother tongue is not Hindi will have to pass the Hindi paper referred to above.

To avoid all possible reasons for bickering during the period when Indian unity has yet to be fully consolidated a quota system should be fixed for recruitment to all-India services on the basis of the population of each State. This is by no means an ideal solution and every effort has to be made to push ahead with consolidating Indian unity so that this quota system may be abolished but for the present without this quota system animosities will only increase.

As far as judgements of High Courts go they must be delivered in the regional language as soon as possible with translations in English and Hindi to be undertaken by the central government. So long as judgements continue to be delivered in English authoritative translations must be prepared in the regional language at central expense. Judgements of the Supreme Court may be delivered in English or Hindi with translation in either case. In addition, all Supreme Court judgements should be translated into all the regional languages. All this is of great importance particularly because of the legal system which is followed in our country and the great emphasis placed on correct terms and their interpretation. This will impose a great responsibility on the translators who must be carefully chosen.

There is no doubt that our language problem is quite unique

and bristles with difficulties. These difficulties have been added to by the wrong policies pursued by the government as well as by its lack of policy in many respects. Seeing all these difficulties, voices will be raised that the whole problem be shelved to some indefinite future. These counsels will have to be rejected and these voices answered. It has to be realised that the language question is part and parcel of our total problem of national reconstruction. It is precisely because of this that correct policies on this question have to be evolved and implemented. It would be dangerous and destructive to allow the present position of drift and chaos to continue. Incalculable harm is being done to the future intelligentsia by this lack of a central attitude on language. We cannot afford to let this harm and waste go on.

On top of it there are disruptive and chauvinist forces already at work to whip up animosities and divide the peoples. They have to be countered by a correct, just and democratic policy. Above all, there is the need for the greater consolidation and growth of all the democratic forces in India for which, again, a correct language policy is necessary. It is in view of all this that the Communist Party places its language policy before the people and seeks to win their support for it.

Towards A Mass Communist Party*

Ajoy Ghosh

The slogan given by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of India after the last general elections of doubling the membership of the Party by recruiting all those who fulfil the necessary conditions has been carried out in practically all States. It is expected that by the time the special congress of the Party meets, the membership will have reached two and a half lakhs (2,50,000) or even more. This fact clearly shows that the deep-rooted sectarian ideas in the sphere of organisation which stood in the way of expansion of the Party despite its growing influence are being eliminated. This undoubtedly is a big advance and will be welcomed by all friends of the Party.

Nevertheless, it requires to be stressed, especially today, that to look upon this achievement as anything more than a mere beginning would be a serious error. The more complex, more difficult tasks connected with the building of a mass party have yet to be undertaken.

What these tasks are and how they have to be carried out will be decided at the special session of the Party congress that meets at Amritsar in April. The purpose of this article is not to anticipate those decisions but to make some general observations.

Some people might think that the slogan of a mass party arises out of the legal conditions of work and is related to the thesis about the possibility of peaceful ways to socialism. This thesis might appear to be plausible. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth. If such false ideas were to gain ground, the growing tendency would be towards the obliteration of those

features which demarcate a Communist Party from the parties of the bourgeoisie, the petty-bourgeoisie and the parties of social democracy With such concepts we might succeed in building "a mass party", but it will not be a mass party of the working class, a mass Communist Party It will be for all practical purposes a prototype of the Congress— a sort of Left Congress Such a party, no matter what radical slogans it gives and how vehemently it criticises the government, would be incapable of leading the masses in the battle for power and for fundamental social transformation It would be incapable even to defend itself and the people in face of an offensive from the reactionary forces

It is necessary to remember in this connection that the task of transforming the Party of cadres into a real mass workers' party was stressed by the Bolsheviks as early as 1912 at a time when the preliminary task of forging cadres had been successfully carried out but conditions of severe illegality prevailed in Russia It is also necessary to remember that in every country and at all stages of development the Communists have considered a mass party an essential condition for revolution

Mass Party—Not a New Slogan

The slogan of a mass party therefore is not a new slogan Nor does it arise from the existence of legal conditions or possibilities of peaceful transition to socialism Undoubtedly, legal conditions facilitate the building up of a mass Communist Party, undoubtedly new possibilities which have opened out in a number of countries help the strengthening and broadening of the mass movement for socialism But the necessity of a mass Communist Party does not arise from these factors It arises from the basic fact that only a mass Communist Party can lead the struggle of the masses for people's democracy and socialism Also only a mass Communist Party can lead the people in the task of socialist construction after victory

In all cases and under all conditions, the Communist Party is a party built on the solid theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism It is a party of strict centralism based on democracy It is a party which voluntarily observes iron discipline It is a party

which wields the weapon of criticism and self-criticism with a view to constantly improve its work and strengthen its links with the masses, with a view to learn from the masses in order to be able to lead them. It is a party which does not allow the formation of groups and factions inside its ranks. It is a party that demands that each party member should not only accept the programme of the party, abide by its discipline and pay party dues, but *also and above all*, that he must work in a party organisation and his work is regularly checked up by the unit in which he works.

The fundamental organisational principles of the Communist Party, therefore, are the same, whether the Party is in power or in opposition, whether conditions of work are legal or illegal, whether the struggle for power assumes the form of civil war or proceeds along peaceful paths.

These principles arise from the nature of the struggle which the masses have to wage.

The Communist Party realises that the struggle for fundamental social transformation is not a struggle only against this or that representative of the ruling classes or even this or that political party. It is a struggle which inevitably comes up against the powerful and centralised state power of the ruling classes, a power which has been built in order to maintain class rule. Conquest of power by the working people involves the replacement of this state power by a new state power. The struggle of the masses for people's democracy and socialism will, therefore, inevitably be a bitter and sharp struggle. And whatever form the struggle takes, the masses can hope for victory only if their own vanguard is *also* organised in a highly centralised manner. At the same time, this centralisation itself must be on the basis of real inner-Party democracy.

While the organisational principles of the Party are the same under all conditions, the organisational forms and methods of work cannot be the same. They have got to change in accordance with changes in the conditions in which the Party functions and in accordance with the political tasks which the Party has to carry out in these conditions. Hence, the Party Constitution which defines not only the fundamental principles, but also the Party

rules, i.e., the manner in which these principles have to be applied to the prevailing conditions, needs changes from time to time. The correctness or otherwise of the changes proposed by the Central Committee has, therefore, to be judged by two criteria: Firstly, do they conform to the fundamental organisational principles of a Marxist-Leninist party; and secondly, do they help the Party to organise its work more effectively than before, with a view to carry out its mass political tasks in the present situation?

It is in the light of these two criteria that our new Constitution will have to be drafted. The discussions that are taking place in the State conferences on the changes proposed by the Central Committee will immensely facilitate this.

As stated above, in doing this, the Party will have to take into account the nature of the political tasks, in the present phase of our revolution.

Unfinished Revolution

In the days when India struggled for freedom against British rule, the two-fold and closely interrelated tasks which confronted the Indian Communists were: (1) building up a broad anti-imperialist front for national emancipation, and (2) the establishment of proletarian hegemony over this front. The Communist Party of India played an important part in the anti-imperialist movement. It was the first party to raise the banner of socialism in our country and to point out that India's struggle for freedom was an integral part of the struggle of the toiling people all over the world against imperialism and for democracy and socialism. It was the Communist Party that strove to explain that the national freedom must have a democratic content, that it must mean, together with the expulsion of the British army, the overthrow of the domination of British capital over our economy, abolition of princely rule, transfer of land to the peasant, living wage for workers and far-reaching democratic reforms in every sphere. It was the Communist Party that laid the foundation of the militant working class and peasant movements and of their mass organisations. The slogans given by the Communist Party and the thesis propagated by it exercised powerful influence over the

advanced sections in the national movement. All this can be denied only by those who refuse to recognise facts.

Nevertheless, it must be admitted that the key task of building a united anti-imperialist front under proletarian hegemony could not be carried out. The national movement grew in extent and sweep but throughout all phases of the movement, effective leadership remained in the hands of the national bourgeoisie. It was natural and inevitable, therefore, that in 1947 when the British had to quit India, power passed into the hands of the Congress. This was a big advance. It was a big defeat for imperialism and a big victory for the people for whom the Congress had come to embody their anti-imperialist aspirations and hopes.

But the victory, though far-reaching in its consequences for India and for the whole world, was still incomplete. The national democratic revolution was still unfinished.

The main reason as to why this happened was the insufficient degree of organisation and consciousness of the Indian working class. This found its concrete manifestation in the weakness of the Communist Party, in the absence of a mass Communist Party.

Growth of Party

Significant changes have taken place in the political scene during the period since India attained freedom. These changes have been narrated by us in the Palghat resolution, in the Election Manifesto and in other Party documents. They need no repetition here. It was on the basis of a concrete assessment of the developments in the country during the last ten years, the needs of the nation and the prevailing correlation of forces, that our Party formulated its strategy and tactics for the second general elections. As is well-known, the line of the Party was completely vindicated.

Today we face a complex and fast developing situation. The situation has many features but the most important single feature, the feature on which it is necessary to focus attention, is the emergence of the Communist Party of India as a major force in the political life of our country. Against heavy obstacles and

despite many mistakes, we have steadily grown. This growth was reflected in the election results. We won nearly 11 per cent of the total votes. We have become the major force in the working class. We have dislodged the Congress from office in the State of Kerala and the measures and steps taken by the Kerala government have created profound impression on the people of the whole country. We are the main party of opposition in the parliament and in the States of West Bengal and Andhra.

It is also worthnoting that even in States where we have been traditionally weak and where even today our effective strength is confined to certain areas, our prestige and influence has grown. Commenting on the advance made by the Communist Party in UP in the recent civic elections, the *Banaras*, a Congress daily, described our Party as the "political party which is in the forefront challenging the power of the Congress".

No longer do our critics dare pour ridicule on our Party and dismiss it with contempt. Our prestige stands higher than ever in our history. Our influence is more widespread than ever.

All this gives the lie to the assertion of enemies and opponents, which sometimes finds response even among some "friends" of the Party, that the history of the Communist Party is nothing but a history of mistakes.

What do these developments indicate? They indicate growing shift of the masses to the Left. They indicate growing recognition by the masses of the correctness of the policies advocated by the Party and its role in the struggle in defence of their interests. They indicate growing influence of the ideas of democracy and socialism among our people.

Above all, *these developments indicate that conditions are getting created for the establishment of proletarian hegemony in our national movement*. For various reasons, this could not be achieved in the days of struggle against British rule. But it can be done today. This is essential for the completion of the unfinished tasks of our revolution. And the main instrument for achieving this objective, the main instrument for the establishment of proletarian hegemony is a mass Communist Party.

Never were the conditions so favourable for this as they are today. This is so not merely because of the developments inside our country but also because of the profound transformation that has taken place in the world situation.

The emergence of socialism as a world system, the disintegration of the colonial system, the role played by the socialist world headed by the USSR in the struggle for peace and in defence of the freedom of victims of imperialist aggression and threats, the superiority of the socialist system so strikingly demonstrated in the launching of the man-made satellites—are powerfully influencing the minds of men. The prestige of the socialist world and of world communism has reached new heights. The historic Declaration of the Twelve Parties which sums up the experience of the world Communist movement provides a firm ideological basis for unification of the Party and for combating dogmatic and revisionist trends.

A mass Communist Party is, therefore, not only a historic necessity. Conditions—both objective and subjective—are mature today for the undertaking of this as the most important single task. Without this not merely further advance will be difficult; it will also mean inability to consolidate the gains that have been achieved and their being frittered away.

How will such a party be built? Through what slogans, what campaigns, what forms of struggle and mass activity will proletarian hegemony be established? What will be the pattern of our activity in future and in what respects will this differ from the pattern in the past? These and many other questions need be answered.

The vast experiences that we have accumulated in the course of our work during the entire history of our Party and especially during the last ten years, as well as the experiences of our brother Parties, the lessons that we have learnt through our achievements as well as our mistakes—these provide ample basis today for answering these questions. And one of the most important tasks of our Central Committee will be to undertake this task. The ground has been prepared for this by the Palghat resolution and the Election Review. The understanding given in those documents

has to be carried forward, concretised and further amplified in the light of the developments that have taken place in recent months.

The most important outcome of the elections, as is now recognised by everyone, was the weakening of the monopoly position of the Congress in the political life of the country, the shift of the masses to the Left, the general strengthening of the position of the parties of the democratic opposition and the emergence of the Communist Party as a powerful force. The trend revealed in the general elections continues. This is seen in the results of the civic elections in Bombay, UP and Andhra, in the numerous struggles that have taken place in the post-election months, in the powerful movement of postal workers and other government employees which developed immediately after the elections, and in other events. On a number of occasions, the government had to accede to the popular demand such as the appointment of a Second Pay Commission. Inside the Congress itself, significant developments are taking place. Many elements which were critical of the policies pursued but dared not speak out, have become more vocal, more assertive.

Crisis of Second Plan

These developments are taking place in a period when the Second Five-Year Plan faces serious difficulties. To some extent these difficulties are due to factors beyond human control. But basically, the difficulties were inherent in the Plan itself. Our Party, while supporting the aims and objectives of the Plan, while declaring itself in favour of the emphasis on industrialisation and extension of the public sector, laid bare the contradiction between the aims of the Plan and the methods by which they were sought to be implemented. We pointed out that unless this contradiction was resolved by a change of policies, a crisis was inevitable. Our warning went unheeded.

Today the crisis of the Plan is no longer a matter of dispute. Several of the projects proposed in the Plan are being abandoned. There is a crisis of foreign exchange. Mobilisation of internal resources lags far behind estimates. Prices are rising steeply belying the optimistic assertion that there would be no inflation.

Above all, the food situation has become menacing, millions of people face starvation. These facts are known to all.

Right-wing Offensive

But the most menacing feature of the situation is the activity that is being conducted by extreme reactionary circles, both foreign and Indian, including many representatives of landlords and of big business, both inside and outside the Congress. What worries them is not only the economic aspects of the situation. What worries them even more is the political aspect—the growing strength of the Communist Party and of the forces of democracy. They seize upon the difficulties of the Plan with a view to push their own anti-national policies. The notorious interview given by Finance Minister T. T. Krishnamachari to the *New York Times* is a clear indication of this. So also is the Report of the Birla Mission.

Change foreign policy in order to get foreign aid without which the Plan cannot be implemented; create suitable atmosphere for the inflow of foreign capital; cut down the ambitious targets of the Plan; restrict the state sector and give a free reign to the big business; abandon all talks of ceiling on land so that agricultural production may increase—such are some of the slogans that are being put forward aggressively and bluntly by some elements and in a more subtle and roundabout way by their friends inside the ruling party.

This is accompanied by a campaign of slanders, lies and provocations against the Communist Party and especially against the Communist-led government of Kerala, a campaign to which a number of members of the central cabinet in violation of all constitutional propriety, have lent their support. Every effort is being made to create difficulties in the way of the Kerala government. In the name of preservation of law and order, appeals are being made to the central government to openly intervene against the government of Kerala.

The campaign against our foreign policy, the campaign against the progressive features of the Second Five-Year Plan, the campaign against the Kerala government—all these campaigns are not unrelated. The participants in the campaign are not,

of course, always actuated by identical motives Nor do they constitute a homogenous group Among them, besides diehard reactionaries, there are diverse elements –right-wing socialists, disgruntled political leaders, careerists and even misguided persons But the driving force behind these campaigns and the interests they all serve are, in the final analysis, the same—the imperialists, the landlords, the big anti-national monopolists and extreme reactionary circles who fear the people and hate democracy

There can be no doubt that if these forces get the upperhand and are able to carry out their plans, the consequences would be extremely serious Our freedom would be reduced to a mere formality our economy would remain backward, the condition of the people would deteriorate their democratic liberties would be subjected to fierce onslaughts

Hence it is the patriotic duty of every Indian irrespective of the party to which he belongs to unite against these forces to unmask them to wage a determined battle against the path along which they want to push the country Our Party has to play a major role in achieving this unity Due to the strength it has attained it can play this role far more effectively today than ever before

Our enemies assert that we want the Second Plan to fail because that would give us the opportunity to discredit the Congress and make a bid for power This assertion is on a par with the age old imperialist thesis that Communists desire war, for war will facilitate revolution There is not an iota of truth in either assertions Nevertheless it must be admitted that even today many honest elements fall victim to such propaganda and that we have not done enough to combat this Our propaganda, our agitation our practical work in these respects require much improvement

Our Party has made no secret of its criticism of the Second Plan The validity of that criticism has been borne out by life itself But today it is not enough to content ourselves by mere repetition of that criticism The reactionary onslaught against such features of the Plan as the emphasis on heavy industry and the extension of the state sector has to be beaten back The move

to modify the foreign policy in a reactionary direction, and to invite private foreign capital on terms that harm the nation has to be defeated. Simultaneously with that, we have to battle against proposals to abandon or cut down the various social welfare schemes in the name of saving the "core of the plan". We have to defend the people against the growing attack on their standard of life and ensure that the rebuilding of national economy takes place in such a way as to bring about steady improvement in the conditions of the masses in every sphere—economic, social, cultural.

National Programme

In waging this struggle, our Party bases itself on the patriotic and democratic aspirations of our people, their urges for all-sided national advance.

Every party that desires to win support of our people talks today in terms of socialism. This undoubtedly is a recognition by everyone of the profound impact of the achievements of the socialist world and of socialist ideas on our people, and the growth of radical sentiments among them. But as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we cannot mislead ourselves into thinking that this shows the ripeness of the situation to carry out socialist tasks. Real socialist consciousness has yet to be instilled even among the major part of the working class and the advanced sections of our people. This is one of the key tasks in the ideological sphere and the Party can carry out this task only by mass popularisation of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and by sharp struggle against the distorted and vulgarised concepts of socialism that are being put forward by the bourgeoisie. At the same time, we have to be clear in our own mind as to what the masses actually desire when they speak of socialism, because it is that which will be the basis of our practical slogans and practical activity. Broadly speaking, when our people speak of socialism, they mean fuller democracy. More concretely, what they desire are:

Extension of the state sector, nationalisation of certain important sectors of economy, curbing of monopoly; radical agrarian reforms, land to the tiller; reduction of inequality of

income, equitable share of workers of the wealth they produce, adequate wages for office employees, teachers and other low-paid sections; a just system of taxation whose main burden falls on the rich; measures to combat unemployment; curbing of the power of the police and bureaucracy and more democratic rights and liberties for the people; effective steps by the state in the sphere of health, housing, education, etc.; abolition of untouchability, equal rights for women, improvement in the condition of tribal and other oppressed sections.

The uncompleted tasks of the democratic revolution get reflected in these urges that have grown among the people. Hence, in order to complete the present phase of our revolution and create conditions for the transition to socialism, our Party has to unite the people for democratic reforms.

It is on these urges of the people that the Party has to base itself and its practical activity. It has to give concrete form to these urges through the evolving of immediate slogans of action. It has to mobilize the people to realise these slogans. It has to undertake patient and hard work to make full use of all opportunities that exist and create new opportunities to serve the people and move them along the path of realisation of their aspirations and demands.

While conducting these campaigns on internal issues, we cannot afford to ignore the developments in the international arena, developments which have a direct bearing on our national situation itself.

Many a time it has been pointed out by the Party that by preserving peace, by strengthening relations with the socialist states, by building Asian unity, we strengthen our own national freedom. And that these, therefore, are national political tasks. All this remains true and requires stressing. But, as a Marxist-Leninist Party, we have to realise something more.

We are a part of the international Communist movement. We are a part of the great fraternity of Communist and working class parties which leads the battle of humanity for peace, for democracy and for socialism. It must be admitted that in recent periods, this consciousness has got dimmed among many of our

comrades. This has manifested itself in several ways, one of the most striking of which is an attitude of indifference towards international developments and towards the most important common task of Communist Parties of all countries, *the preservation of peace.*

Even on such big developments as the threat to Syria, the measures of the Indonesian patriots to liberate West Iran, the historic Cairo Conference and on such issues as the suspension of atomic and hydrogen bomb tests, few Party units have moved into action in a big and effective way.

This is a serious state of affairs. It has to be ended. The programme put forward in the Manifesto adopted by 64 Parties in the momentous Moscow Conference has to be carried to our people and made the basis of a powerful mass campaign. These must not remain a mere pious wish, but be translated into action.

Other aspects of internationalism also require stressing.

All this involves sharp conflict with the reactionary vested interests and determined battle against the anti-people aspects of the policies of the government.

On all these issues, our Party has already advanced its slogans. But many of them need further concretisation. Moreover, together with that what is needed is the planning out of *national political campaigns* on issues of policy, to bring home to our people the gravity of the situation and the concrete steps to be taken to meet it. The big response which people gave to our policy slogans during the elections, the deep attention with which they hear us shows that the situation is fully mature for a nationwide campaign to win over the people for our policies, to frustrate the plans of the anti-national forces and to defeat attempts of compromise with them.

Without such a nationwide campaign on the basis of popular slogans, without winning over of people for these slogans, we cannot grow into a mass political force powerful enough to intervene effectively in the critical situation and bring about the desired changes.

Mass Organisations

Many practical tasks in the sphere of Party organisation, pattern of activity, education, sale of literature, collection of funds, etc., emerge from the expansion of the Party and the slogan of mass Party. These cannot be dealt with here. But one point needs stressing. Of decisive importance for the democratic movement are the mass organisations--especially the organisations of the working class and the peasantry, the basic masses. A mass Party is inconceivable without mass organisations embracing millions of people. Without such organisations, the links of the Party with the masses cannot be strengthened. Without such organisations, the influence of the Party will remain nebulous and of a vague character. Without such organisations, the mass of Party members will remain sunk in passivity except in periods of such campaigns as elections and will not get trained as practical leaders of the people. Cadres of the Party will be nothing more than general agitators and propagandists.

To the Peasantry

Our weakness in this respect, especially in respect of organisations of the peasantry and agricultural workers who constitute the vast majority of our people, is well known. The Kisan Sabha in practically every State is in a state of utter stagnation and even paralysis. Of the vast majority of peasants, agricultural workers and rural poor who voted for us in the elections, not even a small fraction is organised. Our actual work in the rural areas is more and more assuming the form of sporadic local campaigns and occasional struggles on immediate issues. Even Statewide campaigns are rarely undertaken. The Kisan Sabhas even where they exist function today essentially as a platform of general agitation on agrarian problems. There is lack of unified understanding, lack of clarity on many burning problems and absence even of a systematic effort to achieve clarity. Neither the Central Committee nor the majority of State Committees pay any attention to these tasks.

Unless this state of affairs is firmly put an end to and the face of the Party is turned towards the peasantry as the most decisive force of our revolution, unless our entire work in the rural areas is oriented towards the building of mass organisations of the peasantry, the slogan of proletarian hegemony will remain unfulfilled and even our electoral prospects and our position in the legislatures will not radically improve.

The slogan of a mass Party should not, therefore, be viewed in isolation from the political and mass tasks of the Party, in isolation from the supreme importance of mass organisations which alone constitute the granite foundation of a mass Communist Party.

All this necessitates a new approach to the problems of today in conformity with our new status in the country, in conformity with our growing role as unifier and leader of the people in the struggle for a better life. The vast and complex tasks—ideological, political and organisational—that confront us in building a mass Party can be successfully tackled only if consciousness of the tremendous responsibility that rests on our shoulders guides us in our deliberations and activities.

On The Party Constitution*

Ajoy Ghosh

The special Party congress meeting this month at Amritsar will devote its main attention to problems of Party organisation and in particular will have the duty of examining, amending and adopting the new draft constitution which has been prepared by the central committee. It is not possible at this stage or in this article to undertake a detailed examination of the constitution or the organisational tasks of the Party. This will have to be done in the organisational report to be presented at the Party congress. What can be attempted is a brief explanation of some of the main formulations of the draft constitution.

Fundamentals Restated

In the preamble to the constitution many new departures have been made. At the same time, it has to be pointed out that the fundamental teachings of Marxism-Leninism in relation to Party organisation have been restated. This was necessary not only because experience over many decades has confirmed the truth and value of these teachings but also because in the recent period attempts have been made to negate these teachings, to cast doubt on their validity and utility.

For instance, the character of the Communist Party—the preamble states: "The Communist Party of India is the political party of the Indian working class, its highest class organisation." Some people seem to think this is not necessary. The suggestion was made by some that the Communist Party should call itself the Party of the people, of the nation and not specifically of the

working class. This would negate the very basis of Marxism that class struggle is the motive force of history, that the distinction between scientific socialism—which analyses how the noble idea of a classless society can only be realised in fierce struggle of the toilers led by the workers—and utopian socialism—which believes in converting everybody, in achieving social change through "moral uplift" of the "people".

The preamble declares: "The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people, the establishment of people's democracy led by the working class and the realisation of socialism and communism." It has been necessary to state this because wrong ideas have been propagated among people by some elements that the winning of socialism does not require the conquest of power by the working people led by the working class, that "socialist elements" were growing inside capitalism, that a gradual maturing and evolution of these elements would lead to full-blown socialism. The rebuttal of these notions is necessary if the working class and its allies are not to be ideologically disarmed, to be unprepared for the series of crises and their resolution, for the vast mass upheavals and fierce resistance by reaction. It is of particular importance to recall all this in a period when the possibilities of a peaceful transition to socialism have opened out.

In the recent period we have seen the penetration of bourgeois nationalism in Communist ranks in several countries, and of tendencies which weaken the bonds of proletarian internationalism. Hence, the preamble not only points out that the Communist Party of India would draw on the rich experience of the fraternal parties of the Soviet Union, China and other countries but also that "the Communist Party fights against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. It bases itself on the principles of proletarian internationalism and stands for fraternal relations and cooperation among the workers and the peoples of the world, for the unity of the organised Communist movement in the common struggle for peace and against war, for the liberation of subject peoples from the yoke of imperialism, for the establishment of democracy and socialism all over the world".

The bond of fraternity between Communists, the unity of ideology and aim as well as the common enemy they confront, the common class which is their bedrock—all this is both a most precious heritage and potent weapon. We must tirelessly strengthen these bonds and rebuff any attempt to emasculate them.

Finally, the preamble lays down that: "For discharging its political and mass responsibilities and for leading the movement of the people, the Communist Party organises itself in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, builds the Party as a unified, disciplined and militant organisation capable of moving its membership into action in any situation." The criticism of mistakes made during a certain period in the Soviet Union as well as the possibilities of peaceful transition had led some persons to the conclusion that the principles of democratic centralism were not only unnecessary but harmful and violate individual freedom.

Some in our country had even gone so far as to suggest that the Communist Party of India should attempt to imitate the organisational principles and practices of the Congress or the PSP. What these persons overlooked was the very essence of the Communist Party—that it is a revolutionary party with the task before it of the most radical social transformation known to history, namely the ending of class rule. What these persons forgot is that the Communist Party faces the resistance of most powerfully entrenched interests, protected by a highly centralised state apparatus to fight whom the Communist Party has to organise itself in a highly centralised way. Whoever else the enemies of the people might adjust themselves to, they know that in the Communist Party they face their most implacable foe. Such a party must be a party of a new type, a party of militancy and revolutionary action, a party of democratic centralism.

New Formulations

The preamble does not, however, rest content with the necessary restatement of fundamentals. It also brings forward certain formulations, generalises certain new experiences, creatively applies the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism to our own conditions.

It states: "The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in parliament and by backing it with mass sanctions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the force of reaction and ensure that parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and state structure."

The Communist Party has always desired the transition to socialism be a peaceful one. Hitherto this has not been possible, due to the strength of reaction which has succeeded in forcing civil war on the people. The October Revolution and the Chinese Revolution fully corroborate this point. But with the establishment of socialism as a world system, the weakening of imperialism, the growth of socialist ideas among diverse social strata, the general strengthening of the forces of democracy, today it is possible that in India the transition to socialism takes place peacefully, through parliament, backed by the sanction of a powerful mass movement. Of course, this is by no means a certainty, because the bourgeoisie may resort to resistance to thwart the people's will but then the responsibility for violence will be on them. In many statements and articles over the past two years this general position had been explained. It has now become necessary to state this in an authoritative document of the party, to make it clear to all that this is not a question of a tactical expedient, a manoeuvre. The possibility exists and we try to realise this possibility. This would help to extend the influence of the party as well as to give it a general orientation and perspective.

The preamble goes on to say. "In cooperation with all forces working for socialism in the country, the Communist Party shall strive to build a socialist society which ensures rapid advance in all spheres and also guarantees the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press and association, including the right of political organisation."

In view of certain mistakes of a particular period in the Soviet Union, caused in the main by the exceptionally difficult situation in which our Soviet comrades had to pioneer the building of socialism and the growth of the cult of personality, certain misgivings had arisen in the minds of many, including sympathisers of the Party, that while the Communists might want to end poverty, they do not particularly care for democracy or for the rights of the individual, that they would never tolerate any kind of criticism and opposition. These friends overlooked the fact that the Mensheviks and the Socialist-Revolutionaries were only banned when from opposition they turned to methods of terrorism and armed counter-revolution. They seem to ignore the enormous potentialities of growth that have opened out for every individual in the Soviet Union. Nevertheless, it cannot be denied that the possibilities of ensuring a far greater degree of democracy and individual liberty do now exist.

The Communist Party of India, moreover, holds that the existence of opposition parties, agreeing to abide by a socialist constitution, is quite possible in a future socialist India. It believes that this is by no means incompatible in our conditions, with the establishment of working class power. It has no hesitation in stating that it will guarantee these and other rights to all those who will not violate the socialist constitution or attempt to subvert the socialist state through unconstitutional methods. Understanding of this point would enormously facilitate setting at rest the misgivings of many friends of socialism and democracy in our country.

While stressing the importance of proletarian internationalism the preamble simultaneously points out that "The Communist Party of India works out its policies by integrating the theory of Marxism-Leninism with the realities of the Indian situation, with the experience of India's history, with the traditions of the Indian people, with India's national peculiarities." Firstly, such a declaration makes clear the need for our Party to deeply study India's history and the present economic, political, cultural and social reality of our country in all its details. It will help to make our programme, policies and actions even more closely integrated

with the objective situation, help to sink our roots deeper into our invincible people. Secondly, this authoritative declaration will aid patriotic Indians in realising the baselessness of the slander that that the Communist Party is not an Indian Party, that it adopts a nihilistic approach to our traditions and culture. It will help these patriots to see that while we Communists wish to change much, we wish also to preserve and develop all that is noble, popular and humanist in our past.

Finally, on the question of democracy inside the Communist Party, the preamble has the following remarks to make: "The correct observance of democratic methods, the initiation and encouragement of organised discussion in the Party on current and important questions, the ascertainment of the freely expressed opinion of party members, is a vital responsibility of the leading organs of the Party." While proper democratic functioning is necessary at all times, while our centralism has always to be based on democracy, the formulation just quoted acquires added significance in the context of the present inner-Party situation and its requirements.

At present we lack a vigorous inner-Party life. A kind of hard and rigid division of labour seems to have been established inside the Party over a fairly long period. It almost appears as if the evolving of the Party line as a whole or the Party stand on a particular issue is the exclusive concern of a few leading comrades. The job of the rest of the comrades seems, as it were, to be the explanation and implementation of the line or policy. This has meant that the Party policy has been sometimes incorrect and often lacked sufficient concreteness. It has further meant that the promotion of new echelons of leadership at different levels has been hampered. The cadres of our Party have not been sufficiently encouraged to think for themselves, to help to shape Party policy itself. It is both essential and possible that this state of affairs is ended. Provision has been made in the new draft constitution towards this end, towards far more discussion and consultation inside the Party so that through strengthening and expansion of democracy inside the Party, its leading ranks are replenished and its strength augmented.

System of Leadership

The draft constitution contains ideas embodying a new system of leadership from the central to the district level. At all levels, it is proposed to have three-tiers of leadership—a council, an executive and a secretariat. The basic idea is to broaden the leadership at all levels to draw in fresh elements into the leadership as well as to build up strong guiding and leading teams.

This broadening and replenishing is first of all necessary for the evolving of correct policies, for ensuring that the policies and statements of the leadership do actually embody the collective and many-sided experiences and wisdom of the Party. It is also necessary for the consolidating and extension of the unity of the Party—politically, ideologically and organisationally. The unity of the Party can only be reinforced through the leadership of the Party actually getting together to discuss and decide on policies and then reviewing the experience gained in the execution of these policies.

That is why in the draft constitution it has been mentioned that the panel of candidates for the national council shall be prepared with a view to creating a broad based capable leadership closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity.

The present central committee is made up of Party leaders with a high average age. At the same time there is a hiatus between this leadership and the middle leadership of the Party which functions mainly at the State level and very often lacks an all-India outlook. Then again there is the deep-rooted dichotomy between leaders of the Party and leaders of mass organisations. Due to the vastness of our country it will not be possible for all these different types of leaders to come together very frequently in the course of their normal activity. It is the aim of the establishment of the national council to ensure that at least twice a year these leaders do meet and shape the policies and perspectives of the Party.

At the same time, to ensure effective guidance and leadership in between the sessions of the national council, to direct the work of the all-India Party centre and to prepare for the meeting of the national council, it has been proposed to set up a central executive committee. The problem of an effectively functioning all-India Party centre has been with us for a long time. It is not possible at this stage to gather together the top leaders from the States and mass organisations at one place. Yet, without such leaders coming together no all-India centre can be properly functioned, nor the concrete application of the Party line be made. Through the central executive committee it is hoped to reach this aim.

Finally, to direct and carry out the current work under various heads on behalf of the central executive committee, it is proposed to establish a secretariat of six to eight, with a general secretary. The members of the secretariat are to work exclusively at the all-India centre and to function collectively with specific responsibilities assigned to each member.

This new system of leadership forms an important part of the changes proposed in the Party constitution. It is based on the experience of the functioning of the Party over a number of years as well as on the needs of the Party today, in view of the responsibilities it has to bear and the national-political status that it has acquired.

Position of the Party

In the article "Towards a Mass Communist Party", published in the February issue of this magazine, it has been pointed that conditions are getting created for the establishment of proletarian hegemony in our national movement and that the main instrument for achieving this objective is a mass Communist Party. It is a fact that on us, on the Party and its work, depends to a great extent how the national situation is going to develop.

It is necessary, therefore, to take stock of our position, to ruthlessly point out our shortcomings. There is no doubt that the inner-Party position does not at all conform either to the status we have acquired or the responsibilities that face us. Our Party organisation is not in good shape, there is lack of ideological

clarity on fundamental as well as practical issues, the links between the centre and the States are quite weak. Bureaucratic methods prevail at all levels, coupled with a poor standard of discipline. Our Party journals are of low quality and fail to inspire. Our financial position is precarious and the method of mass collections has not been adequately utilised. Because of this and the general organisational position, the Party is not able to have even the minimum number of whole-time functionaries that it requires. There is no doubt that the old pattern of relying on a few whole timers for all the work was wrong and needs to be abandoned. But today the position is that while the membership increases the number of whole-timers declines absolutely, not to speak of proportionately. Our most precious asset—our cadres—are being frittered away causing irreparable loss. Side by side in some sections of the Party careerism and love of ease and a soft life have grown, corroding the morale and militancy of the Party.

The gravity of the situation should not be minimised. Nor can we take refuge in the false notion that despite all this the Party has grown and will continue to grow. Such a notion is the product of the crassest spontaneity and can lead the Party to stagnation and then disruption. At the same time, it is also true that conditions are more favourable than ever before for the tackling of the problem. Not only is the position of our Party the highest in its history, the masses more responsive to our policies than ever before, but there is also a far greater awareness of the problem, far greater willingness to make a united effort to solve it.

The election campaign showed that despite all our differences, when it comes to a big struggle our Party members sink their differences and pull together. This unity of the Party in face of grave tasks must now be flung into the battle to organisationally and ideologically rectify ourselves. Only the efforts of the entire Party can tackle the job and, at the same time, tackling this job is the only way to release all the energies and power of our Party.

We can face the future with confidence. We have grown to our present stature which legitimately evokes the pride of all our members and friends by standing fast to our Marxist-Leninist ideology, by forming part of the great world-wide movement

which sweeps forward constantly, by our work among our people for nearly three decades. Years and years of sacrifice, toil and death-defying courage have made our Party the spearhead of India's democratic advance today. Despite mistakes, all through we have stuck to our principles and our people and our history of service to the people is a glorious one. In the same spirit and in far more favourable conditions, we must go forward to the task of making our Party truly the vanguard of our class and our country.

Political Resolution of The Extraordinary Congress of The Communist Party of India

Amritsar, 6-13 April, 1958

Since the Palghat congress of the Communist Party of India held two years ago, important developments have taken place in world affairs as well as in our national-political life.

I. Advance of Peace Forces

The forces of peace, national independence and socialism have grown more powerful than ever before and have been able decisively to halt again and again the most sinister and dangerous conspiracies of the imperialist powers. The epochmaking scientific advances in the Soviet Union, symbolised in the launching of the sputniks, combined with the resolute policy of peace pursued by the Soviet government, of which the latest expression is the historic declaration on unilateral halting of nuclear tests, have thrown the imperialists into panic.

The growth of the world peace movement is evident in the increased strength of the existing movements and the fact that new organisations and movements have arisen challenging the policies of war and colonial enslavement. Several governments, particularly in Asia and Africa, have thrown themselves more and more resolutely on to the side of peace and independence.

The forces of peace, the people's movements and the peace-loving states, particularly the Soviet Union, combined to support the Egyptian people in repulsing the imperialist aggression against Egypt. Within one year, the same forces of peace had grown still more powerful and were able to prevent a similar conspiracy to commit aggression against Syria even before the aggression was started. The emergence of the United Arab

Republic stands as a mile-stone in the advance of Arab nationalism. The Eisenhower doctrine has met with fiasco.

Asian-African solidarity has become a factor of vital significance in world affairs. The Cairo Conference was a landmark in the struggle for peace and national independence. A people's movement for Afro-Asian solidarity has developed embracing millions in both the continents and enjoying the support of a number of governments.

The liberation struggles of the enslaved peoples have grown rapidly in intensity and volume. More countries—Malaya, Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia—have won their political independence. The national liberation struggle in Algeria is shaking French imperialism to its foundations.

All these developments have immensely aggravated the crisis of the colonial system which is rapidly collapsing.

The unity of the socialist camp which is of vital importance for the struggle for world peace and for safeguarding national freedom, has grown stronger. The bonds of solidarity of the Communist and Workers' Parties of all countries in the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism have been further cemented. The Moscow declaration of the 12 Communist parties as well as the peace manifesto of the parties of 64 countries of world testify to this.

But the forces of war and colonial enslavement have not reconciled themselves to these defeats. They still pursue their policies of 'position of strength' and military alignments, or provocations and aggression.

The imperialist powers are now engaged in the most dangerous preparations for nuclear war.

Refusing to respond to the Soviet challenge and halt nuclear tests, the Nato powers, led by the USA, are contemplating plans for the setting up of nuclear bases all over the world. Asia and Africa are being drawn into these sinister plans through the recent Baghdad pact and Seato meetings, and the linking of these two pacts with Nato. In every country the US imperialists link themselves up with the most reactionary elements.

The latest example of imperialism's attempt to reimpose colonial rule is to be seen in Indonesia. American imperialists are openly instigating and helping with arms and otherwise the rebels in Sumatra against the Indonesian Republic.

Our country has played a positive and vital role in changing the world alignment of forces. Together with the socialist countries and the independent Asian-African countries, we have denounced the policy of military alliances and called for ban on nuclear weapons. We have supported and further strengthened and enlarged economic and cultural co-operation with the socialist countries. We have pursued the policy of Afro-Asian solidarity and given Egypt and Algeria our support in their struggle for independence.

This independent foreign policy of India has aroused the hostility of the imperialists and set them to conspire against our country. The Baghdad pact and Seato constitute a threat alike to India and to all free nations of Asia. The US dumping of arms in Pakistan is meant to intensify Indo-Pak tension causing diversion of resources from nation-building to defence. They resort to provocations in respect of Kashmir. Portugal continues to remain in occupation of Goa through terror and brutal repression of the people simply because of the encouragement it receives from the imperialists.

While continuing these measures of military pacts and military aid, US imperialism has recently decided upon large scale financial aid to India in an attempt to create a favourable atmosphere for its machinations and to put a brake on India's foreign policy.

The Communist Party supports the foreign policy of the Indian government and consistently works for strengthening it. The new imperialist manoeuvres against our independent foreign policy and the activities of pro-imperialist right reaction within our country demand that these imperialist manoeuvres are ruthlessly exposed and people mobilised against them.

At this moment, when imperialist war preparations are at their height and when the forces of peace are stronger than ever before, India can and must play a key role in the struggle for the early

calling of a summit conference, for forging closer bonds of Afro-Asian solidarity through the holding of another conference of Afro-Asian nations; for the halting of nuclear tests, for the ending of colonialism in all its shapes and forms and for the defence of the national sovereignty of all peoples.

It is unfortunate that the Government of India has not come out in condemnation of US interference in the internal affairs of Indonesia and instigation of aid to the rebels. So also there is hesitation to work for another Afro-Asian conference.

The sweep of the popular movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity must help to remove these hesitations so that India may play an even greater role than today in world affairs.

The safety and security of our nation and the plans for the welfare of the people depend on the fate of the world struggle for peace. In this world struggle, significant as has been the contribution of the people and Government of India, they can make still greater and more important contribution. Despite the growth of the peace movement, despite the growth of the sentiments of peace and solidarity with the Asian-African peoples struggling for independence against imperialism, the peace movement has not unfolded the full possibilities that exist. The Party's activities in the struggle for peace have been weak. This grave weakness must be rapidly overcome and Party units and members must exert their best endeavours in mobilising the mass organisations and the broad masses of the people on all issues of peace and thus help in building a strong, powerful and widespread and united movement for peace and Afro-Asian solidarity.

II. Strengthening of Democratic Movement

The events that have taken place in our country since the Palghat congress of our Party have on the whole confirmed the correctness of the analysis made by the Communist Party, as well as the line worked out by it.

The developments in Kerala where the democratic forces made a breach in the Congress monopoly of governmental power and established a government led by the Communist Party have attracted worldwide attention and constitute the single biggest

event in our national-political life But Kerala was no isolated incident It marked the highest level reached by the democratic movement in the recent years, a movement which scored impressive successes in many parts of the country during the second general elections—as demonstrated in the victories of the Communist Party candidates from the major industrial areas, the serious weakening in the position of the Congress in a number of its former strongholds, such as Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and Gujarat and the strengthening of the position of the Left in several State legislatures and in parliament The Communist Party with its 12 million votes has again emerged as the main opposition party in the country with added strength

The process of mass radicalisation which manifested itself powerfully in these events has continued in the post-election period Mass distress has intensified and not one problem faced by the people has been solved or even seriously tackled by the government The solemn pledges given in the election manifesto of the Congress were cynically violated as soon as the elections were over by the imposition of new and iniquitous burdens of taxation and inflation With these burdens growing at every level and with the steep rise in prices, the condition of the people continues to deteriorate

The growing radicalisation of the masses was seen in the powerful movement of the central government employees, headed by the post and telegraph workers which won broad popular support and secured the appointment of the second pay commission the struggle for oil refinery in Assam which united the entire people, and numerous struggles and movements of workers peasants teachers, students office employees and others many of which have won important successes It is seen in the emergence of the AITUC as the single biggest force in the organised trade-union movement and in the increasing united actions of the workers and office employees The countrywide demonstrations of the working class on 27th March, 1958, jointly organised by the AITUC, HMS and UTUC and other all-India federations symbolised the new advance in the struggle for trade union unity It is seen in the growing support to the

Communist Party throughout the country. It is seen in the results of a number of by-elections in municipalities and local bodies. It is also seen in the widespread support, often transcending party divisions, for the Kerala government whose measures have won for it the goodwill of the common people in every State.

III. Decline of Congress

The Congress still wields very big influence in all States. But its hold on the people is weakening, its mass base is shrinking. The revelations in the Mundhra enquiry, dealing a heavy blow to the prestige of the government, have shaken the confidence of even many Congressmen in the professions of some of their leaders. Increasingly isolated from the advanced democratic masses, corroded from within by dissensions and factional squabbles, the Congress is in a state of political and moral decline, in a state of chronic crisis which has deepened after the general elections. In several States, these dissensions have become particularly acute, affecting even the ministries. Conflicts sharpen inside the organisation; progressive-minded Congressmen, expressing their disapproval of many governmental policies and measures, more sharply than ever before, sometimes even in legislative assemblies and in parliament.

IV. Growth of Reaction

It would be incorrect, however, to focus attention on these events alone. It is necessary to note that the growth of the Communist Party, of the Left forces and of the democratic movement as a whole lags behind the growth of popular discontent against the government. Parties of communal and feudal reaction, like the Jan Sangh, the Akali Party of the Punjab, and the Ganatantra Parishad of Orissa, as well as separatist parties like the Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Tamilnad are utilising this situation to consolidate their position and further their own disruptive aims. As the popularity of the Congress is waning, many Congressmen as well as many opposing the Congress, increasingly resort, during elections, to appeals based on caste and community which tend to divide the people along disruptive lines. These developments constitute a menace to democracy, secularism and Indian unity.

V. Crisis of Plan

The political situation in the country is closely related to and arises in a large measure, from the prevailing economic conditions. This is the third year of the second five year plan whose aims and objects were welcomed by wide sections of our people and by our Party. While rejecting the demagogic claim that the plan would build socialism we supported its progressive features such as the emphasis on heavy industries, the extension of the state sector, greater stress on land reforms and increased expenditure on social welfare. In our opinion, the attainment of the targets of the plan would strengthen national economy and national independence. We have also laid bare the grave defects of the plan namely unwarranted and harmful concessions to big business, the excessive reliance on foreign capital, the method of raising resources by increasing the burden on the common people through iniquitous taxation and heavy resort to deficit financing, the dependence on the bureaucratic machinery. We warned that all this would endanger the realisation of even the existing targets and make the future of the plan uncertain (*Palghat Resolution*)

Our warnings went unheeded. But they have proved correct. In the third year of the plan the tempo of development instead of increasing has tended to slow down. The government as not only failed to carry out radical land reforms but has allowed mass scale evictions to take place. Food deficit has grown giving rise to acute shortage in many areas compelling more and more imports. Not is the situation on the industrial sector reassuring. Despite sizeable additions to installed capacity in a larger number of industries' as the government itself admits 'the rate of growth of industrial production has tended to slow down in the second year of the plan. In a number of consumer goods industries production has actually declined. In the textile industry, our premier organised industry, many units have closed down, throwing thousands of workers on the streets due to lack of purchasing power in the hands of the people who are fleeced by heavy burdens of taxation and mounting prices. Mobilisation of the internal resources lags behind the targets while reckless imports in the interests of the private sector have intensified the foreign

exchange crisis. The private sector has reaped fabulous profits and made big investment, while many States have been forced to curtail and 're-phase' their plans under pressure from the central government.

VI. Activities of Right Reaction

Seizing upon the difficulties in which the plan has landed, and frightened by the growth of the democratic movement and the Communist Party, extreme reactionary forces have intensified their activities. They preach that our economic difficulties can be overcome only with the help of American dollars and that for this 'suitable climate' must be created.

These people have been carrying on vicious attacks against the public sector, demanding still greater concessions to the monopolists, both Indian and foreign. They are openly advocating almost an open door policy for penetration of foreign capital, particularly from the USA, while striving to sabotage trade with the USSR and other socialist countries. They demand the curtailment of social service measures under the plan, while trying to blackmail the government to change its fiscal and economic measures still more to their advantage and to the detriment of the common people. They demand modification of the existing labour laws to suit their interests. These people openly express their hostility to radical land reforms.

The present crisis of the second five year plan which has resulted from the policies and methods of the government, is being exploited by these reactionary elements not only to sabotage the good features of the plan, but also to strengthen their position and secure changes in the political and economic life of the country in an anti-national and anti-democratic direction.

VII. Reliance on America

An important development in respect of the plan of big business is the heavy reliance they place on US economic assistance which is generally accompanied by designs and terms detrimental to the interests of our economy. This is an extremely dangerous tendency, considering the role American imperialism

is playing throughout the world. The American imperialists constitute the most aggressive force in the world, making desperate efforts to expand at the expense of weaker nations. In Asia, especially, the American imperialists are attempting to replace the old imperialism and attack the freedom and liberty of the Asian nations. It interferes in the internal affairs of Asian countries and attempts to establish reactionary regimes suited to its own interests. Its role in relation to the liberation of Goa and Kashmir is seen by all. It has waged a persistent propaganda warfare against India's foreign policy. It demands the abandonment of the state sector and other progressive measures of the Indian government before opening its purse-strings. Acceptance under these conditions will only give it an economic hold over our economy and compromise national independence.

The present American recession with its big setback to production throwing millions out of employment comes as a warning against one-sided reliance of our national economy on the economies of imperialist countries. The recession affects the economies of all countries dependent on America and makes them unstable and insecure. India's national advance cannot be secure and smooth if it is subject to the ups and downs of American economy which, with its preponderance of production for war, undergoes violent fluctuations.

The anti-national line of these forces could be seen in the utterness and activities of the former finance minister, T T Krishnamachari, then the report of the Birla mission, the recent resolution of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry. The line advocated by them spells disaster to the nation and its future. It would reduce our country to the position of dependence on the imperialists abroad and monopolists at home, add to the privations and miseries of the people, and facilitate suppression of democratic rights and liberties. So they are endeavouring to turn back the wheel of Indian history.

These reactionary forces hold a strong position in our economic life. They have powerful supporters and representatives not only outside but also inside the Congress leadership and Congress governments. They have close links with many higher

officials in all spheres. They control many of the largest newspapers in the country. Their capacity for mischief should not, therefore, be minimised.

In the interest of the defence of national independence, national economy and democracy, the Communist Party will, therefore, relentlessly expose these forces and combat their manoeuvres. The Party shall educate and rouse the people about the dangerous character of the activities of these forces. It shall strive to range patriotic elements in every party and the entire people against their policies. It shall support every step taken by the government that weakens these forces.

VIII. Fight for Progressive Policies

At the same time, it has to be remembered that these reactionary elements outside the Congress lack a popular mass base except what they are able to secure through reactionary parties by whipping up communal passions and backward sentiments. Their real strength lies, in their link with the reactionary elements inside the Congress itself, which is securing increasing grip over the Congress organisation. Further, they have attained their present strength and dare to launch attacks on the progressive features of the second plan because of the support and encouragement from the weak and reactionary policies of the government itself such as the concession to private capital in the plan, the heavy dependence on foreign capital, the encouragement to seek agreement with foreign financiers and the monopolists, the delay in the implementation of agrarian reforms and the loopholes left for their sabotage.

It is precisely these policies of the government that have strengthened the position of these anti-national forces in our economic and political life and offered them opportunities to build their links with foreign monopolists and to resort to tactics of blackmail and pressure. The extreme right, therefore, cannot be defeated without a simultaneous battle, waged with determination and vigour, to defeat the anti-people policies of the government. Without such a two-sided battle, it is impossible either to defeat right-wing reaction or realise the targets of the plan.

Experience of the past two years has further shown that the policies and methods of the government cannot ensure the balanced economic development of the country and uninterrupted national reconstruction. They prevent mobilisation of popular co-operation for the implementation of the plan. They have failed even to guarantee the realisation of the inadequate plan targets. They constantly give rise to dislocations and crises. They create apathy and indifference among the people about the fate of the plan.

The Communist Party stands for the realisation of all targets of the second plan which are in the interests of the people without curtailment. It considers development of heavy industry in the State sector under the plan to be of vital importance for the future and freedom of the country. The targets of industrial and agricultural production as well as the provision for welfare projects and schemes far from being ambitious are inadequate. The Party, therefore, demands their fulfilment.

The concrete proposals on the basis of which the struggle has to be conducted to realise these objectives have been formulated in the Palghat resolution. The Party reiterates these proposals. In the industrial sector, while fighting for the rapid expansion of the State sector, the Party shall demand its efficient and democratic management, with effective participation of the workers. In this connection, the nationalisation of scheduled banks acquires great importance. So does the nationalisation of coal and foreign plantations, of individual concerns like Jessops and Telco, and the expansion of state trading; the Party stands for further strengthening of economic co-operation between India and the socialist countries in mutual interests. This becomes all the more urgent today in view of the US recession.

The great significance of this co-operation and its highly beneficial character have already been underlined in a number of economic agreements with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries which India has entered into. The economic assistance from the socialist countries is offered on terms most favourable to India and it has helped in launching a number of vital industrial projects. In addition to the Soviet steel plant, these projects

include mining, machinery manufacturing plant from the Soviet Union and heavy forging plant from Czechoslovakia. Such economic assistance from the socialist countries, with its tremendous possibilities, is a very welcome development for our country and its future. It helps India to reduce her economic dependence and overcome her backwardness through rapid industrialisation. It is no wonder, therefore, that even some sections of the bourgeoisie who had been in the past opposed to economic aid from the socialist countries have now begun to acknowledge the vast potentialities as well as the superiority of the economic aid from these countries.

IX. National Campaigns

While reiterating the programme given at the Palghat congress, the Communist Party stresses the following important issues for immediate national campaigning.

- (1) Realisation of the targets of the plan in a democratic way;
- (2) Exposure of the plans of right reaction;
- (3) Opposition to penetration of American capital;
- (4) Nationalisation of big banks, wholesale trade in foodgrains, expansion of state trading, establish national control over British and Indian monopolies, ceilings on profits of British and Indian monopolies, and effective state control over them in national interest;
- (5) Food crisis and the Party's proposals for its solution;
- (6) Radical agrarian reforms and democratic implementation of agrarian laws;
- (7) Against increased taxation and high prices;
- (8) Language question on the basis of the central committee resolution of October 1957,
- (9) The demands put forward by the national rally of 27th March 1958, by the trade union centres and campaign for realising collective agreements on their basis;
- (10) Defence and extension of democratic rights and civil liberties;
- (11) Against corruption;
- (12) For summit conference, a second Afro-Asian Conference, ending nuclear tests, and solidarity with Indonesia and Algeria;

- (13) Popularisation of the achievements of the Kerala ministry as well as the activities of our members of parliament,
- (14) Against casteism communalism and untouchability,
- (15) Against the present rehabilitation policy of the government, for speedy rehabilitation of all refugees in gainful employment

X. Mass Struggles & All-Sided Activities

Waging the battle for the rebuilding of our country, the Communist Party bases itself on the urges and aspirations that have grown among the people for the betterment of their conditions and all-sided national advance. Conducting a sustained campaign for progressive policies and measures our Party will boldly lead the struggles of workers, peasants middle classes and all sections of people against the ever growing attacks on their standards of life by the vested interests and the government and for immediate improvement in their living conditions. As before such campaigns and struggles continue to be tasks of great importance. Their importance will grow even more in the coming period. More and more struggles will have to be waged not only locally but also on a national plan. The struggles for agrarian reforms and for the immediate demands of the peasantry are of great importance in view of the critical food situation.

The organised working class particularly in the public sector, while fighting for its just demands should play an important role in combating corruption bureaucracy and waste as well as fulfil efficiently agreed norms of production.

We shall strive to ensure the active participation of the people in the projects and schemes of the plan so that they are implemented in a democratic manner. Corruption and waste are combated and maximum benefit is secured for the people. We shall strive to give concrete form to the urge for national reconstruction in every sphere—education culture, health and so on.

In this connection, the importance of our work in local boards, municipalities and co-operatives has acquired a special significance. We shall strive to make them centres of popular

service and democratise their administration. They can bring a change in the consciousness of the people and their attitude towards us.

To achieve this, it is necessary to build broad popular unity, develop the initiative of the masses. Every Party unit and Party member must acquire *a comprehensive and all-sided concept* of mass work, of defence of mass interests and they must abandon that narrow, and incorrect outlook which hampered the unfolding of multifarious mass activity in the past and which still persists in many areas. In this connection, the importance of the Party's effective participation in the social welfare boards, as well as of its work in mahila and youth organisation under the NES needs to be fully grasped.

As an essential part of such activity, our Party will mobilise the peasantry to make full use of every facility to increase the production of food which has become an urgent national task.

XI. Build Mass Kisan Sabhas

All campaigns, struggles and activities have to be conducted so that the broadest possible unity of the patriotic and democratic forces is forged and mass organisations get built. Unless this is done, the tremendous mass awakening and mass radicalisation cannot be consolidated and made the basis for further advance.

Of decisive importance in this connection is the building of kisan sabhas, firmly established in rural areas all over the country. The failure to organise and develop kisan sabhas and agricultural labourers' unions, in spite of most favourable conditions constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement. Without resolute measures to overcome this weakness, the democratic movement will not get built and the Party will fail to become a decisive force in the political life of the country.

This must be made a part of the consciousness of the entire Party and the tendency to look upon work among the peasantry and agricultural labourers as the specific job of only a few cadres, the tendency to look upon peasant work as the work of a particular 'front' and not the most important mass task of the Party should be resolutely overcome.

XII. Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat

The refusal of the government to grant the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat in spite of the clearly expressed verdict of the people in the elections to legislatures and local bodies, shows that the powers-that-be will not change their decision unless compelled by popular pressure. The obstinate attitude of the government is adding to popular discontent. Our Party while campaigning for this just and democratic demand, should stress the importance of unity and co-operation between the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and Maha Gujarat Parishad. Basing itself on the unity of the two movements, our Party should, in co-operation with others take initiative in forging mass sanctions to secure the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra and Maha Gujarat. As hitherto Party units in Gujarat and Maharashtra have to play a big part in this campaign.

XIII. Kerala Shows the Way

The most outstanding event in recent years, as has already been pointed out, has been the formation of a Communist-led government in Kerala. It has given confidence to the people that the Congress can be defeated and a government representing the interests of the toiling people and pledged to serve them can be formed. The policies formulated by the Kerala government and the measures introduced during the one year that it has been in office have created a profound impression on the people of the whole country, won the sympathy of vast numbers of people in every State and emboldened certain sections of Congressmen to become critical of reactionary policies of the government.

Precisely because of this every effort is being made to dislodge the Kerala government from office. Every possible tactic is used—provocation, attempt at bribery, campaign of lies and slanders, instigation of clashes and even murder. They have not refrained from joining hands with foreign plantation owners and the dark forces of Catholic reaction in spite of their protestations of secularism. In its blind anti-communism and abandoning all principles—which it once professed the State PSP, with the blessings of the all India PSP leadership has joined this unholy alliance.

Under pressure of these forces, the central government also has, on a number of occasions, adopted discriminatory measures against Kerala, as for example, the reference of the education bill to the Supreme Court.

Kerala evokes hatred and fear among forces of reaction but it has come to symbolise the hopes and aspirations of millions of our people.

The Kerala experience has also shown that the verdict of the ballot-box in favour of popular forces is not necessarily respected by the vested interests. It has to be defended by mass actions.

This imposes heavy responsibilities on our Party in Kerala—responsibilities that have to be carried out in a very difficult situation and within the framework of the present constitution. By seeking to implement the plan in a popular way, by unleashing the creative labour of the people to increase the production of food and industrial goods, by giving relief to the people to the maximum possible extent, by bringing the administration close to the people, by combating corruption, nepotism and bureaucratic high-handedness it has to demonstrate over and over again the correctness of our policies and prove that a government led by the Communist Party is the most effective instrument to carry on the task of national reconstruction. The Party has no doubt that the Kerala government will prove equal to the task.

Our ministry in Kerala has by its action, inspired confidence among the mass of people outside Kerala. Its declaration that the police will not be used against the people struggling for their legitimate rights and demands or against freedom for peaceful actions; the education bill; the measures to distribute government land and the agrarian bill; fixing of minimum wages for agricultural labourers; settlement of hundreds of industrial disputes by direct government intervention; the rise in the salaries of low-paid government employees like village officials and teachers; the minimum salaries drawn by the ministers—all this has profoundly impressed public opinion in other States.

The Party will step up the campaign to popularise the achievements of the Kerala government. The advance in Kerala can be made the basis for the general advance of the democratic movement.

XIV. Strengthen United Front

With the position that the Party and the Left forces have won in the legislatures and among the masses, with the urge for united action getting demonstrated in practice in many places, with the growth of democratic forces inside the Congress, possibilities for democratic advance and popular victories in many spheres have increased immensely.

This necessitates the development of a united mass movement, extensive and powerful, through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activities, covering every area and firmly based on strong mass organisations. Only such a movement can defeat the plans of right reaction, bring about desired changes in government's policies, attain the aims and objectives of the plan and ensure all-sided national advance.

Striving to build such a movement, the Communist Party will intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in all parties. Of particular importance in this context is the coming together of Left parties and also progressive independents.

The Communist Party and the democratic forces, in general, if they unite and undertake their mass tasks seriously right from now, can certainly expect to effect further breaches in the Congress monopoly of power. The process begun in Kerala can be carried forward towards the establishment of alternative democratic governments in some other States. This possibility exists and we must strive to translate it into reality.

The building of the unity of the Left forces is not an easy task. The dominant leadership of the PSP and the Socialist Party continue to pursue their policy of keeping the masses divided. They strive to keep their cadres away from any united mass activity. Thereby, they can not only prevent effective mobilisation against the policies of the government and consolidation of mass radicalisation, but also help the growth of feudal and communal reaction in several areas where all the Left parties are individually weak. In Orissa, the PSP allies itself with the Ganatantra Parishad, the reactionary party of ex-rajahs. In Kerala, it has resorted to the vilest slander and calumny against the ministry led

by the Communist Party and joins hands with the dark forces of the Roman Catholic oligarchy and landlords in a desperate bid to uproot the ministry. It is to be noted that this attitude of the leadership has deepened the crisis in the organisations and increasing sections are opposing this disruptive line and even breaking away. In contrast, wherever they have carried on united front activities, as in West Bengal and in Maharashtra, the democratic movement has been strengthened.

This serious obstacle has to be overcome by combining firm ideological-political struggles against such parties, while developing common actions with these parties and their followers. Such united common actions are not only desirable but have indeed become a reality in many fields of mass activity.

But important though the united front of Left parties is, we cannot today confine ourselves to the efforts to build such united front alone. In many areas, independent progressives, many of whom are former Congressmen, wield considerable influence. The Party has to draw them into united activity, not merely during election and such other work, but also into the work of mass organisations.

There is common ground for united activity between the masses following the Congress and our Party for defending and popularising India's foreign policy, realising the aims and targets of the five year plan and ensuring that maximum benefits are secured for the people under its schemes and projects.

The growing radicalisation of our people could not but have its own impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of the vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress who sabotage all agrarian reforms, the growth of corruption and the decline of those values and morals which once the Congress cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people by the Congress ministries, the never-ending wrangles over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement and the electoral victories of the Left gives rise to disillusionment and facilitates political differentiation inside the Congress. The progressives inside the Congress are worried by the crisis of the plan and the attack upon

it from the right. They are getting apprehensive of the rise of the parties of communal and feudal reaction, which they know are growing at the cost of the Congress in some areas.

Our Party welcomes the growth of these democratic forces in the Congress. Adopting a friendly and fraternal attitude towards them, it will seek their co-operation in the interests of the people and the country.

V. Ideological Struggle

Of the millions of people who are entering the arena of struggle for a better life, a big majority is under the influence of bourgeois, petty bourgeois and feudal ideologies. The dominant leadership of the Congress tells them that capitalism will be abolished and advance to socialism made by merely building certain industries in the State sector accompanied by welfare schemes. They say that socialism can be achieved without a mass movement leading to the attainment of power by the working people. The masses are told that the struggle for improvement of their living standards and democratic rights are anti-national and disruptive of national economy. They are told that the reforms necessary for national advance can be achieved gradually by governmental action alone aided by such campaign as Gramdan. They are told that Marxism is outmoded and class struggle alien to Indian traditions.

Some of the Left parties scoff at the movement for peace and slander against the Soviet Union and attempt to create distrust in the teachings of Marxism-Leninism.

Forces are active which utilise the warning influence of the Congress and its ideology for caste and communal consolidation often giving the popular urge for development a distorted and disruptive direction. The Dravida Munnetra Kazhagam in Madras State openly preaches separation from India on the basis of a false racial theory. The discontent created by the policies of the government in respect of language and linguistic States is used by interested elements to whip up chauvinism and provincialism.

These developments underline the importance of sustained systematic and all-sided ideological struggle by the Communist Party, a struggle conducted on the basis of the principles of

Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and its application to every sphere. This has become imperative in order to consolidate and strengthen the democratic movement, bring it increasingly under the leadership of the working class and maintain the unity of India without which no progress is possible.

XVI. Mass Communist Party

The fulfilment of these democratic tasks and the cause of national advance depend on the emergence of the Communist Party as a mass political force—a party which will unite and rally the popular masses by its initiative in every sphere of national life and by its resolute leadership of the mass struggles.

The special congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon every unit and Party member and all friends of the Party to exert their best endeavour to build up such a mass Communist Party, all the time expanding to ever new areas and acquiring new strength from the people. The members of the Party must come out as the staunchest defenders of the interests of the people and the country. They must prove by their selfless work, initiative and sacrifice that the Communist Party is the most uncompromising fighter for world peace and defender of our national independence, the builder of the unity of the entire nation and the organiser of the masses in their onward march towards socialism and a joyous and prosperous life.

On Party Organisation

The Communist Party of India has emerged as a major force in the political life of our country. It is the main party of opposition in parliament as well as in the State Legislatures of West Bengal and Andhra. It heads the government in the State of Kerala. It has become the single biggest force in the working class. In every part of the country, the influence of the Party is growing. The membership of the Party has more than doubled in recent months.

But the Party continues to suffer from serious weaknesses—ideological, political as well as organisational. Some of these weaknesses were dealt with in the organisational report which

was placed at the special congress of the Party held in Amritsar. Pointed attention to these and other weaknesses was drawn by the delegates who spoke at the congress.

It is evident that without combating these weaknesses, the Party cannot discharge the immense responsibilities that confront it. Serious and sustained efforts have to be made, therefore, to overcome the shortcomings, to strengthen the unity of the Party and to develop it into a mass Communist Party.

This is a task to which all units of the Party have to pay immediate attention. But the key-role has to be played by the central organs of the Party—the national council, the central executive committee and the central secretariat. While the general tasks of these bodies have been laid down in the Party constitution, certain tasks have to be given top priority.

1. The most important of these is *Party education*, so that unity of outlook and action develops in the higher and middle leadership of the Party and a beginning is made in the direction of development of cadres. The centre has to prepare a syllabus and also help to organise Party schools in States and zones.

2. The *New Age* Monthly must play an important role in raising the ideological-political level of the Party, by giving studied articles on economic and political developments, on lessons and experiences of the mass movement, on Party building and on theoretical matters.

The central leadership has to take steps to improve *Weekly New Age*.

It has to plan out publications on current matters and on major problems.

3. Guidance by the Party on current issues has to be ensured by well-prepared meetings of the national council and regular meetings of the central executive committee.

4. On major political issues, the central executive committee and the secretariat will guide the parliamentary executive committee, which shall be responsible for all parliamentary work including discipline of MPs.

5. A sub-committee of leading comrades on the trade-union front has to be formed.

6. In view of the decisive importance of work among the peasantry and agricultural labour and in view of the neglect of this work by the Party for a long time, a sub-committee of leading comrades on the Kisan front has to be formed and the Party centre has to pay special attention to the task of rebuilding the organisations of the peasants and agricultural workers.

7. Effective measures have to be taken to overcome the neglect of the struggle for peace by Party units.

8. The work among women, students and youth has to be vigorously organised. State and district committees have to pay serious attention to this. In order to help work discuss common problems and evolve policies, the Party centre should convene meetings of leading comrades working on these fronts and form sub-committees wherever necessary and possible.

9. The need for strengthening the contact between the centre and the States is great. At the same time, only certain steps in this direction can be taken immediately such as, periodic visits to the States by the general secretary and other secretariat and CEC members, studying of reports sent by State Committees, prompt reply to their queries, intervention when big problems arise and central guidance is needed.

Special attention needs to be paid by the centre to the Hindi-speaking areas where our movement is weak. The centre has to take steps to start Hindi and Urdu weeklies.

The secretariat should plan out a programme of convening meetings of the State secretariats to discuss the major problems of the State and help in solving them.

10. We have been without a Party programme for several years—a document which applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Indian situation can arm the entire Party with a clear perspective. This has intensified ideological confusion. A draft Programme has to be prepared which the national council will circulate for discussion in the entire Party.

11. We have no unified understanding about the achievements and mistakes of our own Party since its inception. Comrades joining the Party in different periods hold divergent views about how the Party grew, what it achieved, what it failed to achieve in

each period. Distorted ideas, based on lies and half-truths, on the role of the Communist Party in the national movement, prevail not merely in the ranks of our sympathisers and supporters but also inside the Party.

The broad general statement made earlier, viz., that the present status of our Party is the result of the cumulative work of the Party carried on during its entire history—this statement alone is not enough. What is needed is a unified understanding of the history of our Party, of its work. Such a task has become very necessary now. It is a difficult task and will take considerable time for completion. But a beginning should be made as soon as possible by collection of documents and discussions among leading comrades who played an important role in different periods of Party history.

12. The Party centre has to organise proper Party life for cadres working in the central office and in various departments of central work and decide about the form of organisation at the Party headquarters.

The sub-committees formed by the centre will not replace the committees of the mass organisations, nor issue directions to similar sub-committees in the States. Their function is to help the Party centre to study problems and enable the Party centre to give guidance which should be through the State committees.

The members of the central secretariat will divide up work among themselves, on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility for implementation of decisions and regular collective check-up. The present practice of individual functioning, of no check-up has got to go.

Each member of the secretariat will be in charge of a specific department or departments of the central executive committee and be personally responsible for its functioning, for regular report to the secretariat, as well as implementation of the decisions.

The members of the secretariat will devote themselves entirely to central work. But they will be few in number and cannot, by themselves, carry out all the central tasks. Central work has to be done not merely by the members of the central secretariat but also by other members of the national council, above all, by members of the central executive committee.

Members of the central executive are not just State committee functionaries who attend CEC meetings when they can 'afford', as several of our former PB members did. CEC members elected by the national council are responsible to the national council to see that the work of the centre is properly carried on. They have beside State, *central* responsibilities and they have to carry them out when called upon by the CEC to do so—e.g., visit certain States, conduct Party schools, prepare study and other material, write articles in the central journals, etc. They have to ensure that decisions of the national council and CEC are implemented by the State committees.

After each meeting of the CEC a report of the decisions, and their explanation will have to be sent to members of the national council.

Comrades will ask: what guarantee is there that all this will be done? Especially when, despite assurances, despite all the experience of the past which shows how the entire work of the Party suffers in the absence of a functioning Party centre, such a centre has not come into existence?

The only guarantee can be that the national council elected by this Party congress deems it to be its duty to ensure that such a centre comes into existence not only by electing a proper and competent central executive committee and a secretariat, but by effective control over their work by suggestions and criticism, not hesitating to remove those members of these bodies who fail to carry out their responsibilities and replace them by others. Further, it has to be made a principle that the job which each comrade of the central executive committee and the secretariat has to do, the place where he is to work, is to be decided neither by the lower unit to which also the comrade may belong, nor by the comrade himself—though certainly they will have their say, but by the higher body.

State Committees

The State Committees have also to reorganise their work. There too a functioning secretariat occupies a position of key importance. But conditions in different States differ so much that

it is not possible here to deal with their functioning and the manner in which it has to be done concretely. Nevertheless, certain general observations may be made.

--In most States, the real State leadership of the Party has come to mean two or three comrades only, which means excessive centralisation, leading to anarchy in practice and accentuation of the trend towards bureaucratism. It also prevents development of cadres. This needs to be remedied. No comrade should be given more functions, more responsibility than what he can effectively discharge. Responsibility for State work has to be divided up among all State committee members.

—The function of each secretariat member, including the secretary, should be clearly defined on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility and collective check-up.

Meetings of the State committee should be properly prepared for, so that decisions may be promptly taken and who is to do what is also decided upon.

Each meeting of the secretariat, State committee and State council should start with reading out of the decisions of the previous meeting and a report as to how and to what extent these decisions have been implemented.

- Report of each meeting of the State executive committee and of the council should be sent to the Party centre.

- Party journals should be regularly reviewed, discussion initiated in the entire Party as to how to improve their contents, increase their circulation to every area and place them on sound financial basis. Publications should be planned. The sale of Party literature must become a normal and essential part of the activity of every unit.

The work done by the Party in the State legislature, in district and local bodies should be regularly reviewed and circulated in the entire Party.

Above all, it is necessary to strengthen the contact between the State executive committee and the district committees. This requires the initiation and development of *Statewide campaigns* in the absence of which even intensive work would remain on a

local and economic plan and fail to make an impact on the life of the State. The running of the journal has to be in such a way that it reflects the growing movement in the State and of its adjacent areas. Regular visits to districts have to be made not only for mass meetings but also to discuss the concrete problems with district and local committees and their functionaries. Close personal and human contact with cadres has to be developed in the districts. Special meetings must be convened to discuss problems of work in local boards, municipalities, panchayats.

—In planning out work, *priorities* have to be given, keeping in mind not only the various problems but also the organisational strength of the Party. The practice of making big plans and afterwards quietly dropping them, should go.

For all this, functioning secretaries of the State executive committees are essential but it should be evident that secretariat members alone cannot do all these jobs. The responsibility for State work has to be borne not only by the secretariat, members but by all the State executive committee members as well.

Collective Functioning

In every unit of the Party, first of all in the secretariats of the Central, State and district leadership, we have to organise work on the basis of collective functioning, individual responsibility and check-up.

This is lacking today. Collective functioning has come to mean interminable meetings. Individual responsibility has come to mean 'autonomy' and 'non-interference'. As for check-up, it is mostly absent. Such pattern of Party functioning can never lead to real improvement.

Every unit of the Party is *collectively* responsible for implementation of decisions both to the higher committee and to the lower committees as well as mass of members. But inside the committee, inside the secretariat, the principle has to be applied of individual responsibility on the basis of collective decisions and collective check-up. This alone will make possible the implementation of decisions.

Activisation of Entire Party

Radical changes are needed in the pattern of mass activity and style of mass work so that the basic units of the Party, the branches, become the leaders of the people in their struggles for a better life and in all their activities.

Despite the position which our Party has come to occupy, there has been little change in our pattern of activity. Our practical activities are mostly confined to elections, conferences and local struggles, together with occasional campaigns. The normal work of the Party is carried on almost exclusively by whole-timers. Dearth of cadres on one hand and chronic inactivity on the part of the vast majority of members have become a characteristic feature of our Party life.

Exclusive reliance on whole-timers, many of whom get progressively divorced from the life of the people, also accentuates tendencies of subjectivism, dogmatism and sectarianism inside the Party. It creates two categories of Party members - active and passive.

The political resolution has stressed the need for all-sided mass work. This is essential in order to consolidate the mass movement and strengthen the base of the Party. Guided by the resolution, the Party has to unfold sustained activity in every sphere so that for every job there are comrades and for every comrade there is a job.

This requires careful study of the local needs, the concrete working of the schemes of the five year plan and the development programme of the government and active participation in them so as to ensure that the interests of the people are served. Without this it is impossible even to build mass organisations. May a time this has been emphasised and some advance has undoubtedly been made but as yet it is too meagre. An attitude of narrowness and sectarianism still dominates the outlook of the leading committees and cadres with regard to such work.

Emphasis on the activisation of the entire Party and of organising work for all its members does not mean minimisation of the importance of whole-timers. In an expanding Party, we need an increasing number of whole-timers, but precisely for this, it is necessary to ensure that their minimum needs are met, that

they do not have to depend for their bare existence on friends and sympathisers. Adequate wages have to be paid to the whole-timers regularly. Wages for whole-timers should be considered one of the most important items in the budgets of the Party units. Medical aid for whole-time cadres also needs to be paid special attention.

Every State committee should immediately undertake a comprehensive review of the position of the whole-timers in the Party, the nature of the work they do, the wages paid to them either by the Party or the mass organisations, and evolve a policy on this important question.

Party Funds

The critical financial position of Party units at all levels is not due to the unwillingness of the masses to contribute to the Party. It is due to the practice of not approaching the masses in a planned manner. Wherever such approach has been made, as in recent months in several States, funds have been collected.

At least for two months every year, a mass drive for Party funds has to be organised by State committees on a Statewide plan, the entire Party mobilised for this purpose and every Party leader, especially those who wield wide influence, must personally and directly participate in the campaign.

An important source of the income of the Central and State committees is the levy collected from members of parliament and assemblies. In this respect, the situation today is highly unsatisfactory. A number of MPs do not pay their dues regularly. Some of them advance the plea that State and district committees make exorbitant demands on them. As for assembly members, in several States many of them, too, are in arrears. Such conduct on the part of several MPs and MLAs whose election was ensured by the devoted work of Party cadres and through the influence of the Party not merely intensifies the financial difficulties but also exercises a demoralising influence on the entire Party.

The State committees should also progressively introduce the system of levy on a graduated scale on the incomes of other Part members.

Besides this, it is necessary to centralise the funds of the Party units, putting an end to the practice of individual spending. All funds collected by everyone for the Party have to be handed over to the treasurer of the unit, and spent in accordance with the decisions of the unit.

Party Education

The need to organise education needs no stressing. Reference has already been made about an educational department to be organised by the central executive committee and preparation of educational material by it. With this as a basis, short-term Party schools—about seven to ten days—have to be organised in States. But though essential this is not enough.

Education also involves the production of popular literature and the running of schools specifically for cadres of each mass organisation—especially trade unions and kisan sabhas and also such things as generalisation of the experience of working in local bodies, co-operatives, social welfare centres, development boards etc.

Party education must also have as one of its objectives the strengthening of the all-India consciousness of our cadres, consciousness which has grown less and less in recent years. Comrades of one State know little about what is happening in other States. We have to organise regular visits by Party leaders of one State to another to report before State committees and cadres. State committees should translate their important documents and send them to the centre so that the centre may circulate them among all State committees.

A large number of Party members, coming from the working class and peasantry, need to be made literate and imparted general education. We must ensure that such education is organised by all units as an essential Party task.

Sufficient knowledge should be imparted to all Party members within a year so that they are able to read and understand the Party journal in the State and current national and international developments.

Expansion of Party

Notwithstanding its growth, our Party even now is too small. Moreover, in most areas, it does not even exist. Even in States where the Party is strong—in many areas its organisation is extremely weak. Quite often, in one village we have a powerful base but in the adjoining village which falls in the same constituency, we have little following. This not only hampers the growth of the movement, but weakens the prospect of the Party in elections which have become an extremely important part of our political and mass work.

The State committees have to study the position concretely and undertake *planned extension* of the Party into new areas, planned extension of circulation of the papers, planned extension of Party activity. The difficulty in the way of such expansion is the unwillingness of local units to part with cadres as well as unwillingness of cadres to go to new areas. This has to be overcome.

Enrolment of new members into the Party has to be a part of the normal activity of the Party, as also of educating them. Special emphasis has to be given to the task of enrolment of members from the working class, poor peasantry and agricultural workers. It has to be noted that even though our activity in the working class has increased considerably, the number of workers in our Party, even in big industrial areas is relatively small.

Further, there is no systematic effort to train them, so as to develop them into cadres and leaders of mass activity, to promote them. The composition of our higher Party committees remains essentially non-proletarian which has intensified many of our weaknesses. Expansion of the Party must mean simultaneously conscious effort to overcome this weakness.

Agitation and Propaganda

As early as June 1954, that is, nearly four years ago, the central committee in its organisational resolution, stressed the importance of improving the quality of our agitation. Considerable improvement has taken place since then but the defects pointed out then have not been completely eliminated

even now Speeches are not carefully prepared, not only speeches in mass meetings but sometimes even speeches in parliament and assemblies

They are often marked by diffuseness, repetitiousness and hurling of slogans instead of explaining them, vehemence instead of logic and careful presentation of facts, stereotypedness and generalities which do not take into account the heightened political consciousness of the people Explanatory work through individual verbal propaganda by all Party members in the course of day-to-day contact with non-Party masses is mostly absent

Moreover, the style of writing in several of our papers is jargonous and not lively, presentation of facts not adequate, insufficient attention is given to issues which agitate the minds of the people Sometimes, the tendency is to fill up columns with full speeches and statements of Party leaders which could be easily condensed Party leaders seldom write for our newspapers and expect that their speeches, often delivered without preparation, are adequate for the purpose

Our resolutions suffer from many defects of the same type Quite often, they are long, attempt to cover so many points, verbose they lack precision and are not written in a popular way

Serious attention has to be paid to these defects and steps taken to remedy them We have to speak and write with the consciousness that we are growing into a mass party, a Party to which millions of people look for guidance, a Party the majority of whose members come from the working class and the peasantry

Mass Organisations

A mass Party is inconceivable without serious, sustained and determined efforts to build mass organisations, among all sections of people especially among the working class and peasantry Without such organisation, the influence of the Party remains vague and diffused Without such organisations, the united front cannot develop Without such organisations, cadres of the Party remain isolated from the people despite intensive activity and become 'general' political leaders of the bourgeois

type and not grow into Communist leaders. Without such organisations which develop the self-activity of the masses, develop leaders from among them—not one problem which faces us can be solved nor the mass movement extended and raised to a higher level.

Hence it is that all the work of the Party, the many activities referred to earlier, has to be *directed towards* the build of the mass organisations. Every Party member, unless specifically exempted, should join a mass organisation.

Big developments are taking place on the working class front but many Party committees pay insufficient attention to them. The amount of *political* work among workers is meagre. Also there is shortage of cadres for trade union work as well as for the undertaking of educational and other activities in working class areas. Party committees in cities have to inspire an increasing number of comrades to devote, at least part of their time, to work among the proletariat.

As the political resolution has pointed out, of decisive importance is the need to overcome the weakness of the Party among the peasantry and to build up a powerful *kisan sabha*. Every State committee has to give most serious attention to this task, turn the face of the Party towards the peasantry, delegate sufficient number of cadres for it, arrange for their training and maintenance. Without this, the whole democratic movement will remain weak.

Within a year, the membership of the kisan sabha should be raised to 20 lakhs.

Targets and Slogans for a Year

Each State committee after the congress has to work out a concrete plan of action for the State and place it before the State council discussion and adoption. The plan should include:

- Doubling of the circulation of newspapers—Central and State within a year.
- A target of enrolment into trade unions and *kisan sabhas*.
- Expansion of the Party into areas where it is weak.

—Collection of funds for specific purposes such as a proper press building for Party office, etc

— Wiping out illiteracy from inside the Party within one year

— The number and titles of publications for the next one year

On the basis of the plan and targets for the next one year, each district should plan out its own work

The progress made in the attainment of the targets should be reviewed periodically

Combat Individualism And Restore Discipline

We have formulated the immediate organisational tasks before the Party. But past experience should teach us that all this will remain on paper unless a conscious and determined effort is made to bring about change in *practice*.

This has to start *from above* from the Central and State leadership. It is these committees and their members who have to raise their own consciousness, overcome the divergence between decisions and their implementation, between profession and practice, and set in every respect a model before lower units of the Party as a whole —modesty, tolerance, comradely behaviour, attention to criticism and above all *discipline*, without which not one of the tasks can be carried out. It is with the combating of individualism and strengthening of discipline that the whole work of remoulding of the Party has to be started and discipline is to be strengthened *primarily*, by example from above.

It has to be noted that taking the Party as a whole our leadership has not grown in maturity and ability as fast as the growth of the movement. This creates big difficulties for the Party. Proper methods of functioning of committees can help to overcome this difficulty to a limited extent—but only to a limited extent. The leaders of the Party at all levels, especially in the Central and State leadership have to increase their *individual efficiency* through self-study, specialisation and proper organisation of their own work.

It is necessary to stress that the weaknesses and shortcomings from which the Party suffers cannot be overcome by certain procedural steps alone. These shortcomings and weaknesses

are the product of continuous neglect of the fundamental principles of Party organisation. With a view to removing them this extraordinary congress of the Party calls upon all units of the Party, especially the national council, the central executive committee and the central secretariat:

—To conduct a campaign of improvement of Party work through a process of study, criticism and self-criticism. This campaign should be directed primarily towards the overcoming of individualism, restoration of discipline, bridging the gulf between word and deed and strengthening comradely relations.

—To set up appropriate machinery for preparation of Party programme.

—To conduct education throughout the Party on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.

Organisational Report*

**Placed by the Central Committee of the
Communist Party of India at the Extraordinary
Congress held at Amritsar**

We meet today in a situation which in many respects is different from the situation that prevailed two years ago when we met at Palghat. Developments of far-reaching significance have taken place in these two years.

Two years ago the leaders of the Congress and the government, on the basis of some improvements in certain aspects of Indian economy and relying on the promises of the Second Five-Year Plan and the slogan of socialistic pattern of society, declared that they would sweep the polls in the general elections. Parties of feudal and communal reaction hoped that they would substantially improve their position. One factor which gave the Congress as well as them added confidence was the disunity among the democratic forces and the condition of our own Party.

Acute political differences had developed in our Party before the congress. These differences and the manner in which those differences had been fought had led to weakening of the unity of the Party. Organised functioning had been paralysed in many areas. Our mass work, especially among the peasantry, had suffered seriously as a consequence.

It was in this situation that we had to make preparations for the second general elections.

The great merit of the Palghat congress lies in the fact that it took a big step towards the overcoming of these political differences. Correcting Left-sectarian mistakes and decisively rejecting an alternative line, the congress made a new and

realistic appraisal of the Indian situation. It worked out the tactical line of the Party and formulated policies for the big political battle which the Party was about to enter—the second general elections.

It is evident today that but for the line evolved at Palghat, but for the agitation carried on on the basis of that line, but for the united front tactics that followed from that line, our electoral successes would have been inconceivable.

The congress also decided that within 6 months a special plenum would be convened to discuss the organisational situation in the Party. It was found impossible, however, to give effect to this decision due to the pre-occupation of Party committees with the general elections. Almost all major state committees requested postponement of the plenum. The central committee, therefore, decided that the extended plenum would be convened after the general elections were over. Later, in view of the changes proposed in the constitution, the central committee decided to convene this special Party congress.

In the general elections, we suffered serious defeats in Andhra and Tamilnad. Reactionary parties won local successes in some States. But in their totality, the elections belied the expectations of the Congress, as well as of parties of feudal and communal reaction.

Parties, groups and individuals opposing the Congress from the Left, have considerably improved their position in several State legislatures. And among these parties our Party has registered the most impressive victories.

By polling 12 million votes, we have become the second party in the country not merely in terms of seats won but also in terms of votes secured. We have doubled our votes since 1951-52.

We won the majority of seats in the industrial areas and proved ourselves to be the single biggest force in the working class.

We retain our position as the major party of opposition in the Indian parliament and in the State Legislatures of West Bengal and Andhra.

We won seats in every State assembly in the country. But for the undemocratic electoral system which denies a party seats in

the legislature in proportion to the votes polled by it, our gains would have been much greater in the majority of States.

Above all, we have succeeded in establishing a government led by the Communist Party in the State of Kerala. The breach in the Congress monopoly of governmental power is a phenomenon of the greatest importance for the whole country.

Our opponents who are never tired of repeating that Marxism-Leninism has no validity for India and that the history of the Communist Party of India is a history of mistakes, have been baffled by these results.

An important result of the elections was that it gave the entire Party a better and more unified understanding of the political situation in the country, narrowed down differences and contributed to the strengthening of the unity of the Party. The elections proved once again that live experience of the mass movement, acquired in the course of mass activity often resolves controversies which prolonged discussions fail to resolve.

The Communist Party has emerged from the elections with heightened prestige, enhanced influence and greater strength.

Election figures of 1951-52 and 1957 indicate in a broad general way the way we have extended our influence in the country during the last five years.

In the general elections of 1951-52, we failed to win a single seat in Bihar, UP, Madhya Pradesh and Rajasthan. Today, we have representatives in every State legislature.

In the general elections of 1951-52, out of 62 lakh votes polled by us, Andhra and Telangana alone contributed 23 lakh. In every other State, we polled less than 10 lakh votes.

This time we polled 23 lakh votes in Kerala, 19 lakh in West Bengal, 25 lakh in Andhra and over 10 lakh in Punjab. Our votes in States where we were a negligible force has gone up considerably.

The general trend of the masses to the Left and towards our Party that was revealed in the general elections continues.

The unions affiliated to the AITUC have grown considerably in membership and influence. Of great significance is the growth of the influence of the Party in the mining and industrial areas of West Bengal and Bihar.

The growing influence of the Party is seen in the big response to the call for two-lakh fund given by our Party in West Bengal for *Swadhinata*, as well as in the collections in Andhra and Tamilnad, the growth of mass organisations in Kerala and the growing impact of Kerala on the whole country. It is also seen in the successes won by the Party in the local elections in Andhra, Maharashtra, UP, Bihar, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi.

In UP and Madhya Pradesh where we have been traditionally weak, the recent civic elections have shown improvement in our position. In UP, we have won majority of seats in 14 town area committees whereas we had no such majority in the past in any single area. In Madhya Pradesh, we have won majority in one municipality and acquired strong positions in several others.

Commenting on the results of the civic elections in UP, the *Banaras* daily described the Communist Party as "the political party which is in the forefront challenging the power of the Congress".

Dr. Katju, chief minister of Madhya Pradesh, addressing a meeting of the Congress workers recently warned them of the "growing influence of the Communists in the State".

These are developments of great importance.

As already stated, we entered the elections with serious handicaps. Our opponents and even many of our friends thought we would lose heavily. These hopes and fears were belied because of factors which have been narrated in the election review. Some of the most important of them may be mentioned here.

We based ourselves on the growing radicalisation of the people, their mounting discontent against the policies of the government, their urge for a better life and conducted numerous struggles in all parts of the country on local, sectional economic issues as well as mass campaigns on broad political issues, such as the liberation of Goa, the achievement of linguistic States, defence of civil liberties, etc.

Our agitation was far more effective than that of any other party in the country.

We gave expression to the people's desire to weaken the monopoly of power of the Congress, form alternative governments where possible, strengthen the democratic opposition all over the country and for this purpose strove to build the unity of the Left forces.

Despite the differences that had prevailed in our Party, we went unitedly into the election battle. Practically in every part of the country our comrades, irrespective of the views which they had held earlier, threw themselves heart and soul into the election campaign and strove their utmost to ensure the victory for the Party. Strenuous work was done by a vast number of supporters, sympathisers and friends of the Party—many of whom toiled as hard as the best and most tested cadres of the Party.

It is also necessary to realise that the successes that we have won are not due to the work done by us in the last few years alone. Our successes are due to the *entire* work carried on by the Party ever since it appeared on the Indian political scene—the causes it has championed, the struggles it has led, the organisations it has built, the activity it has conducted, the links it has forged with the masses by many years of hard, patient and self-sacrificing work. It is the totality of work that has been carried on by the Party, by its cadres and leaders for over three decades in every sphere that has given our Party its present position in the political life of the country.

Result of Enrolment Campaign

The successes we have won have to be made the basis of further advance of the democratic movement. This needs, above all, the building up of a mass Communist Party. The political tasks that have to be carried out in order that we may grow into such a party, have been formulated in the resolution which has been placed before this congress and need no repetition here.

It is necessary to recognise, however, that taking the country as a whole our Party is not yet a sufficiently powerful force. Its influence is marked by great unevenness from State to State and from area to area.

India has fourteen States. Only in three Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal—which have a combined population of 72 millions or 20 per cent of India's total population—we are a powerful force. We are weak in all the other States, as seen in the election figures. Our weakness is especially marked in the big compact bloc of Hindi-speaking areas where live nearly 150 millions or over 40 per cent of our people—Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Madhya Pradesh, Rajasthan and the Haryana areas of Punjab. Not merely is the Congress still immensely powerful there, but also the ominous fact has to be noted that feudal and communal parties have been able, to a considerable extent in some of these areas, to strengthen their own position at the cost of the Congress. Same is the position in Orissa where the Ganatantra Parishad has won a strong position. In Madras State, the DMK with its separatist slogan has emerged as a powerful force.

Further, even in States where we are stronger and where the forces of feudal-communal reaction are weak, our influence varies considerably from area to area. In West Bengal, for example, where we are a strong force, our effective strength is confined to some districts. In other districts, influence is still meagre.

Attention has been drawn in the political resolution to our weakness among the peasantry in most of the States.

Above all, it has to be recognised that the organised strength of the Party and of the movement lags far behind the growth of our influence.

Our Party membership is too small when compared to our influence. At the time of the Palghat congress it was only one hundred thousand—which means that for every 120 votes polled in our favour we had only one Party member. In no other country does such a situation exist.

The smallness of our membership is not a new phenomenon. Attention to this was drawn even in the review made by the central committee after the first general elections and directives were given to enrol more members into the Party. But we failed to take any concrete and effective steps to recruit new members, educate them and transform them into cadres of the Party. The

lag between our influence and our organised strength not merely continued but steadily grew in the period between the first and the second general elections.

With a view to strengthening the Party, the central committee after the second general elections gave the slogan of doubling the membership of the Party before the end of 1957. This slogan has been implemented in most States. Our membership has registered an appreciable increase in the recent months.

Our membership before the enrolment campaign stood at 1.25 lakhs. It has now reached the figure of 218,532.

Need for Effective Leadership

Our membership has increased. But the building of a mass Party involves something more than mere increase in membership. It involves the raising of the ideological political level of Party members. It involves the welding of the entire membership into an organised and disciplined force with a common outlook and unity of will and action. It involves the building at all levels of effective leadership, entrenched in the masses, able to lead them into action.

In all these respects the situation today is far from what is needed.

Our movement has grown. Our responsibilities have grown. But our leadership at all levels has not grown correspondingly in maturity and capacity. Everywhere we find it difficult to cope with our responsibilities. There is lack of effective leadership and also dearth of effective cadres. This weakness is reflected in all our work though not to the same extent everywhere. The overcoming of this weakness is a task of decisive importance.

In this, the central leadership has to play a pivotal role. How this has to be done needs careful consideration by the Party congress. To facilitate this, we shall give a brief review of the work of the centre and also point out its main shortcomings.

Party Centre

After the Palghat congress, the immediate and most important task before the Party was effective participation in the general elections. It was decided that election work should be given priority by the central committee.

A number of central committee members, including the general secretary, attended several State committee meetings, explaining the Palghat resolution and helping preparation for the elections.

In June 1956, the central committee worked out the united front tactics for the elections in conformity with the line of the Palghat resolution—tactics of united front with Left parties and groups and elements. Discussions took place at this meeting and decisions were taken and in a subsequent meeting of the central committee on united front tactics in Maharashtra, Gujarat and Rajasthan, in consultation with the committees concerned.

A plan was drawn up for publication of a number of election pamphlets. But it could be only partially implemented due to the failure of comrades who undertook to write them. The publication of pamphlets was carried out mainly with the help of comrades working in the publishing department.

In November 1956, the central committee discussed the points for the election manifesto which was subsequently prepared by the polit bureau members. The *New Age Weekly* was conducted in such a way as to help the election campaign. A number of press conferences were held explaining the electoral slogans of the Party. On the whole, our election agitation was sustained, effective and on a high political level.

The general secretary visited a large number of States during the election campaign. Comrade Bhupesh Gupta also covered a number of States. Other members of the polit bureau campaigned mainly in the States where they were working. Central help to States through speakers could not be organised on a bigger scale because, despite the directive sent by the polit bureau, all States said that they were unable to spare their prominent leaders for work in other States. This had adverse effect on the elections especially in States where the Party is weak.

After the elections a meeting of the polit bureau was held in Kerala to work out broad directives for the Communist-led ministry.

The central committee discussed the lessons of the general elections and on this basis the election review was prepared.

During this period, the Party was confronted with a number of ideological issues of an extremely important nature. Our intervention on many of these issues was neither firm nor prompt. Nevertheless, we did adopt a resolution on the struggle against the cult of personality which found general support inside the Party we took a correct stand in the parliament on the developments in Hungary after the initial confusion had been cleared up. We also gave an effective reply to the letter written by Sri Jai Prakash Narain.

When an article appeared in a journal published outside India giving an incorrect estimation of the Indian situation and of India's path of development towards socialism, the polit bureau openly criticised that article setting forth the Party's point of view. It rejected the proposal made by some comrades to make the article the basis for inner-Party discussion.

Guidance was given by the polit bureau to the parliamentary fraction on the stand to be taken on the Five-Year Plan.

We held a meeting of representatives of Party journals and publishing houses before the general elections. Various problems were discussed and broad directives were given as to how the journals should be conducted. A number of recommendations were made but these could be implemented only if the State committees took them up seriously. This was lacking.

After the Palghat congress, some comrades in the Malabar committee who had disagreed with the line of the central committee insisted that only those who had supported the line of the central committee should be in leading positions, in spite of the opinion expressed by the supporters of the central committee line that the committee should consist of comrades of both views. The polit bureau pointed out that it would be incorrect for those who had disagreed with the central committee earlier not to be in leading position.

Help was given by the Party centre in the unification of the Party in Andhra, the evolving of the line on the regional formula and the language question in Punjab, in the working out of a correct line in Orissa. The State committees of Bihar, Rajasthan and Kerala also were rendered help to improve their work.

The Party centre held meetings of leading cadres of the student, youth and women's movements. A resolution was adopted on work among students which was sent to the State committees.

One of the important issues the central committee has tackled in recent months was the language question. It worked out a line which, on the whole, has been well received in the country. Our resolutions on the utterances and doings of Sri T. T. Krishnamachari were also widely welcomed.

We sent delegations to the congress of the Communist Party of China and the French Communist Party as well as participated in the 40th Anniversary of the October Socialist Revolution. The general secretary attended the meeting at Prague which decided on the publication of an international journal.

Steps have been taken to effect economy in the central committee office and the funds of the parliamentary office and the central committee have been integrated.

We have prepared the draft of a new constitution which is being placed before the congress.

Nevertheless, taken in its totality, the amount of work done by the central leadership of the Party in the task of ideological-political leadership of the Party, guidance to mass activity and activity in the parliament, help to State committees has been extremely meagre. What is this due to?

Firstly, the number of comrades available for central work is too small. It should be noted that except for a short period after Palghat and till the end of the general elections, only two comrades have devoted their whole-time to central party work—the general secretary and comrade Bhupesh Gupta. After the elections, comrade Ahmad came to work at the centre and has helped central work to a considerable extent.

Secondly, the non-functioning of the polit bureau In this respect there has been no improvement since Palghat Majority of polit bureau members, as before, devote themselves exclusively to work in their own States

Thirdly, the failure of central committee members to look upon central work as part of their responsibility Some instances may be cited They do not write for the Party journals despite repeated requests They pay scant attention to circulars of the centre, they do not ensure that State committees send reports of the activity of the Party in the State and so on

Fourthly, the failure of even the few comrades who work at the centre to organise their own activity so that they may function collectively Their work is on an individual basis, in their own sphere of activity And there is complete absence of any check-up

Fifthly inadequate contact between the Party centre and the State committees The only form of contact, apart from meetings of the central committee, is the visit of the general secretary and some polit bureau members to States This, as already pointed out has been done to some extent But those visits have been of very short duration, actual problems have not been studied Many States have not been visited at all With an extremely superficial knowledge of the position in the States and of the problems of the mass movement, the centre finds it impossible to give concrete guidance

All this has meant absence of a real Party centre which can cope with the immense tasks

Attention to this weakness was drawn by every comrade who spoke at Palghat on the organisational question Every one felt that without tackling this task, no improvement in the work of the Party was possible Assurance was given by the central committee that this task would no longer be neglected But that assurance has not been kept

The absence of a functioning centre has seriously damaged the work of the Party in every sphere

Our growing influence and increasing spheres of activity have brought to the fore the need for competent cadres In every State,

this has become the most acute problem. Evidently, without a large number of cadres educated in the principles of Marxism-Leninism and the art of applying it to practical tasks, not one of the numerous problems that face us can be tackled. Hence the supreme importance is of Party education. But no steps have been taken to carry out this task.

Most of the meetings of the central committee have been badly prepared—without proper drafts and without prepared agenda. Many of the urgent problems of the mass movement have not been discussed by the central committee. On a number of matters the decisions taken by the central committee have not been implemented.

After the general elections we have not been able to conduct any campaign in an effective manner, on an all-India plane.

Trade-union activity has increased but collective guidance to the comrades working on the trade-union front by Party committees is lacking either at the all-India level or in the majority of States. The central committee has not even discussed the problems of the working class movement. As for the kisan sabha, the Party centre has done nothing to solve the problems that have arisen. Even the decisions taken for improvement of the work on the kisan front in July 1956 have remained on paper. The kisan sabha as an organisation has weakened in most States.

Although we have a fairly large number of competent comrades in the parliament, our parliamentary work, apart from a few effective speeches has not improved. There is lack of team work, lack of self-study, absence of collective leadership.

We run two journals from the Party centre—the *New Age Weekly* and *New Age Monthly*. Their circulation is low. Their quality needs radical improvement. Party leaders seldom write articles in the central journals despite repeated requests. The journals have become the responsibility of those comrades who run them—mostly junior comrades. The central committee and the polit bureau never discuss the journals nor make any effort to improve their quality.

Apart from the pamphlets produced for and during the general elections very few publications have been brought out by the Party centre.

Despite the economy effected, the Party centre is not able to meet its minimum requirements. It is completely dependent on the levy collected from members of the parliament and from a handful of donors. Even the ring of donors has not been expanding, which means that the same persons have to contribute continually year after year. Inevitably our collections from donations have gone down considerably. They stood at Rs 4,000 in July 1956 now they have reached Rs 2,000. As for the levy from the members of parliament a number of comrades are in arrears.

State Committees

It is difficult in this report to give an adequate picture of the situation in the States because proper reports have not been received from most States and also because conditions differ very much from State to State. Against heavy odds and in face of overwhelming difficulties, the State committees organised the election campaigns. They are running several journals whose circulation has increased and have conducted many struggles and activities. Our influence in every State has grown. Broad political issues are taken up by the Party more than before and our Party occupies an important position in the political life of many States.

But in some places, while the Party's general influence has grown by its taking up such issues, there has been utter negligence of Party building, work in mass organisations and Party paper and Party's independent mass activity, under the banner and in the name of the Party. This is a serious deviation which needs be corrected.

Generally speaking, the State committees also suffer from many of the same weaknesses that mark the work of the Party centre--though not to the same extent. Meetings of State committees are not adequately prepared for. Inevitably discussions become prolonged. Sometimes meetings are

desultory and chaotic and lead to little results. Many current problems are not tackled and the campaigns and activities are not reviewed. Many of the decisions taken remain on paper, because organisational guarantees for implementing them are lacking. Links of the State committees with districts are weak. The State centre does not concretely study the problems of the districts and help them. Personal contacts between leaders of the State committee and lower units is often lacking.

Moreover, collective functioning combined with division of responsibility and collective check-up is absent almost in every State committee. Not merely State committee but even several secretariat members do no State work. Too many jobs have to be done by too few comrades and that too is done in a planless manner and mostly on an individual basis.

Many issues are not tackled at all, for instance, our work in the local bodies which has acquired great importance.

The growing influence of the Party should have found its reflection in increased collection of Party funds through mass campaign. This has not been done adequately. As a result, all levels and in all units of the Party, Party finances are in a critical condition. It is becoming increasingly difficult to expand and even maintain our activities at the present level.

Not merely the centre but the State committees also have paid very little attention to the task of Party education. The ideological-political level of new Party members remains at a low level. Also education to develop cadres for mass activity is absent.

A large percentage of our Party members come from the working class and peasantry. Many of them are illiterate. Many others who are barely literate need general education in order that they may actively participate in the political life of the Party and develop into effective cadres. In the absence of this, in the absence of steps to liquidate illiteracy in the Party and raise the cultural level of the mass of Party members, not merely our mass work suffers but also inner-Party democracy remains formal.

Weaknesses of Party

It is also necessary to draw attention to some of our basic shortcomings. The most important of them is the inadequate state of unification of the Party—ideological, tactical and organisational.

The main strength of a Communist Party is its ideological homogeneity. This has been seriously weakened in recent years - largely due to the failure of the central committee to conduct a serious inner-Party campaign on ideological questions agitating the mind of the comrades. A report was made at Palghat by the general secretary on the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress. Party committees were asked, in a resolution of the congress, to study the documents of the congress and organise discussion with the help of the general secretary's report. This could be done only if the central committee took further steps in the matter and the members of the central committee themselves took the initiative to organise such discussion through the State committees in the States where they worked. This was not done. Subsequently, the central committee adopted a resolution on the struggle against the cult of personality. This too was hardly discussed in Party units and for the same reason.

Divergent and conflicting ideas have grown among different comrades about the decisions of the 20th CPSU Congress, about the implications of the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism. After the general elections, the Kerala State committee adopted a resolution trying to link our successes in Kerala and the formation of a Communist government there with the broader issue of peaceful transition. Some central committee members thought the document to be wrong. Some agreed with it. But the central committee did not even discuss it.

These, however, are not the only instances. An attitude of utter indifference towards basic ideological issues has grown inside the Party. Some comrades even dispute such basic concepts of Marxism-Leninism as the dictatorship of the proletariat being essential for the building of socialism.

Such extreme manifestations of anti-Marxist ideas is certainly not a common phenomenon in our Party. But it has to be noted that it exists. Revisionist ideas in various forms have penetrated

the Party. Side by side, there also exists dogmatism—reiteration of certain fundamentals and fear of recognising changes in the situation and adopting flexible tactics on the plea that this will breed "reformism".

Ideological work on the basis of the principles of Marxism-Leninism occupies a position of decisive importance in the activity of every Communist Party. The masses and even Party members are constantly subjected to ideological propaganda carried on by the bourgeois press and bourgeois political leaders. We all know how the bourgeois propaganda about the effects of the Five-Year Plan influenced even the central committee in its estimation of the political situation before the elections. Moreover, in our country sentiments of caste, religion as well as reactionary concepts of various types are deep-rooted and extremely widespread. The attitude adopted by the central government on the issue of languages and linguistic States has been utilised by separatist and chauvinist elements to strengthen their own position, preach disruptive ideas and slogans. Parties of the petty-bourgeoisie, mouthing radical phrases, slander the Soviet Union, ridicule the peace movement, spread lies about our Party.

Our Party, therefore, faces tremendous and ever-growing tasks in the ideological sphere, tasks without fulfilling which we cannot unite the masses and win their leadership, tasks the neglecting of which inevitably results in the penetration of alien ideas among the masses who follow us and even inside our own Party. These tasks demand the strengthening of Marxist-Leninist consciousness of our cadres, preparation of theoretical and educational material on all subjects agitating the mind of our people. Too little has been done by us in all these respects. While the influence of the Party has expanded, Marxist-Leninist consciousness of the Party membership has registered decline.

There has been a weakening of the spirit of proletarian internationalism in the entire Party—which expresses itself most sharply in the meagre activity carried on by the Party in the struggle for peace, for strengthening of the bond of friendship

with the USSR and China and other socialist states, for Afro-Asian solidarity.

A considerable amount of political unification on the tactical line has been achieved in the last two years but it is still not firm enough.

There is lack of clarity and unified understanding in the Party on the perspective before us, on the implications of the possibility of peaceful transition to socialism, on tactics of united front as well as on many burning problems of the movement. This is primarily due to the failure of the central committee to seriously discuss these issues and evolve a unified understanding.

Political unification of the Party is not something which can be achieved once and for all, on the basis of a general political resolution as we adopted at Palghat. The unification even on the basis of a correct line cannot but be partial. The line has to be applied, concretised, developed. Unless the general line of the Party is constantly and continuously applied to current problems, unless the line is concretised in terms of tasks among the working class, peasantry and others, unless the line is developed and enriched on the basis of study and assimilation of the actual experience of the mass movement, divergent understanding is bound to grow, weakening the unity of the Party, crystallising differences, giving rise to groups inside the Party, on the basis of trends and on basis of different interpretations of the Party line.

Hence, it is that reporting from above and from below, close contact with the masses on the part of leading committees, constant review of struggles, campaigns and activities of the Party, prompt tackling of mass problems and generalisation of experience occupy such a vital position in the unification of the Party.

In all these respects what has been done is too little compared to what should have been done. Hence, the extent of political unification of the Party is only partial.

Nor is the state of organisational unification satisfactory. This has already been dealt with in a general way in dealing with the work of the Party centre and State committees. Some features, however, need special stressing.

—Growth of fissiparous tendencies like "frontism," federalism, localism.

—Bureaucratic indifference to suggestions and criticism from below has become a characteristic feature of our Party life.

—Groups get formed on the basis of trends and even personal friendship—though this phenomenon is less today than it was two years ago.

—Above all, individualism is rampant, discipline is slack, the worst offenders in several cases being leading comrades who hold responsible positions.

Our membership is small. But even of this small membership, a big part is inactive except during such campaigns as elections and preparation for a conference. We have not been able to organise our mass work in such a way that comrades who are in various professions are able to play their role in the work of the Party and actively participate in Party life. In normal periods, practically all our Party work is carried on by whole-time cadres, which divides the Party membership into two categories—active whole-timers and passive part-timers. Further, some comrades have become chronically inactive, refusing to do any Party work—claiming all rights of Party members but refusing to discharge any Party responsibility, indulging in negative criticism and even slanders against the Party.

Our old pattern of work, based mainly on whole-timers, has to be radically changed so that more and more work gets done by the mass comrades. At the same time, a Party with growing influence, a Party with expanding spheres of activity needs an increasing number of whole-timers. But the number of our whole-time cadres has registered hardly any increase in recent years. In many States, the number of whole-timers has actually declined. Many of them have been forced to give up Party work and seek jobs due to the Party's inability to provide their minimum needs. This, besides serious damage to work, has also meant the frittering away of the most precious assets of the Party—its cadres and their experience acquired in the course of many years of activity.

It is not surprising that in this background of ideological confusion, inadequate Marxist-Leninist consciousness, political and organisational weaknesses—ideas, practices and habits of alien classes have made heavy inroads into our Party and are weakening its moral fabric.

The wrong manner in which the inner-Party struggle was carried on by us for many years is one important factor in accentuating these weaknesses.

Despite some improvement during the last one year the atmosphere that prevails in many units of the Party, especially several leading units is far from healthy. Some comrades recent criticism from those with whom they differed in the past even though the particular criticism may be valid, and adopt an excessively critical attitude towards their failings. Simultaneously, they betray an attitude of liberalism towards the failings of other comrades.

Basis for Rectification

These shortcomings have been discussed in several State conferences. What is needed, however, today is not a mere narration of these shortcomings but the taking of effective steps to overcome them. It is a gigantic task which will take considerable time. But a beginning has to be made immediately.

Without this we cannot fulfil the historic responsibilities towards our country and our people. Without this we cannot consolidate the successes we have achieved and lead the people in the struggle for the completion of the unfinished tasks of the democratic revolution and socialism. Without this, we cannot grow into a mass Party of the working class.

In many respects, the situation today is favourable for overcoming these shortcomings.

The profound analysis of the world situation made in the historic declaration of 12-Parties clears the confusion on many fundamental issues and arms the Communist Party of every country to wage a determined struggle against tendencies of revisionism and dogmatism.

Our position in the working class and among the broad masses is stronger than ever in our history. Our prestige is high among the people, our influence is wide and expanding.

There has been improvement in several respects in the inner-Party situation also.

Our successes in the elections and our growing influence vindicating the political line of the Party, have resolved many of the political controversies of the past and created conditions for political unification.

Consciousness has grown inside the entire Party that the position that we have won among the masses places heavy responsibilities on us and that in order to carry out these responsibilities the Party must be strengthened. Our cadres, the best that any party in the country has, fervently desire and would welcome measures to rid the Party of the weaknesses that have accumulated and put it in proper shape.

All these are favourable factors whose significance has to be grasped and which should be made the basis for advance.

The shortcomings from which we suffer have been narrated. They are serious. Nevertheless, if despite them we have steadily grown, it is because of the very character of our Party.

Our Party has won its present position because ever since its formation it has been guided by the ideology of Marxism-Leninism.

Our Party has won its present position because we have based ourselves on the principles of proletarian internationalism. Working out our policies on the basis of concrete Indian conditions, our Party has striven to learn from the rich experience of the international Communist movement extending over a hundred years. We are a part of the great world movement, which has already triumphed over one-third of the world and which leads humanity's battle for peace, democracy, socialism and a new life.

Our Party has won its present position because it has fearlessly championed the cause of the people, led their struggles, built their organisations.

Our Party has won its present position because it has based itself primarily and above all, on the basic masses—the working class and peasantry.

Our Party has won its present position because it has been organised on the principles of democratic centralism and continues to be, despite many weaknesses, the *most disciplined party in our country*.

Our successes are not fortuitous. Nor are they to be ascribed to any single factor.

Our successes are the successes of Marxism-Leninism and the principle of proletarian internationalism on which our Party bases itself. Our successes are due to our participation in and leadership of mass struggles and fearless defence of popular causes and base in the working class and peasantry. Our successes are the product of the united effort of all our comrades and of the vast number of friends, sympathisers and supporters of the Party in all areas and among all sections of people. Our successes are the outcome of the cumulative work carried on by generations of Communists who have toiled, suffered, sacrificed and thousands of whom laid down their lives in the cause of the Party.

On the basis of all this, we have won an important position in the life of our country. Many of the slogans that the Party gave, have become the slogans of the entire democratic movement. Millions of people look to us for leadership, look upon us as the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations.

Never were we such a big force as we are today. Never also did the fate of the democratic movement and our country depend so decisively on our Party's role.

It is this consciousness that must guide us in our endeavour to build a mass Party of the working class, a mass Communist Party, a Party unswervingly loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism, deep-rooted in the people, and capable of leading their movement to victory.

Other Resolutions Adopted in The Extraordinary Congress of The CPI Held At Amritsar:

(a) On Moscow Declarations of Communist And Workers' Parties

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India hails and endorses the peace manifesto of sixty-four Communist and Workers' parties as well as the declaration of the twelve Communist and Workers' parties of the socialist countries. Both the manifesto and the declaration, permeated with the confidence in the victories the international working class and progressive mankind have won in the struggle for peace and socialism, mark the historic advance in unity of the forces of peace and socialism throughout the world.

The peace manifesto is a clarion call for further developing the struggle for world peace on the basis of broadest unity of all right-thinking men and women—of all people who want mankind to be freed from war and threats of war.

The extraordinary congress of the CPI pledges that it shall strive its utmost in mobilising our great people for the cause of world peace and in thus translating the noble objectives of the manifesto into a living reality.

The declaration of the twelve parties is a document of profound significance and embodies the experience of the entire international working class movement. Correctly analysing the present-day world situation and reasserting the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism, the declaration further carries forward the unity of the socialist countries as well as of their Communist and Workers' parties. It makes a historic contribution to the further strengthening of the Communist and Workers' parties and of their fraternal solidarity. By rightly characterising the present epoch as one of transition from capitalism to socialism, the twelve parties' declaration lays bare the decline of imperialism and points to the

goal of Socialism and Communism. The declaration has thus ushered in a new stage in the unity of the international working class movement and given it a priceless weapon for forging ahead with still greater strides.

The extraordinary congress of the CPI reasserts its unshakable faith in the principles of Marxism-Leninism. Holding steadfastly to the banner of proletarian internationalism and true patriotism, the CPI pledges to prove worthy of the cause of Communism and play its rightful part in serving the people of India and in realising the goal of our present epoch- -Socialism and Communism

(b) On Halting of Nuclear Tests

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings and congratulations to the government and people of the Soviet Union on their magnificent initiative in deciding unilaterally to halt further nuclear tests. By this splendid and unique example, the Soviet Union has once again demonstrated its fervent desire for world peace and its readiness at all times to do all in its power to lessen international tension.

The Soviet Union had repeatedly expressed its willingness to enter into an agreement with the other nuclear powers for a halt to all nuclear tests. But the USA and Great Britain rejected these offers and deliberately continued to test their nuclear weapons. The imperialist powers paid no heed to the testimony of the world's most eminent scientists on the grave dangers to human health and life from the continuation of these tests. They spurned the openly expressed will of millions of ordinary people and the statements and resolutions of several governments and parliaments of the world, demanding an agreement to end nuclear tests.

The Soviet Union has now gone forward to announce its own unilateral decision in the matter. This courageous action can open up a new era of lessening tension and growing international co-operation, leading to disarmament and peace, if the peoples of the world can compel the US and British Governments to follow the Soviet example and stop nuclear tests without further delay.

India is united in hailing the Soviet decision as a contribution of the utmost significance for world peace.

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India calls upon all units of the Party and all members and supporters to join hands with other organisations and individuals in a vigorous campaign, demanding that the USA and Britain respond forthwith to the Soviet initiative, so that the menace of nuclear tests no longer hangs over humanity.

(c) On Algeria

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India salutes the heroic people of Algeria, who are battling for their independence with courage and determination against imperialist terror, unsurpassed in its brutality in the recent history of the struggles of enslaved people

French imperialism has already killed over five lakh Algerian men women and children driven out of their motherland another five lakhs wounded and tortured lakhs more. The charge of genocide can rightly be levelled against the perpetrators of this infamous cruelty on the entire Algerian people

The Algerian people are fearlessly combating this savage onslaught which flouts established international laws of warfare. Led by the lakh-strong liberation army, the struggle for independence continues relentlessly, everyday bringing news of fresh acts of people's heroism, writing new stanzas into the saga of Algerian patriotism

From all over the world now rises the demand for an end to this wicked colonial war for the immediate recognition of Algerian independence

In France itself more and more sections of the population are coming out against their government's Algerian policy demanding negotiations with the Front of National Liberation on the basis of recognition of Algeria's freedom

All honour, above all to the Communist Party of France which has all along stood in support of Algerian independence and against the colonial war of French imperialism, and has courageously faced slander and attack, but never wavered in its ceaseless campaign of solidarity with the Algerian people

India is united in demanding that Algeria's independence be recognised here and now and that the governments of the world put pressure on France to accede to this demand.

India is united in condemning the NATO powers—and especially the USA and Britain—for the aid they are giving to France to continue its war against the Algerian people.

The extraordinary congress extends its full support to the campaign launched on the initiative of the Cairo conference, for solidarity with the Algerian people. The congress calls upon all units of the Communist Party and on all its members and supporters to participate wholeheartedly in this campaign by holding meetings and adopting resolutions, by collection of material aid—money, clothes, medicines etc.—for the victims of French atrocities, and by all other possible means.

(d) On Ceylon Indians

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India views with concern the problems which thousands of Indians who have been, and are, in Ceylon are facing today.

The question of Indian or Ceylonese citizenship had come to the fore after 1947. Some of the Indians in Ceylon were given passports while a vast number of treated as of Indian origin continue as stateless persons. Those who have been given passports have been obliged to leave Ceylon in spite of their long stay and their trade or other occupations there.

The hesitancy and complete lack of understanding of the problem on the part of the Government of India far from helping to solve it only continues its aggravation day after day.

Thousands who have spent years in Ceylon and hailing mostly from the southern districts of Tamilnad and Kerala have returned to India without any employment and without any protection for their rights or trade or other legitimate interests. They have been uprooted from Ceylon and on return to India they face a completely bleak and uncertain future for themselves and their families.

This extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India urges that the Government of India should no longer continue to evade responsibility for those thousands of our fellow-citizens.

This congress demands that the Government of India should come forward to rehabilitate them and extend to them all the facilities extended to refugees.

This congress of the Communist Party of India further demands that this great human problem must be solved with understanding and sympathy, without being allowed to

deteriorate further causing untold suffering to thousands of Indian families

This extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India urges that the eviction of Indians from Ceylon as is going on now must be stopped and that the Governments of India and Ceylon should arrive at a firm and final settlement of the problems relating to citizenship rights on the one hand and rehabilitation on the other without any undue delay

(e) On Kerala

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India extends its hearty congratulations and warm greetings to the Kerala State committee of the Party and to all Party members and sympathisers in Kerala, on their historical achievement in establishing the first Communist-led ministry on Indian soil. This congress of the Communist Party greets the millions of people belonging to all walks of life in Kerala whose sacrifices, struggles, tireless efforts and correct exercise of the franchise have made this victory possible.

This congress welcomes with deep feelings of pride and confidence, the progressive policies and measures executed by the Kerala ministry during its 12 months' existence in order to ameliorate the living conditions of various sections of the people and to extend their democratic rights, despite enormous difficulties and obstacles created by reactionary circles and vested interests. The record of the Kerala ministry has brought new honour to the Party's banner.

This congress calls upon all Party units, all members and sympathisers, throughout the country to mobilise popular opinion ever more firmly and actively in support of the policies and measures of the Kerala ministry and to ensure the defeat of all reactionary attempts to dislodge it from power.

(f) On East Bengal Refugees

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India views with grave concern the wanton repressive measures which the Government of West Bengal has recently launched against East Bengal refugees to suppress their legitimate demands for rehabilitation, and terrorise them into submission to the discredited anti-people rehabilitation policy of the government. This action in itself is the greatest condemnation of this policy.

Overwhelming majority of the four million displaced persons from East Bengal has not been at all rehabilitated and the unaccountable agony and suffering of these unfortunate men women and children continue to grow everyday. Their plight cannot but evoke the deepest sympathies of all and their problem is one that is eminently human as well as national.

Yet, these refugees are today subjected to frequent teargassing and lathi-charge, mass arrests and imprisonment at the hands of the government. The leaders and workers of their organisations as well as of the Communist and other Left parties who have taken up their just cause, are being indiscriminately arrested. Many of them have already been detained under the Preventive Detention Act. The extraordinary congress condemns this repression and appeals to the whole nation to raise its powerful voice in protest.

Expressing its full sympathy for the just cause of the refugees the congress calls upon the government to change its present attitude and policy towards the displaced persons from East Bengal and accept their just demands. It demands immediate release of all those who have been arrested in connection with the movement of the refugees. The congress, in particular, expresses its indignation at the use of the Preventive Detention Act. It

seems that by so attacking the Left parties, the government wants to wreak its vengeance on them for the political and moral defeat it has recently suffered at the hands of the democratic opposition, following the resignation of the judicial minister.

The extraordinary congress urges upon the government to convene a conference of the representatives of the refugees and the leaders of all political parties to discuss urgent questions of rehabilitation with a view to working out a correct rehabilitation policy which, above all, must be acceptable to the refugees themselves and inspire confidence among them.

(g) On Refusal of Visas

The extraordinary congress of the Communist Party of India notes with deep regret and disappointment the refusal of visas by the Government of India to the leaders of the Communist Party of Indonesia and France who wanted to attend this congress as fraternal delegates.

The fraternal delegation from Indonesia included D. N. Aidit general secretary of the Communist Party of Indonesia, which is not only one of the foremost political parties of that country but is also the staunchest champion of national liberation and friendly co-operation between India and Indonesia.

The Communist Party of Indonesia has been steadfastly fighting against colonialism and for Asian solidarity and is now engaged in defending the Republic of Indonesia and indeed the Bandung spirit against the present American intervention in Indonesia's internal affairs.

The Communist Party of France occupies the position of the first party of that country and is the only party which is mobilising the French people behind the cause of Algerian independence. It is the French Communist Party which had, in the past, consistently fought for the restoration of the former French possessions in India to our Republic.

Even, at this very moment, when certain forces in France are trying to delay and prevent *de jure* transfer of Pondicherry to the Republic of India, it is again the French Communists who are, in the French national assembly and outside, supporting the just cause of our country and urging for such immediate *de jure* transfer.

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At a time when the friendship and co-operation between freedom-loving forces of Indonesia and France on the one hand and India on the other have become so urgent, this denial of visas would seem totally incomprehensible. It can only obstruct the growth of this friendship and co-operation.

The extraordinary congress strongly protests against this ill-advised action of the Government of India.

CONSTITUTION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

*(As adopted after amendment at the Extraordinary
Congress held at Amritsar on 6-13 April, 1958)*

PREAMBLE

The Communist Party of India is the political party of the Indian working class, its vanguard, its highest form of class organisation. It is a voluntary organisation of workers, peasants and of toiling people in general, devoted to the cause of Socialism and Communism.

The Communist Party of India arose in the course of our liberation struggle as a result of the efforts of Indian revolutionaries who under the inspiration of the Great October Revolution were seeking new paths for achieving national independence. It was forged in the fire of the big class battles of the working class, which it led from its very inception. Linking itself with the rising trade union movement, organising and leading it the Communist Party secured a firm base in the working class of India and created the first cadres of proletarian revolutionaries devoted to the cause of national emancipation and Socialism. It was one of the first organised forces to put before our people the aim of complete independence from British imperialism. It was the first party to raise the banner of Socialism in our country. It tirelessly strove to make our emancipation struggle all-embracing by giving it a correct social and economic programme. For consistent championing of the cause of Indian freedom, for leading the innumerable battles of the workers and peasants against exploitation, for carrying the message of Socialism to the working class and the people, the founders and members of the Party had to undergo long terms of imprisonment. Many had to lay down their lives for daring to serve the people. By its courage and self-sacrificing spirit, the Party attracted to its banner the best sons of the working class and the peasantry, steeled in the struggle of the toiling millions and the best elements from the intelligentsia.

Steadfastly serving the masses, courageously championing the cause of freedom, democracy and Socialism, the Party has grown to its present stature.

The aim of the Communist Party of India is the achievement of power by the working people, the establishment of People's Democracy led by the working class, based on the alliance of the

working class and peasantry, and the realisation of Socialism and Communism

In furtherance of these aims and taking into account the immediate tasks confronting our people, the Communist Party of India strives to unite and lead all patriotic and democratic forces in the country in the struggle for defence and consolidation of national freedom eliminating the power of monopoly capital removing the grip of foreign capital, strengthening of national economy, all-sided expansion of democracy and liquidation of feudal survivals and the evil heritage of foreign rule in the economic cultural and social spheres

The Communist Party of India defends the vital interests of the masses fights for steady improvement in their living conditions and struggles against social and economic inequalities It fights against all obscurantist conceptions and practices such as communalism caste untouchability and the denial of equal rights to women The Communist Party upholds freedom of conscience and stands for the protection of the rights of all minorities It fights for the rights and welfare of the people of tribal areas

The Communist Party of India is pledged to defend the unity and solidarity of India and its people forged in the fire of our freedom struggle Fighting against all separationist and disruptionist trends and movements the Communist Party struggles for balanced development of all regions for equality and equal treatment for the peoples of all linguistic regions as a sure foundation of Indian unity

The Communist Party of India stands for a foreign policy based on the principles of Panch Shila It fights for peace and peaceful co-operation between all countries on the basis of full freedom and equality of all peoples and nations It supports the anti-imperialist struggles of the colonial and dependent peoples

In the struggle for its immediate as well as ultimate objectives, the Communist Party of India is guided by the philosophy and the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone show the toiling masses the correct way to put an end to the domination

of exploiting classes and the establishment of a Socialist society. It combats tendencies of revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism in all their manifestations.

The Communist Party of India works out its policies by applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Indian situation, taking into account India's history and its national peculiarities, as well as the best traditions of the Indian people. It formulates its policies and determines its line of action in accordance with the interests and needs of the people and is responsible to them for its decisions.

Working out its policies on the basis of concrete Indian conditions, the Communist Party draws on the rich experience of the International Working Class Movement extending over more than a hundred years, on the experience of the Soviet Union, China and all countries of People's Democracy, as well as of all Communist and Workers' Parties.

The Communist Party fights against chauvinism and bourgeois nationalism. It bases itself on the principle of proletarian internationalism and stands for fraternal relations and co-operation among the workers and peoples of the world. It strives to strengthen the unity of the organised Communist movement in the common struggle for peace and against war, for the liberation of subject peoples from the yoke of imperialism, for the defence of the achievements of Socialism, for establishment of Democracy and Socialism all over the world. The Party believes that co-operation and common understanding between the workers and peoples of Socialist and non-Socialist countries have a vital role to play in achieving the common aim.

The Communist Party of India strives to achieve full Democracy and Socialism by peaceful means. It considers that by developing a powerful mass movement, by winning a majority in Parliament and by backing it with mass sanctions, the working class and its allies can overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and ensure that Parliament becomes an instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental changes in the economic, social and State structure.

In co-operation with all forces working for Socialism in the country, the Communist Party shall strive to build a Socialist

society which ensures rapid advance in all spheres and also guarantees the widest possible extension of individual liberty, freedom of speech, press association, and the right of political organisation to all, including those in opposition to the government, as long as they abide by the constitution of the country. Socialism alone, by abolishing the exploitation of man by man, can create conditions for the full flowering of human personality.

For discharging its political and mass responsibilities effectively and for leading the movement of the people, the Communist Party organises itself in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism. The principles of democratic centralism build the Party as a unified disciplined and militant organisation capable of moving its membership into action in any situation.

The correct observance of democratic methods and practice, the initiation and encouragement of organised discussion in the Party on current and important questions, the ascertainment of the freely expressed opinions of Party members, constitute a vital responsibility of the leading organs of the Party.

Proper practice of democracy in the Party strengthens centralism which is essential in order that the Party may conduct the people's movement in a vigorous and unified manner.

The strength of the Communist Party lies in its ideological purity and homogeneity, in its firm links with the working class, peasantry and other toiling sections of the people, in its unity of will and action. It is the paramount duty of every member of the Communist Party to strengthen this unity continuously and at all times and on all occasions.

The Communist Party of India enjoins on all its members to place the interests of the Party above their personal interests, observe strict discipline and loyally serve the great people of our land. They must work hard to unite our people in the common endeavour to consolidate our independence, establish People's Democracy and lay the foundations of a happy, prosperous Socialist India.

ARTICLE I

Name

The name of the Party shall be the Communist Party of India.

ARTICLE II

Emblem

The emblem of the Party shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white against a red background with a circular inscription in white: "Communist Party of India".

ARTICLE III

Flag

The flag of the Party shall be a red flag of which the length shall be one-and-a-half times its width. At the centre of the flag there shall be a crossed hammer and sickle in white.

ARTICLE IV

Membership

1. Any Indian citizen, eighteen years of age or above who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, agrees to work in one of the Party organisations, to pay regularly the Party Membership dues and to carry out decisions of the Party shall be eligible for Party Membership.

2. New members are admitted to the Party on individual application and through a Party Branch on the recommendation of two Party Members. Party Committees at Town, Taluk, District, State or Provincial and Central levels also have the power to admit new members to the Party. Party Members who recommend an applicant must furnish the Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned, truthful information about the applicant, from

personal knowledge and with due sense of responsibility All applications for Party Membership must be placed before the appropriate committees within a month of their presentation and recommendation

3 The General Body meeting of the Party Branch shall decide on the question of admission and, if the applicant is admitted to the Party he or she shall be regarded as a Candidate Member for a period of six months commencing from the date of such admission

4 If a leading member from another political party of local, district or provincial level comes over to the Party in addition to the sanction of the local Party Committee or District or State or Provincial Committee, it is necessary to have the sanction of the next higher committee of the Party before he or she is admitted to membership of the Party

5 Members once expelled from the Party can be readmitted only by the decision of the Party Committee which confirmed their expulsion or by a higher committee

6 Candidate Members have the same duties and rights as full members except that they have no right to elect or be elected or to vote on any motion

7 The Party Branch or the Party Committee admitting Candidate Members shall arrange for their elementary education on the Programme Constitution and the current policies of the Party and observe their development through providing for their functioning as members of a Party Branch or unit

8 By the end of the period of candidature the Party Branch or Party Committee concerned shall discuss whether the Candidate Member is qualified to be admitted to full membership The Party Branch or the Committee concerned may admit Candidates to full membership or prolong the period of candidature for another term not exceeding six months If a Candidate Member is found unfit, the Party Branch or Committee may cancel his or her candidate membership A report of recruitment of Candidates and of recommendations for admission to full membership shall be regularly forwarded by the Branch or the Party Committee concerned to the next higher Party Committee

9 The higher committee may on scrutiny of the report, alter or modify any such decision after consultation with the Branch or the Party Committee which has submitted the report. The District and State or Provincial Committee will exercise supervisory powers over the recruitment of Candidates and over admissions to full membership and have the right to modify or reject the decision of the lower committees in this respect.

10 A Party Member may transfer his or her membership from one unit to another with the approval of the unit from which transfer is sought and by presenting a letter of introduction from the same to the new unit he or she wishes to join. In case of transfer outside the District or Province approval by the District or the Provincial Committee concerned shall be necessary.

ARTICLE V

Party Pledge

All Candidates as well as full Party Members shall sign the Party Pledge. This Pledge shall be:

I accept the aims and objectives of the Party and agree to abide by its Constitution and loyally to carry out decisions of the Party.

I shall strive to live up to the ideals of Communism and shall selflessly serve the working class and the toiling masses and the country always placing the interests of the Party and the people above personal interests.

ARTICLE VI

Party Membership Cards

1 On admission to membership, every Party Member shall be issued a Party Membership Card.

2 Party Cards shall be uniform throughout the country and shall be issued by the State or Provincial Committees. Their form and contents shall be decided upon by the Central Executive Committee.

ARTICLE VII
Renewal of Membership Card

1. There shall be an annual renewal of Party Membership Cards. Renewal shall be made on the basis of a check-up by the Party organisation to which the Party Member belongs. No Party Card shall be renewed in the case of any Party Member who, for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party Membership dues.

2 A report on such renewal of Party Cards by a Branch or a Party Committee concerned shall be sent to the next higher committee for confirmation and registration

ARTICLE VIII
Resignation from Party Membership

1 A Party Member wishing to resign from the Party shall submit his or her resignation to the Party Branch concerned, which by a decision of its General Body meeting may accept the same and decide to strike his or her name off the rolls and report the matter to the next higher committee.

2 The Party Branch or the Party Committee concerned may, if it thinks necessary, try to persuade such a Party Member to revoke his or her wish to resign.

3 In the case where a Party Member wishing to resign from the Party is liable to be charged with serious violation of Party discipline which may warrant his or her suspension or expulsion and where such a charge is substantial, the resignation may be given effect to as expulsion from the Party

4. All such cases of resignations given effect to as expulsions shall be immediately reported to the next higher Party Committee and be subject to the latter's confirmation

ARTICLE IX
Membership Dues

All Party Members, full as well as Candidates, shall pay a Party Membership Due of one rupee per year. This annual Party Due shall be paid at the time of admission into the Party or at the time of the renewal of the Party Card. (The Party Member's Dues may, if the Provincial Executive Committee concerned so decides, be realised in quarterly or half-yearly instalments.)

ARTICLE X
Distribution of Party Dues

Party Dues collected from Party Members by Party Branches or Units shall be distributed as follows:

- Ten per cent for the National Council,
- Forty per cent for the State or Provincial Council, and
- The remaining fifty per cent shall be divided among the District Council, the Party Branch and the Local Committee where it exist, in such proportions as decided by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee concerned.

ARTICLE XI
Party Levy

The State or Provincial Executive Committees and the Central Executive Committee may fix levies on the Party Members in accordance with the guiding rules approved by the National Council.

ARTICLE XII
Duties of Party Members

1. The duties of the Party Members are as follows:
 - (a) To regularly participate in the activity of the Party organisation to which they belong and to faithfully carry out the policy, decisions and the directives of the Party;

- (b) To study Marxism-Leninism and endeavour to raise their level of understanding,
 - (c) To read, support and popularise the Party journals and Party publications,
 - (d) To observe the Party Constitution and Party discipline and behave in the spirit of proletarian internationalism and in accordance with the noble ideals of Communism
 - (e) To place the interests of the people and the Party above personal interests,
 - (f) To devotedly serve the masses and consistently strengthen their bonds with them, to learn from the masses and report their opinions and demands to the Party to work in a mass organisation, unless exempted, under the guidance of the Party
 - (g) To cultivate comradely relations towards one another and constantly develop a fraternal spirit within the Party
 - (h) To practise criticism and self criticism with a view to helping each other and improving individual and collective work
 - (i) To be frank honest and truthful to the Party and not to betray the confidence of the Party
 - (j) To safeguard the unity and solidarity of the Party and to be vigilant against the enemies of the working class and the country
 - (k) To defend the Party and uphold its cause against the onslaught of the enemies of the Party the working class and the country
 - (l) To deepen their understanding of the noble traditions of the Indian people and their rich cultural heritage
- 2 It shall be the task of the Party organisations to ensure the fulfilment of the above duties by the Party Members and help them in every possible way in the discharge of these duties

ARTICLE XIII

Rights of Party Members

1. Rights of the Party Members are as follows:

- (a) To elect Party organs and Party Committees and be elected to them;
- (b) To participate freely in discussions in order to contribute to the formulation of the Party policy and of the decisions of the Party;
- (c) To make proposals regarding one's own work in the Party, to get work assigned to themselves in accordance with their ability and situation in life;
- (d) To make criticisms about Party Committees and Party functionaries at Party meetings;
- (e) To demand to be heard in person when a Party Committee or any Party organisation discusses disciplinary action against any Party Member or evaluates their personal character or work in connection with serious mistakes which he or she is alleged to have committed;
- (f) When any Party Member disagrees with any decision of a Party Committee or organisation, he or she has a right to submit his or her opinion to the higher committee, including and up to the National Council and the Party Congress. In all such cases the Party Member shall, of course, carry out the Party decisions and the differences shall be sought to be resolved through the test of practice and through comradely discussions;
- (g) To address any statement, appeal or complaint to any higher Party organisation up to and including the National Council and the Party Congress.

2. It shall be the duty of Party organisations and Party functionaries to see that these rights are respected.

ARTICLE XIV

Principles of Democratic Centralism

1. The structure of the Party is based on, and its internal life is guided by the principles of democratic centralism. Democratic

centralism means central leadership based on full inner-Party democracy and inner-Party democracy under the guidance of the centralised leadership.

In the sphere of the Party structure, the guiding principles of democratic centralism are:

- (a) All leading organisations of the Party Committees from top to bottom shall be elected;
- (b) The minority shall carry out the decisions of the majority; the lower Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the higher Party organs or committees; the individual shall subordinate himself to the will of the collective. All Party organisations shall carry out the decisions and directives of the Party Congress and of the National Council;
- (c) All Party Committees shall periodically report on their work to the Party organisation immediately below and all lower Committees shall likewise report to their immediate higher committees;
- (d) All Party Committees, particularly the leading Party Committees shall pay constant heed to the opinions and criticisms of the lower Party organisations and the rank-and-file Party Members;
- (e) All Party Committees shall function strictly on the principles of collective decisions and check-up combined with individual responsibility;
- (f) All questions of international affairs, questions of all-India character, or questions concerning more than one State or questions requiring uniform decisions for the whole country, shall be decided upon by the all-India Party organisations. All questions of a State, Provincial or District character shall be ordinarily decided upon by the corresponding Party organisations. But in no case shall such decisions run counter to the decisions of a higher Party organisation. When the Central Party leadership has to take a decision on any issue of major State or Provincial importance, it shall do so after consultation with the State or Provincial Party

organisation concerned. The State or Provincial organisation shall do likewise in relation to Districts;

- (g) On issues which affect the policy of the Party on an all-India scale, but on which the Party's standpoint is to be expressed for the first time, only the Central leadership of the Party is entitled to make a policy statement. The lower committees can and should send their opinions and suggestions in time for consideration by the Central leadership.

2. Basing itself upon the experience of the entire Party membership and of the popular movement, in the sphere of the internal life of the Party, the following guiding principles of democratic centralism are applied:

- (a) Free and frank discussion within the Party Unit on all questions affecting the Party, its policy and work;
- (b) Sustained efforts to activise the Party Members in popularising and implementing the Party policies, to raise their ideological-political level and improve their general education so that they can effectively participate in the life and work of the Party;
- (c) When serious differences arise in a Party Committee, every effort should be made to arrive at an agreement. Failing this, the decision should be postponed with a view to resolving differences through further discussions, unless an immediate decision is called for by the needs of the Party and the mass movement;
- (d) Encouragement of criticism and self-criticism at all levels, from top to bottom, especially criticism from below;
- (e) Consistent struggle against bureaucratic tendencies at all levels;
- (f) Impermissibility of factionalism and factional groupings inside the Party in any form;
- (g) Strengthening of the Party spirit by developing fraternal relations and mutual help, correcting mistakes by treating comrades sympathetically, judging them and their work not on the basis of isolated mistakes or

incidents, but by taking into account their whole record of service to the Party.

ARTICLE XV

All-India Party Congress

1. The supreme organ of the Party for the whole country shall be the all-India Party Congress.

- (a) The regular Party Congress shall be convened by the National Council ordinarily once every two years;
- (b) An Extraordinary Party Congress shall be called by the National Council at its own discretion, or when it is demanded by the State or Provincial Party organisations representing not less than one-third of the total Party Membership;
- (c) The dates and venue of the Party Congress or of the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council at a meeting especially called for the purpose.
- (d) Regular Party Congress shall be composed of delegates elected by the State or Provincial Conferences as well as by Conferences of Party Units directly under the all-India Party Centre;
- (e) The basis of representation at a Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.
- (f) The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary Party Congress shall be decided by the National Council.
- (g) The members of the Central Executive Committee and of the Central Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Party Congress, whether regular or extraordinary. Other members of the National Council shall be entitled to attend the Party Congress as delegates without vote unless elected;
- (h) The number of membership from any State or Province for which the Membership Dues quota to the National Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for

calculating the number of delegates from that State or Province at the Party Congress.

2. Functions and powers of the regular Party Congress are as follows:

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the National Council;
- (b) To revise and change the Party Programme and the Party Constitution;
- (c) To determine the tactical line and the policy of the Party on the current situation;
- (d) To elect the all-India National Council by secret ballot;
- (e) To hear and decide on the report of the Central Control Commission as well as on appeals;
- (f) To hear and decide on the report of the Audit Commission;
- (g) To elect the Central Control Commission

3. The Congress shall elect a Presidium for the conduct of its business

ARTICLE XVI

National Council

The National Council which shall be elected by the Party Congress, shall consist of not more than 101 Members, the exact number being determined by the Party Congress

- (a) The outgoing National Council shall propose to the Congress a panel of candidates,
- (b) The panel of candidates shall be prepared with a view to creating a broad-based, capable leadership, closely linked with the masses, firm in the revolutionary outlook of the working class and educated in Marxism-Leninism. The panel shall bring together the best talent, experience from all States, from mass fronts and other fields of Party activity and include at least two representatives from every State or Province,
- (c) Any delegate can raise objection with regard to any name in the panel proposed as well as propose any new name or names:

- (d) Anyone whose name has been proposed shall have the right to withdraw;
- (e) The panel finally proposed, together with the additional nominations by the delegates shall be voted upon by secret ballot, and by the method of single distributive vote.

ARTICLE XVII

Functions of the National Council

1. The National Council shall be the highest authority of the Party between two all-India Party Congresses.

2. It is responsible for enforcing the Party Constitution and for carrying out the political line and decisions adopted by the Party Congress.

3. The National Council shall represent the Party as a whole and be responsible for directing the entire work of the Party. The National Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on any question facing the Party.

4. The National Council shall elect from amongst its members a Central Executive Committee of not more than 25, to carry on the work of the National Council between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the Central Executive Committee the General Secretary and Secretaries. These together shall constitute a Secretariat of six to eight to carry on the current work of the Central Executive Committee.

5. The National Council elects an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of the Central Party finances and report on the same to the National Council and the Party Congress.

6. The National Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies and remove any member from the Central Executive Committee or reconstitute the same.

7. The National Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Central Control Commission.

8. The National Council shall meet at least once every six months or whenever one-third of its total members make a requisition.

9. The National Council shall discuss and decide on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the Central Executive Committee. The National Council may decide to take up any other proposal or question.

10. The National Council shall submit its political and organisational report and the report of the Audit Commission before the Party Congress, whenever it is convened.

ARTICLE XVIII

Central Executive Committee

1. The Central Executive Committee shall direct the work of the Party during the period between two sessions of the National Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the National Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problems of mass movements and shall guide the State or Provincial Committees. It shall submit a report on its work and discussions to the next meeting of the National Council.

2. Carrying out its responsibilities on behalf of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

- (a) To convene regular sessions of the National Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same and circulate them to its members at least one week before the date of the National Council meeting;
- (b) Guidance and assistance to the State or Provincial Committees;
- (c) Party press and Party publications,
- (d) Direction of work of the Communist group in Parliament;
- (e) Direction of the Party's work in all-India mass organisations (or mass fronts);
- (f) Party education;
- (g) Party finance;
- (h) Relations with fraternal parties.

3. The Central Executive Committee shall meet at least once every two months, discuss and decide on the report submitted by the Secretariat on its work and discussions in between its two meetings.

4. The functions of the General Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under various heads on behalf of the Central Executive Committee. All members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the Central Executive and shall function collectively with specific responsibilities assigned to each member. No member of the Secretariat shall belong to any State or Provincial or District Party organ. To handle the work of the Central Executive, the Central Executive shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary. These bodies shall function under the day-to-day guidance of the Secretariat.

ARTICLE XIX

State or Provincial Party Organs

1 The highest organ in the State or Province shall be the State or Provincial Conference. In the present bilingual State of Bombay, however, the highest organ in Maharashtra shall be the Maharashtra Provincial Conference and in Gujarat, the Gujarat Provincial Conference. In the Centrally-administered areas where the Party organisations are of the same Party status as that of a State or Provincial organisation, the highest organ shall be their respective Provincial Conferences.

2 The regular State or Provincial Conference shall be convened by the State or Provincial Council once every two years.

3 An Extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be called by the State or Provincial Council at its own discretion, or when this is demanded by Party Units which represent not less than one-third of the Party Membership.

4. A regular State or Provincial Conference shall be composed of delegates elected by District Conferences and by the Conference of Party Units, if any, directly under the Provincial Executive.

5. The basis of representation at State or Provincial Conferences shall be determined by the State or Provincial Council.

6. The basis of representation and the method of election of delegates to the Extraordinary State or Provincial Conference shall be decided by the State or Provincial Council.

7. Members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee and of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the State or Provincial Conference, whether regular or extraordinary. Members of the State or Provincial Council shall attend the State or Provincial Conference as delegates without vote unless elected.

8. The number of membership from any District for which the Party Membership Dues quota to the State or Provincial Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the District at the State or Provincial Conference.

9. Functions and powers of a regular State or Provincial Conference are:

- (a) To discuss and act on the political and organisational report of the State or Provincial Council;
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the State or the Province, in accordance with policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council and to suggest changes in the all-India policies and the general line of the Party;
- (c) To elect delegates to the all-India Party Congress;
- (d) To elect the State or Provincial Council;
- (e) To elect the State or Provincial Control Commission.
- (f) The State or Provincial Conference shall elect a Presidium for the conduct of its business.

ARTICLE XX

The State or Provincial Council

1. The State or Provincial Council which shall be elected by the Party Conference shall consist of not more than 101 members. The exact number shall be determined by the Conference.

2. The outgoing Provincial Council shall propose a panel of candidates.

3. The list of candidates shall be prepared with a view to constitute a leadership to meet the needs of the growing mass movement and Party activity in the State or Province or the Centrally-administered area but bearing in mind the general considerations under *Section (b)* in *Article XVI*.

4. The election of the State or Provincial council at the Conference shall be governed by the same rules and principles as laid down in *Sections (c) to (e)* in *Article XVI*.

5. The State or Provincial Council shall be the highest authority of the State or Provincial Party organisation between two Party Conferences.

6. The State or Provincial Council shall represent the State or the Provincial Party organisation as a whole and shall be responsible for directing its work between two conferences. The Council shall have the right to take decisions with full authority on questions of State or Provincial nature but in conformity with the policies laid down by the Party Congress and the National Council.

7. The State or Provincial Council shall elect a State or Provincial Executive Committee of not more than 25 from among its members to carry on the work of the State or Provincial Council between its two sessions. It also elects from among the members of the State or Provincial Executive Committee a Secretariat of seven or nine including the Secretary to carry on the current work of the Executive Committee.

8. The State or Provincial Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in or remove any member from the State or Provincial Executive Committee or reconstitute the same.

9. The State or Provincial Council shall fill up any vacancy that may occur in the Provincial Control Commission.

10. The State or Provincial Council shall meet at least once in four months or earlier if one-third of its members make a requisition.

11. The State or Provincial Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational reports and other matters placed

before it by the State or Provincial Committee. The Council may take up any other matter.

12. The State or Provincial Council shall elect an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of Provincial Party finances and to report on the same to the State or Provincial Council and Conference.

ARTICLE XXI

State or Provincial Executive Committee

1. The State or Provincial Executive Committee shall direct the work of the State or Provincial Party organs during the period between two session of the State or Provincial Council. It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and the directives of the State or Provincial Council. It shall decide on any political and organisational question as well as on the problems of mass movement and shall guide the District Committees and shall report on the same to the Provincial Council.

2. To carry out these responsibilities on behalf of the State or Provincial Council, the State or Provincial Executive Committee shall perform the following tasks:

- (a) To convene regular meetings of the State or Provincial Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same;
- (b) Guidance and assistance to the District Committees;
- (c) State or Provincial Party press and Party publications;
- (d) Direction of the work of the members of the State legislature, regional councils, municipalities and other local bodies;
- (e) Direction of the Party's work in the mass organisations;
- (f) Party education;
- (g) Party finance.

3. The State or Provincial Executive Committee shall normally meet once every two months.

4. The functions of the Secretary and the Secretariat are to direct and carry out the current work under the various heads on behalf of the State or the Provincial Executive Committee; all

members of the Secretariat shall devote themselves exclusively to the work of the State or Provincial Executive Committee and shall function collectively with specific responsibility assigned to each of them To handle the work of the State or the Provincial Executive, the State or the Provincial Executive Committee shall set up such Party bodies and make such arrangements as are considered necessary These bodies shall function under the day-to day guidance of the Secretariat

5 Some State and Provincial organisations may be exempted by the National Council from forming State or Provincial Councils In such cases, the State or Provincial Conferences shall elect State or Provincial Committees to carry on the work of the Party between two Conferences The State or Provincial Committees shall elect a Secretary and a Secretariat to carry on the current work

ARTICLE XXII

District Party Organs

1 The highest organ in a District shall be the District Party Conference

2 A District Party Conference shall be convened by the District Council once every two years

3 An Extraordinary District Conference shall be called by the District Council at its own discretion or when demanded by Party Units which represent not less than one-third of the total membership subject to the approval of the State or Provincial Executive Committee

4 A regular District Party Conference shall be composed of delegates elected by Branch Conferences or by Conferences of the local intermediary units where such units exist

5 The basis of representation at the District Conference shall be determined by the District Council

6 The basis of representation and method of electing delegates to the Extraordinary District Conference shall be decided by the District Council

7 Members of the District Executive Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates to the District Conference.

both regular as well as extraordinary Members of the District Council shall attend the Conference as delegates without vote unless elected

8 The number of membership from any Branch or local organisation for which the Party Membership Dues quota to the District Council has been fully paid shall be taken as the basis for calculating the number of delegates from the Branch or the local unit for the District Conference

9 Functions and powers of a regular District Conference are

- (a) To discuss and act on the report of the District Council
- (b) To determine the line of the Party and mass work in the District in conformity with the decisions of the higher Party organs
- (c) To elect a District Council

(d) To elect delegates to the State or Provincial Conference

10 The District Council shall be elected by the District Conference. The exact number of members shall be decided by the District Conference

11 The election to the District Council shall be governed by the same rules as laid down in Sections (e) to (f) of Article XVI

ARTICLE XXIII

District Council

1 The District Council shall be the highest authority in the District between two District Conferences

2 The District Council shall represent the District organisation as a whole and direct the entire work of the Party between two District Conferences

3 The Council shall have the full right to take decisions concerning the work of the District Party organisation but in conformity with the line of the Party and decisions of the higher Party organs

4 The District Council shall elect a District Executive Committee from among its members to carry on the work of the Party between two sessions of the District Council. The number of the District Executive Committee is decided by the District

Council It also elects from among the members of the Executive Committee a Secretariat including a Secretary to carry on the current work of the Executive Committee

5 The District Council shall have the right to fill up vacancies in and remove any member from the District Executive Committee and to reconstitute the same

6 The District Council shall meet as frequently as the Council may decide

7 The District Council shall discuss and act on the political and organisational report and other matters placed before it by the District Executive Committee The Council may take up any other matter

8 The District Council shall elect an Audit Commission to supervise over the disbursement of District Party finances and to report on the same to the District Council and Conference

ARTICLE XXIV

The District Executive Committee

1 The District Executive Committee shall direct the work of the District Party organisation during the period between the two sessions of the District Council It shall be responsible for the implementation of the decisions and directives of the District Council and higher Party organs

2 It shall decide on political and organisational questions affecting its work within the District and shall guide the lower Committees The responsibilities of the District Executive Committee shall be discharged in conformity with the decisions of the District Council and higher Party organs

3 The responsibilities of the District Committee shall include

- (a) To convene regular meetings of the District Council and prepare reports and resolutions for the same
- (b) To check up the work of the lower units
- (c) Guidance and practical assistance to the mass organisations
- (d) Circulation of Party journals and Party literature

- (e) Direction of Party members' work in the municipalities and local bodies;
- (f) District finance;
- (g) Organisation of District Party Schools and Party Education.

4. The District Secretariat shall be responsible for looking after the work of the District Centre.

5. If any State or Provincial Council or in its absence the State or Provincial Executive Committee so decides, any District organisation may be exempted from forming the District Council. In all such cases the District Conferences shall elect District Committees to carry on the work of the Party between two Conferences. The District Committees shall elect a Secretary and a Secretariat to carry on the current work.

ARTICLE XXV

Intermediate Party Organs

1. Between the Branch and District Committee, there may be formed an intermediary Local Party organ such as Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town Committee when the State or Provincial Council so decides.

2. The highest organ of such a Local Unit or local organ shall be the Local Conference consisting of the delegates elected by the Conferences of the Branches in the area. The members of the Local Committee shall have the right to participate as full delegates in the Conference.

3. The Conference of the Local Units, in the Taluka, Sub-Division, Tehsil or Town shall elect a Local Committee and delegates to the District Conference. It shall elect a Taluka, Sub-Division or Tehsil or Town Council if the State or Provincial Executive Committee so decides.

4. The Local Committee will be responsible for the conduct of the work of the area concerned and for the co-ordination of the work of the Party Branches directly under it.

5 The Local Committee shall elect its own Secretary, and subject to the decision of the State or Provincial Executive Committee, a Secretariat

6 The Local Committee will report on its work to the District Executive Committee once every month

7 The Local Committee will meet at least once a month

8 The Local Committee shall work under the direction of the District Executive Committee and shall help the District Executive Committee in maintaining close contact with Party Branches

ARTICLE XXVI

Primary Unit

1 The Primary Unit of the Party shall be the Party Branch

2 The highest organ of the Primary Unit shall be the General Body meeting of the Party Branch

3 The Party Branch shall be responsible for maintaining direct day to day contact with the masses and for organising Party activity in its sphere

4 The Party Branch shall discuss all questions regarding its work and mass activity and take necessary practical decisions

5 The Membership of a Branch may be divided into Groups of convenient size. Each Group shall have its own Convenor

6 The function of the Group shall be to distribute and check up the work of individuals. Where necessary for facilitating political discussion in the Branch, preliminary discussions may be organised in the Groups

7 The Party Branch is organised on the basis of the village panchayat, municipal ward, street, mohalla, industry, individual factory, occupation and institutions. The maximum membership of the Branch shall be fixed by the State or Provincial Executive Committee

8 Functions of the Branch are

(a) To carry out the directions of the higher committee.

(b) To win masses in its locality or sphere of activity for the political and organisational decisions of the Party.

- (c) To build up and participate in mass organisations in its locality or sphere of activity;
- (d) Sale of Party journals and publications;
- (e) Collection of Party Membership Dues and Party finances;
- (f) To draw in sympathisers and militants into the Party and educate them and to help illiterate Party Members to become literate;
- (g) To help higher committees in day-to-day organisational and agitational work.

9. The Branch at a General Body meeting shall elect a Secretary and an Assistant Secretary to conduct its current work and, where membership of the Branch exceeds 25 persons, it shall elect a Branch Committee including its Secretary and Assistant Secretary.

10. The General Body of the Branch shall meet at least once a month at which the Branch Committee or the Branch Secretary shall submit a report of the work done and its proposals.

11. The General Body of the Branch shall elect delegates to the Party Conference of the Party organ immediately above.

12. The Secretary of the Branch Committee shall submit to the next higher committee and to the District Committee every two months a report on the new Candidate and full Members enrolled by it.

13. Where necessary a Party Member, besides being a member of a Branch in his own place of work or residence may also be attached as an associate member to the unit of his place of residence or work as the case may be, without the right to vote.

ARTICLE XXVII

Central Control Commission

1. There shall be a Central Control Commission elected by the Party Congress. The number of members of the Central Control Commission shall be determined by the Party Congress.

2. The National Council shall propose a panel of names for the Central Control Commission to the Party Congress. In proposing

the names for nomination, the Party standing of the candidate, which shall not be less than ten years, and his experience in Party organisation and personal integrity shall be taken into account

3 The procedure of election shall be the same as in the case of the National Council

4 The Central Control Commission shall elect its own Chairman who shall by right attend the meeting of the Central Executive Committee All members of the Central Control Commission shall by right attend the meetings of the National Council

5 The Central Control Commission shall take up

- (a) Cases referred to it by the Central Executive Committee or the Secretariat,
- (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the State or Provincial Executive Committee or the State or Provincial Council
- (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned
- (d) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the State or Provincial Control Commission and rejected

6 The decision of the Central Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The Central Executive Committee may by two thirds majority stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission, who shall refer it at the first available opportunity to the National Council for final decision

7 In all cases there shall however be the right to appeal to the Party Congress

ARTICLE XXVIII

State or Provincial Control Commissions

1 There shall be a State or Provincial Control Commission elected by the State or Provincial Conference. The number of members for the State or Provincial Control Commission shall be decided by the Provincial Conference

2. The guiding principles for proposing candidates shall be the same as in the case of the Central Control Commission.
3. The State or Provincial Control Commission shall elect its Chairman who shall by right attend the meeting of the State or Provincial Executive Committee. All members of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall by right attend the meeting of the State or Provincial Council.
4. The State or Provincial Control Commission shall take up:
 - (a) Cases referred to it by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee or its Secretariat.
 - (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken up by the District Committee or the District Council.
 - (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the comrade concerned.
5. The decisions of the State or Provincial Control Commission shall be ordinarily final. The State or Provincial Executive Committee may by two-thirds majority stay the implementation of the decision of the State or Provincial Control Commission and shall refer it immediately to the Central Control Commission or to the State or Provincial Council.

ARTICLE XXIX

Party Discipline

1. Discipline is indispensable for preserving and strengthening the unity of the Party, for enhancing its strength, its fighting ability and its prestige, and for enforcing the principles of democratic centralism. Without strict adherence to Party discipline, the Party cannot lead the masses in struggles and actions, nor discharge its responsibility towards them.
2. Discipline is based on conscious acceptance of the aims, the programme and the policies of the Party. All members of the Party are equally bound by Party discipline irrespective of their status in the Party organisation or in public life.

3 Violation of Party Constitution and decisions of the Party as well as any other action and behaviour unworthy of a member of the Communist Party shall constitute a breach of Party discipline and are liable to disciplinary actions

4 The disciplinary actions are

- (a) Warning,
- (b) Censure,
- (c) Public censure,
- (d) Removal from the post held in the Party
- (e) Suspension from full Party Membership for any period but not exceeding one year
- (f) Removal from the Party rolls
- (g) Expulsion

5 Disciplinary action shall normally be taken where other methods including methods of persuasion have failed to correct the comrade concerned. But even where disciplinary measures have been taken the efforts to help the comrade to correct himself shall continue. In cases where the breach of discipline is such that it warrants an immediate disciplinary measure to protect the interests of the Party or its prestige the disciplinary action shall be taken promptly.

6 Expulsion from the Party is the severest of all disciplinary measures and this shall be applied with utmost caution deliberation and judgement.

No disciplinary measure involving expulsion or suspension of a Party Member shall come into effect without confirmation by the next higher committee. In case of suspension or expulsion the penalised Party Member shall however be removed from the responsible post that he or she may hold pending confirmation.

8 The comrade against whom a disciplinary measure is proposed shall be fully informed of the allegations charges and other relevant facts against him or her. He or she shall have the right to be heard in person by the Party Unit in which his or her case is discussed.

9 Party Members found to be strike-breakers habitual drunkards, moral degenerates, betrayers of Party confidence guilty of financial irregularities or members whose actions are

detrimental to the Party and the working class shall be dealt with by the Party Units to which they belong and be liable to disciplinary action

10 There shall be right of appeal in all cases of disciplinary action

11 The State or Provincial Council or in their absence the State or Provincial Executive Committee has the right to dissolve or take disciplinary action against a lower committee in cases where a persistent defiance of Party decisions and policy serious factionalism or a breach of Party discipline is involved

ARTICLE XXX

Party Members in Elected Public Bodies

1 Party Members elected to Parliament the State Legislature or Administrative Council shall constitute themselves into a Party group and function under the appropriate Party Committee in strict conformity with the line of the Party its policies and directives

2 The Communist legislators shall unswervingly defend the interests of the people Their work in the Legislature shall reflect the mass movement and they shall uphold and popularise the policies of the Party

The legislative work of the Communist legislators shall be closely combined with the activity of the Party outside and mass movements and it shall be the duty of all Communist legislators to help build the Party and mass organisations

3 The Communist legislators shall maintain the closest possible contact with their electors and masses keeping them duly informed of their legislative work and constantly seeking their suggestions and advice

4 The Communist legislators shall maintain a high standard of personal integrity lead an unostentatious life and display humility in all their dealings and contact with the people and place the Party above self

5 Communist legislators shall pay regularly and without default a levy on their earnings fixed by the appropriate Party

Committee. These Party levies shall be the first charge on their earnings.

6. Party Members elected to corporations, municipalities, local bodies and gram-panchayats shall function under the appropriate Party Committee or Party Branch. They shall maintain close day-to-day contacts with their electors and the masses and defend their interests in such elected bodies. They shall make regular reports on their work to the electors and the people and seek their suggestions and advice. The work in such local bodies shall be combined with intense mass activity outside.

7 All nominations of Party candidates for election to Parliament shall be subject to approval by the Central Executive Committee.

Nominations of Party candidates to the State Legislatures or the Councils of Centrally-administered areas shall be finalised and announced by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee concerned.

Rules governing the nomination of Party candidates for corporation, municipalities, district boards, local boards and panchayats shall be drawn up by State or Provincial Councils, or in their absence by the State or Provincial Executive Committees.

ARTICLE XXXI

Inner-Party Discussions

1 To unify the Party and for evolving its mass line inner-Party discussion shall be a regular feature of Party life. Such discussion shall be organised on an all-India scale or at different levels of the Party organisation depending on the nature of the issues.

2 Inner-Party discussion shall be organised.

(a) On important questions of all-India or State or Provincial importance where immediate decision is not necessary, by the Central or the State or Provincial organ of the Party as the case may be, before the decision is taken:

- (b) Where over an important question of Party policy, there is not sufficient firm majority inside the National Council or in the State or the Provincial Council;
 - (c) When an inner-Party discussion on an all-India scale is demanded by a number of State or Provincial organisations representing one-third of the total Party Membership or at the Provincial level by District organisations representing the same proportion of the total membership of the State or Province concerned
3. Inner-Party discussion shall be conducted under the guidance of the National or the State or Provincial Council which shall formulate the issues under discussion. The Party Committee which guides the discussion shall lay down the manner in which the discussion shall be conducted

ARTICLE XXXII

Discussion Preparatory to Party Congresses and Conferences

1. Two months before the Party Congress, the National Council will release draft resolutions for discussion by all units of the Party. Amendments to the resolutions will be sent directly to the Central Executive Committee to be assort and placed before the Party Congress
2. The meeting of the National Council which circulates documents for the Party Congress will take place after the State or Provincial Conferences are over
3. At each level, the Conference shall take place on the basis of reports and resolutions submitted by the respective committees.

ARTICLE XXXIII

Party Members Working in Mass Organisations

1. Party members working in mass organisations and their executives shall work in an organised manner under the guidance of the appropriate Party Committee. They must always strive to strengthen the unity, mass-basis and fighting capacity of the mass organisations concerned

ARTICLE XXXIV

Bye-laws

The National Council may frame rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it Rules and bye-laws under the Party Constitution and in conformity with it may also be framed by the State or Provincial Councils subject to confirmation by the National Council

ARTICLE XXXV

Amendment

The Party Constitution shall be amended only by the Party Congress or in cases of emergency by the National Council by a two thirds majority In either case the notice of proposals for amending the Constitution shall be given two months before the said Party Congress or National Council meets

Some Aspects of The Agrarian Question*

(Adopted by the National Council of the Communist Party of India, October 1958)

The Amritsar Party congress gave the call for turning the face of the Party towards the peasantry. The political resolution of the congress stated

The failure to organise and develop kisan sabhas and agricultural labourers' unions, in spite of most favourable conditions, constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement. Without resolute measures to overcome this weakness, the democratic movement will not get built and the Party will fail to become a decisive force in the political life of the country.

This must be made a part of the consciousness of the entire Party and the tendency to look upon work among the peasantry and agricultural labourers as the specific job of only a few cadres, the tendency to look upon peasant work as the work of a particular 'front' and not the most important mass task of the Party should be resolutely overcome.

One of the factors which has impeded the growth of the kisan movement in recent years is the absence of a unified understanding inside the Party in regard to the changes that have come about in our agrarian economy and in the role of different sections of the peasantry and of agricultural labourers during the post-independence period.

Since its inception, the kisan sabha had put forward, along with the demand for national freedom and democracy, certain fundamental demands for the solution of the agrarian problem e.g., abolition of landlordism and land to the tiller, stopping of evictions, reduction of rents, taxes and debt burdens, provision

of cheap credit, ensuring fair prices for agricultural produce, extension of irrigation facilities, democratisation of rural administration, etc. These demands were, from time to time, concretised and practical slogans were evolved to suit specific situations. But swift developments have taken place during the last ten years, and as a result of the legislative measures of the Congress governments, the agrarian setup in the country has undergone significant changes. Statutory landlordism has been abolished. New laws relating to fixity of tenure, rents, consolidation of holdings, etc., have been passed in most of the States. Various schemes intended for the development of agriculture, entailing expenditure of millions of rupees every year are being implemented. The First Five-Year Plan has been completed and the Second is half-way through. All this has had repercussions on our agrarian economy unleashing certain new social forces and creating new problems which have to be properly assessed and understood.

The question as to what is the aim and direction of Congress agrarian policies became after 1952, a subject of controversy inside the Party. For some time certain erroneous ideas arising from a faulty understanding of the character of Congress government held the field. It was thought, for example, that the aim of the Congress agrarian legislations was to protect and strengthen feudal interests and to convert the feudal classes into the main base of the Congress in the countryside. Such ideas missed the essence of the Congress policies and the real content and direction of the new legislative measures.

In 1954, the central committee of the Party described correctly the effects of Congress agrarian legislation in its resolution, *Tasks of the Peasant Front* but did not evaluate the changes in class relations that have been brought about these legislative measures.

It was the Palghat Party congress which gave a correct positive direction to our understanding on this problem. The Palghat congress characterised the Government of India as a bourgeois-landlord government in which the bourgeoisie is the leading force and stated that consistent with its aim of developing India along

independent capitalist lines it 'strives to curb feudal forms of exploitation, transforming feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and creates a stratum of rich peasantry that can act as the social base of the bourgeoisie in the countryside' (*Political Resolution*).

This broad understanding registered at Palghat was not elaborated or concretised in subsequent years, with the result that confusion still persists and there is absence of a firm unity of outlook without which the movement cannot advance rapidly.

Hence, it has become imperative that new developments should be studied and the results of Congress agrarian policies properly evaluated so that the Party can re-state its programme on the agrarian front and equip its own cadre politically for work among the rural masses.

Class Policy

That the Congress government have totally failed to solve the agrarian problem, which is the key problem of our economic life, is a fact beyond dispute. Despite a multitude of new agrarian laws passed during the last ten years and the millions of rupees spent annually on agricultural development, our agrarian economy still remains a backward, marginal economy with a very weak production potential. Far from having achieved self-sufficiency in food, the country is becoming more and more dependent on imported foodgrains. Agricultural production is stagnant. Labour power of agricultural labourers and poor peasants remains unutilised for a considerable part of the year due to want of land and work. Capital formation in the countryside is extremely meagre and in the case of the great bulk of producers, there is more disinvestment than investment of capital. Intensive cultivation and the use of modern methods is still confined to a tiny fraction of the total cultivated area. Pauperisation in the countryside is growing apace and the poor and landless peasants are swelling the huge army of agricultural labourers who are victims of chronic under-employment and low wages. Concentration of large areas of land in the hands of a small section of big landlords at one end, and millions of tiny holdings cultivated by poor and

middle peasants at the other, is still the dominant feature of Indian agriculture. Various semi-feudal forms of exploitation still persist over large parts of the country and the mass of peasantry and agricultural labourers, the actual tillers of the soil, are crushed under growing burdens of taxes, indebtedness, rents and unequal exchange.

The failure of the Congress government to solve the agrarian problem is not accidental or fortuitous. It is the result of the class policies pursued by these governments' policies which are in sharp conflict with the interests of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry and the Indian people in general.

Ten years of experience has proved it beyond doubt that the aim and direction of Congress agrarian policies is not to liberate the peasantry from its age-long bondage but to transform feudal landlords into capitalist landlords and create a stratum of rich peasantry who can be depended upon to produce enough surplus of agricultural wealth to meet the requirements of capitalist development in the country and who can constitute the main political base of the ruling classes in the countryside. This objective runs like a red thread through all the legislative measures of the Congress governments.

Monetisation of Economy

The realisation of this objective is taking place against the background of a rapid expansion of money economy in rural areas. It is noteworthy that the total money supply with the public increased from 1,980 crores in 1950-51 to 2,313 crores in 1956-57. In this period the total bank credit expanded from Rs. 546.4 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 781.65 crores in 1956-57. Deficit financing also increased from Rs. 80 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 253 crores in 1955-56 and Plan expenditure from Rs. 259.4 crores in 1951-52 to Rs. 666.5 crores in 1955-56.

A part of this huge volume of purchasing power pumped into our economy has passed into the agrarian sector and has tended to bring about an all-round strengthening of the capitalist elements in rural life.

It may be noted that during the last few years, forward trading and speculative holding of stocks of foodgrains and raw materials has expanded enormously on the basis of expanding bank credit. The rapidity with which advances granted by banks against hypothecation of foodgrains has grown can be seen from the fact that in April 1956, when foodgrain prices were showing an upward trend, the amount of bank credit was 100 per cent higher than in the corresponding period of the previous year. The tightening of the grip of Indian and foreign monopolistic trading interests over agricultural produce, which is characteristic of recent years, has inevitably brought in its wake intensification of exploitation of the producers through unequal exchange and violent fluctuation of prices.

The expansion of money economy in rural areas has also brought in its wake a considerable expansion of usurious capital. According to the Rural Credit Survey, the total rural indebtedness in the country stood at Rs. 9,000 million and was increasing. The interest charges alone on this amount would be, on a very conservative estimate, more than Rs. 1,000 million per annum. At the same time, it is becoming increasingly difficult for the peasants to obtain adequate credit for agricultural operations at normal rates of interest. Cooperative credit, government loans and bank advances, all put together constitute an insignificant proportion of total rural credit requirements. This dearth of credit is leading not only to deterioration in agricultural production but also to the passing of land out of the hands of poor peasants.

A good part of the new purchasing power has also passed into the hands of landlords and the richer strata of peasantry through Plan expenditure on community development, national extension service and other rural projects, thereby bringing about an overall strengthening of the economic position of these classes.

Results of Agrarian Reforms

It would thus be seen that the general course of development of Indian economy is causing expansion of capitalist relations in rural areas and subjecting the agrarian system more and more

to capitalist exploitation It is against this background that the concrete results of Congress agrarian measures have to be assessed

The *zamindari* and *jagirdari* abolition acts have undoubtedly curbed feudal interests and have, in a large measure weakened the feudal monopoly of landownership, but they are, in essence, measures designed to enable the ruling capitalist class and the capitalist state to appropriate a large part of the agricultural wealth which had been hitherto appropriated by the feudal classes

In fact, the abolition of the semi-feudal system of land tenure has been dictated by the interests of the dominant bourgeoisie that seeks to strengthen itself in the rural sector which is the basic sector of our economy, in order to be in a position to dominate and control the economic development of the country Thus the abolition of *zamindari* and *jagirdari* rights has not been followed by a free and automatic transfer of proprietary rights to the actual tillers of the soil On the contrary, the poorest sections of the peasants have been ejected on a big scale, both legally and illegally In UP for example only the topmost layer of the peasantry, constituting about fifteen per cent of the total cultivators, has so far been able to acquire *bhoomidari* rights In West Bengal the share-croppers have not secured even tenancy rights and in addition to a small number of under *raiyats* proprietary rights have been conferred mainly on the *raiyats* who even formerly enjoyed these rights

The *Zamindari* abolition acts have also helped the feudal landlords to rehabilitate themselves as big landholders by paying them substantial compensation and by allowing them to retain the ownership of large tracts of *sir*, *khudkasht* and *khas* lands and to eject tenants who were in occupation of these lands Thus, with the disappearance of absentee feudal landlords, there has appeared on the scene in these areas a class of big landholders who owns a considerable portion of the total land, and who, due to their financial standing, are beginning to dominate rural economy It is also a fact that, along with this, the rich peasants have strengthened their positions considerably and are acquiring an important status in rural life

It should, however, be noted that in the erstwhile *zamindari* areas like UP, Bengal, Bihar, Rajasthan, etc., the development of a class of capitalist landlords is still a limited, though growing, phenomenon. Some of the bigger *zamindars* or *jagirdars* who have been able to retain large tracts of *sir* or *khas* land have started capitalist farming with modern technique, but the total area under such cultivation is still very small. This is due partly to the general economic backwardness of these regions and partly to the fact that feudal survivals such as share-cropping, usurious grain loans, exaction of labour rent, etc., are still strong there, despite *zamindari* abolition which has failed to put a decisive end to this type of exploitation. Thus, the substantial landholders who dominate village economy indulge both in capitalist and semi-feudal forms of exploitation.

Capitalist Landlords

The development of a class of capitalist landlords is, generally speaking, more pronounced in the erstwhile *ryotwari* areas where a considerable degree of capitalist development in agriculture had already taken place during the British days. In regions like Andhra, Punjab, Berar, Kaveri belt and Coimbatore district of Tamilnad, some districts of Gujarat, Maharashtra and Mysore, the capitalist landlord is a much more powerful element in rural life. He possesses big farms consisting of the best lands; he is the employer of a large number of agricultural labourers and uses more modern methods of production; he is also a money-lender, supplying a good part of the credit needs of the cultivators and resorts to hoarding and blackmarketing in foodgrains. He is often closely connected with agro-industries such as rice and oil mills, sugar mills, etc. He is also closely connected with the ruling classes and the administrative machinery.

The tenancy laws enforced by the Congress governments in the *ryotwari* areas have actually resulted in large-scale ejection of tenants. One of the declared aims of these tenancy laws is to promote self-cultivation; hence, every tenancy law has given certain rights of resumption to landowners. The inevitable result of this provision has been that mass eviction of tenants has taken

place and the area of 'self-cultivated' land of landlords has expanded rapidly Every loophole in tenancy laws and particularly the right of resumption has been ruthlessly utilised in order to oust the maximum number of tenants from lands under their cultivation In Andhra, for example, within one year after the passing of the tenancy act, the majority of tenants were evicted and the lands held by them brought under the 'self-cultivation' of the owners In Bombay, official figures reveal that after the enforcement of the tenancy acts, the total area held by 'protected tenants' has been reduced by 50 per cent In Hyderabad, such area has been reduced by about 59 per cent

Thus, what stands out in large regions of the erstwhile *ryotwari* areas is the development of a type of capitalist landlordism This development is expressed firstly, in the growth of class differentiation in rural society, the percentage of landless agricultural labourers being much larger than in the erstwhile *amandani* areas, secondly, in the concentration of land in the hands of big landholders who invest capital in land, resort to modern methods of cultivation and employ hired labour on a big scale and thirdly, in the increasing cultivation of cash crops which have far greater monetary value than food crops and which make it possible for capital to accumulate in the hands of the bigger landholders It is upon this section of capitalist landlords that the government is relying for the development of agriculture in these areas

This development should not, however, be understood to mean that feudal remnants have disappeared in these regions The fact of the matter is that even in these regions sharecropping, sub-letting on excessive rents and various other types of semi-feudal exactions are still quite prevalent, although the dominant tendency among the bigger landowners is to resort more and more to cultivation through wage-labour

The existing laws regarding ceiling have hitherto left the big landowning classes untouched and in secure possession of their large holdings The majority of States have provided for ceiling on future holdings, a law which has remained on paper Some of the States which have imposed ceiling on present holdings have

left enough loopholes in the law to enable the bigger landowners either to preserve their estates untouched or to split them up through partition among their family members in a manner as to make the principle of ceiling inapplicable to them. It is noteworthy that not a single acre of land has been acquired so far anywhere on account of the imposition of ceiling. Exemption of the so-called 'efficiently managed farms' knocks the bottom out of this measure in so far as any big farm can claim exemption from ceiling on this basis.

Consolidation of holdings is another measure whereby the economic position of the richer strata of the landowning classes has been strengthened. Experience has shown that it is the big landholder or the rich peasant who is always able to manoeuvre and secure for himself the best land and the best sites at the cost of the poor and middle peasants.

Fiscal Policy

The government's fiscal policy continues to throw more and more burdens on the common people. In sharp contrast to the tax concessions given to the big capitalists, the central and state governments are imposing ever new, direct and indirect, taxes on the people in the name of financing development schemes. The taxation measures of the central government alone have in the last two years imposed additional burdens to the tune of Rs. 200 crores per annum, the major part of which is drawn from excise duties and sales tax. The growing burdens of taxation are enhanced by the policy of resorting to deficit-financing on a big scale causing inflation, which leads to a substantial swelling of bank deposits and consequent expansion of bank credits. This is utilised by the industrialists and by the big commercial interests to tighten their monopoly grip over the market.

As a result of all this, the peasant is fleeced both as a seller of agricultural produce and as a pruchaser of industrial goods. Inflation is the single biggest tax on the common people today. It is a powerful instrument for capital accumulation and growth of monopoly. It is also the biggest device whereby the state fleeces the people.

The government also refuse to scale down the burden of rural debt or to provide cheap credit. Whatever meagre cooperative and government credit is available is being utilised largely by landlords and rich peasants.

Consistent with their policy of promoting the interests of the richer landholders, the government have been giving them direct financial, technical and other aid on a big scale, almost to the exclusion of the other strata of cultivators. It is a well-known fact that the bulk of expenditure on community development and NES flows into the pockets of big landholders and rich peasants. Large sums are advanced to them as *tuccavi* loans; special agricultural loans are granted to them for the purchase of tractors, oil engines or for sinking tubewells. It is they who grab the lion's share of the manure and good quality seeds distributed by the government. In most cases, they control cooperative credit societies which largely serve their interests. According to the Rural Credit Survey, whereas the small and medium cultivators were able to get loans from the cooperatives amounting on an average, to Rs. 1.9 and Rs. 4.7 respectively, the bigger cultivators were able to secure as much as Rs. 21. Their close social links with the administration and their domination over village panchayats enables them to secure innumerable personal advantages.

Growth of Capitalist Relations

To sum up, the general aim and direction of Congress policies is to promote capitalist relations in agriculture and to generate, foster and develop a class of substantial landholders—capitalist landlords and rich peasants—who, with state aid and support, can develop agriculture on modern capitalist lines, increase production and thus create a surplus for meeting the requirements of the general economic development of the country. In pursuance of these aims, the Congress governments, while generally curbing feudal relations, have given substantial concessions to feudal landlords, leaving in their possession enough land to enable them to resort to capitalist farming. It is also in pursuance of these aims that millions of tenants have been allowed to be evicted, redistribution of land has been ruled out.

proprietary rights have been denied to the overwhelming majority of cultivators and the principle of ceiling, which has been reduced to a farce in practice, is now being sought to be abandoned.

One of the outstanding features of the expansion of capitalist relations in agriculture is the growth of agricultural labourers as a class. Agricultural labourers constitute between 30 and 45 per cent of the rural population in States like Andhra, Tamilnad, Kerala, Mysore and about 30 per cent in the country as a whole. This huge mass of rural population is unemployed for about half of the year, is paid very low wages, derives no benefits from social legislation and, being drawn largely from the Scheduled Castes, is subjected to social oppression and the worst forms of semi-feudal exploitation.

Intensified Crisis

The intensification of the agrarian crisis in India, highlighted in recent years by the acuteness of the food crisis, is due essentially to this anti-popular direction of the Congress agrarian policies. Despite the multitude of laws and billions of rupees pressed into the service of developing capitalist agriculture, our agrarian economy has registered no worthwhile advance. This is because land has not been redistributed among the tillers of the soil, and the exploitation carried on by various types of vested interests in land, by money-lenders and monopolistic traders, far from being ended, has not even been curbed in any significant measure. In fact, what has happened is that the rural masses have been subjected to new forms of capitalist exploitation without having been fully liberated from the traditional forms of semi-feudal exploitation. This has actually deepened the crisis of the whole agrarian system.

It is patent that our agrarian economy cannot be lifted out of its age-long backwardness through the path of capitalist development. In a system where there are strong survivals of feudalism, where over 75 per cent of the peasants hold tiny uneconomic holdings, where the triple burden of rents, taxes and interest is grinding down the actual producers, where industrial and technological development is at a very low level and where

there is unlimited wastage of human labour power, to think that our agrarian problem can be solved through development on capitalist lines is nothing short of self-deception. Nor can it be argued that gradually and in due course of time, with greater attention being paid to scientific methods, better irrigation, better seeds and manure and more credit facilities, etc., Indian agriculture would be able to overcome the present crisis. To say this is not to understand the essential character of the agrarian problem in India. The problem is not a technological problem; it is essentially a problem of class relations, a problem which calls for such basic social and economic transformations as can unleash, in full measure, the forces of production and regenerate the whole system.

Demarcation from Congress

The Communist Party should, therefore, disassociate itself sharply from the class policies pursued by the ruling bourgeoisie—policies which increasingly subordinate rural economy to capitalist vested interests, which compromise with and give concessions to the semi-feudal classes, throw enormous burdens on the shoulders of common peasants, starve the people and waste huge national resources in the name of agricultural development.

Failure to understand the class roots of Congress policies has generated inside our Party wrong and loose thinking and opportunist practices. A tendency has grown in recent years to bypass the fundamental demands of the kisan movement and to concentrate only on immediate demands. In the name of mobilising wider support, there is hesitation to put forward the fundamental demands. This has inevitably resulted in weakening the basic direction of the kisan movement and has created the danger of its getting atomised.

Besides, illusions have, from time to time, grown inside the Party regarding the achievements of Congress planning in the agrarian sector. It was believed a few years ago, when there was an accidental succession of two good crops, that the Five-Year Plan has brought about a considerable strengthening of Indian

economy in the agrarian sector. Influenced by Congress propaganda, a section of the Party members came to believe that the community projects, NES and other development works were bringing about big changes in rural life. Most of these illusions have now been exploded and the food crisis has revealed the feet of clay of Congress planning.

Nonetheless, it is essential that the Party cadre working on the kisan front should be properly trained and taught to assess and evaluate developments in terms of the basic programme of the kisan movement, as against the anti-popular class policies pursued by the ruling bourgeoisie.

New Problems

The problem of land still remains the basic problem of the agrarian movement in our country. However, in the present changed situation, with increasing subordination of rural economy to capitalist and monopolistic exploitation, along with the basic issue of land, other issues relating to rural credit, taxes, unequal exchange and prices have acquired vital importance. This aspect of the situation has not yet been fully grasped. In fact, without developing broad-based campaigns and struggles on these issues, the agrarian movement cannot acquire the unity, strength and sweep that is essential for the realisation of radical agrarian reforms.

Ten years of bitter experience have shown conclusively that no problem can really be solved without radical transformations in the whole system of land relationships. There can be no permanent solution of the food crisis unless land is redistributed, unless the millions of small and middle cultivators are vested with proprietary rights, liberated from the exploitation of the market and the mounting burdens of taxes, rents and interest and given the resources to develop intensive cultivation on a big scale.

Similarly, the problem of developing minor irrigation works or of utilising fully the existing irrigation potential is closely linked with the problem of increasing the purchasing power and strengthening the overall economic capacity of the mass of ordinary cultivators. The same considerations apply to the use of modern implements or scientific methods for increasing production.

Key Demands

The Party should, therefore, pose sharply the basic demands of the movement and bring about maximum mass mobilisation for their realisation. The following demands have become the key demands of the kisan movement in the present period:

- (1) Vesting of ownership rights in all tenants, regardless of the tenure under which they hold their land today, subject to restricted right of resumption by small owners. Full security against ejection for share-croppers.
- (2) Imposition of ceiling on all peasant holdings without exemption barring plantations, and distribution of surplus land to ejected tenants, agricultural labourers and poor peasants.
- (3) Free distribution of all cultivable waste lands to agricultural labourers and poor peasants.
- (4) Reorganisation of the tax structure in such a way that tax burdens on the poorer sections are substantially reduced. Immediate reduction of all direct and indirect taxes which weigh heavily on the rural poor and cancellation of unjust taxes.
- (5) Breaking up of monopolistic trading interests in food-grains and agricultural raw materials through rapid expansion of state-trading and ensuring fair price for agricultural produce.
- (6) Freeing of peasants from usurious debt and provision of adequate cheap credit by government and cooperatives.
- (7) Fixation of minimum wages and provision of work and employment for agricultural labourers.
- (8) Democratisation of rural administration.

These demands should become the pivotal points of the Party's agrarian programme today.

It must also be realised that such reforms cannot alone solve the problem of poverty, unemployment and excessive pressure on land unless a programme of rapid industrial development is undertaken. From this arises the importance of mobilising the peasants for the democratic demand of the people of India as a whole for uninterrupted and rapid industrialisation of the country.

Direction of Struggle

In this complex situation, with diverse land relations and uneven development, we have to determine the direction of agrarian struggles and the class alignments on the basis of which these struggles would develop.

The edge of these struggles has obviously to be directed against government policies. For, it is these policies that are helping the feudal landowners to transform themselves into capitalist landlords, that are throwing rural economy more and more into the grip of capitalist exploiters, that are helping monopolistic interests to tighten their grip over the agricultural market; it is these policies that have brought about the expropriation of millions of tenants and are throwing intolerable burdens on the peasant masses. These policies have, therefore, to be fought and defeated.

Agrarian struggles in the present period would develop not only against the remnants of feudalism, but also against certain capitalist elements in rural life. These struggles would grow simultaneously against semi-feudal exploitation and against the growing stranglehold of capitalist landlords, big traders, speculators, etc., over agrarian economy, and would, in certain areas, tend to get intertwined.

Hence, a complex pattern of class alignments would emerge depending upon the nature of the issues involved and the dominant character of class relationships in the area concerned. It would be futile, therefore, to generalise, on an all-India scale, as to who is the main class enemy in the countryside, because conditions vary considerably from State to State on account of the uneven development of agrarian economy. It should, however, be stated that the old slogan of all-in peasant unity against feudalism can no longer be treated as the central strategic slogan of the kisan movement on a countrywide basis, though it may yet be applicable to certain backward areas where semi-feudal survivals are still strong.

The agrarian struggles and movements led by the Party must be based, under all conditions, on the unity of poor peasants and agricultural labourers in firm alliance with middle peasants. Any underestimation of the importance of the middle peasant in this set-up would cause serious weakening of the movement. The

middle peasant should under no circumstance be allowed to go into the opposite camp and the alliance with him should be developed into a permanent and unbreakable alliance.

Rich Peasant

The role of the rich peasant has to be reassessed in this period. With the abolition of semi-feudal landlordism and with the expansion of capitalist relations in the countryside, the rich peasant has come to acquire a status which he had never enjoyed before. He is one of the beneficiaries of the present regime, though a smaller one, and provides the Congress with its main social base in rural areas. This being so, he cannot be treated as a part of the class alignment on the basis of which the kisan movement would grow. Because, he would tend to oppose some of the basic demands of the movement, as for example, the demands relating to the imposition of ceiling, free distribution of waste lands, vesting of proprietary rights in tillers, etc. He would even resist any major change in the existing pattern of development expenditure in favour of the poorer sections because that may reduce his own advantages. Being himself a petty hoarder with a small surplus, he would also tend to be opposed to such measures as state-trading in foodgrains, procurement or control of foodgrains prices under inflationary conditions.

Nevertheless, it would be wrong to treat him as a class enemy in the present agrarian set-up because even on many of the above-mentioned issues, it may be possible to secure his neutrality. Moreover, there are several questions on which he can be made an ally, as, for example, on questions relating to fair price for the producer, extension of irrigation facilities, reduction of certain types of taxes, general material and cultural development of rural areas, democratisation of administration, etc. In cases where the struggle is directed against bigger landholders on issues which do not affect him directly, his support can also be secured. In areas where feudal survivals are still strong, attempts should be made to enlist the support and sympathy of the rich peasant for popular movements against feudal exploitation. It may be noted that the rich peasant also suffers on account of fluctuation of prices and the domination of monopolistic trading interests over the agrarian market. In view of all this, our general attitude towards him should be that of discriminating alliance on as many issues as possible.

Agricultural Labourers

With growing pauperisation and expansion of capitalist relations in the countryside, the question of organising agricultural labourers has acquired added importance and has assumed a new significance for the agrarian movement. For, agricultural labourers are not only the most consistent fighters against remnants of feudalism but would also constitute the leading force in the struggle against growing capitalist exploitation in agriculture. It is obvious that the agrarian movement would remain weak unless this huge mass of the rural population is actively brought into it. Particularly in areas where they constitute a big percentage of the rural population and where class differentiation is more marked, the agrarian movement cannot be strengthened unless the agricultural labourers play an important part in it.

It has to be recognised that one of the biggest weaknesses of the work of the Party among rural masses is its failure to organise agricultural labourers and to rouse and harness their unlimited energies, to the cause of basic agrarian reforms. Agricultural labourers' unions on a State basis have been formed only in Andhra, Punjab and Bihar, and there are a few district unions in Tamilnad and Kerala, but most of these are weak and more or less inactive organisations. It is obvious that struggles on such vital issues as ceiling, distribution of waste lands, elimination of feudal survivals, reduction of debt and tax burdens, etc., cannot grow in sweep and intensity unless agricultural labourers unite with the mass of poor peasants in common actions.

It is, therefore, imperative that determined efforts should be made to draw agricultural labourers into agrarian movements in a planned and organised manner on a countrywide scale. Wherever agricultural labourers are found in large numbers and have emerged as a distinct class, they should be organised into separate agricultural labourers' unions and these unions should be registered under the Trade Union Act. Wherever such separate organisations are formed, coordination committees with the kisan sabha units should be formed at all levels for the purpose of mutual consultation and for working out common programmes.

At the all-India level, the agricultural labour unions may be affiliated to the All India Kisan Sabha. Wherever agricultural labourers have not emerged as a big class, easily distinguishable from the mass of poor peasants, as is the case in areas where feudal survivals are still strong and share-cropping prevails on a big scale, they should be drawn in large numbers into the kisan sabha organisations. In any case, the cause of agricultural labourers should be resolutely championed by the kisan sabha in all parts of the country and no efforts should be spared to build their unity with poor and middle peasants in common struggles.

Along with the common demands of the mass of peasants, the following specific demands of the agricultural labourers should be boldly championed and fought for—(1) fixation of minimum wages under the Minimum Wages Act, and payment for overtime work; (2) free housing sites; (3) labour cooperatives to be given preference in local work; (4) provisions of work or employment during off seasons, and (5) abolition of social oppression, debt slavery and bondage.

Need for Adjustments

In building popular movements among the peasantry, it should be borne in mind that the peasantry is not a homogenous class. There are many sections and sectional contradictions. There are also contradictions between peasants and agricultural labourers. These contradictions will have to be resolved or kept within limits through adjustments on the basis of the strength of the movement. The most difficult to resolve are the contradictions between the interests of small owners and tenant. The position of the small owners in rural life is important and their attitude affects the peasant movement in various ways. Failure to realise the necessity of adjustments in these interests has created in the past serious difficulties for the movement.

Urge of Peasants

There are unlimited possibilities for the development of a powerful peasant movement in the present period, which is a period of growing democratic consciousness and of mounting

discontent with the agrarian policies of the present government. The rural masses are moving in a big way on multifarious issues ranging from struggles against ejectments, high taxes, distribution of waste lands, fixation of ceiling and distribution of surplus lands, police repression, etc., to struggles for social and cultural amenities of civilised life. Under these conditions, the kisan organisations should become powerful instruments for the fulfilment of all democratic urges and aspirations of the peasant masses.

One of the biggest urges of the Indian people in the post-independence period is the urge for national reconstruction. This urge is far stronger in rural society which has suffered far more from the ravages of imperialist exploitation, than in urban society. The opening of schools, hospitals and libraries, the construction of roads and *pucca* wells, provision of light and of clean drinking water, construction of better houses, etc., are amenities for which the entire village population hankers. There is, at the same time, a growing urge among the peasants to improve agricultural practices and increase production. This is seen in the keen interest that all sections of the peasants take in schemes and methods that help in increasing production.

Organisation of credit, marketing, labour, farming and other types of cooperatives can play an important role in defending the interests of the actual tillers of the soil. But the policies of the government constitute the biggest hindrance in the way of the development of genuine cooperatives. Even the existing cooperative credit societies are being reorganised in a manner that the scope of democratic initiative is seriously curtailed. The kisan movement will have to fight against these policies and for democratisation of the cooperatives and allocation of adequate resources to them. At the same time, it will have to take the initiative in forming and running various types of cooperatives.

The Party has, in the past, underestimated the strength of this popular urge for economic and social reconstruction. Hence, excepting in a few States like Andhra and Kerala, the kisan organisations have not paid enough attention to schemes of rural development such as community projects, NES blocks,

cooperatives, etc. This has prevented the kisan organisations from broadening their base in the villages and strengthening their links with the day-to-day life of the peasantry.

The Amritsar Party congress resolution said 'We shall strive to give concrete form to the urge for national reconstruction in every sphere—education, culture, health and so on'. If this declaration is to be taken seriously, it is essential that the kisan organisations, while pointing out the limited benefits accruing from these schemes should actively intervene and participate in them so that effective measures are taken, corruption, jobbery and waste is reduced, the outlays are properly spent and the benefits of the schemes go in the largest measure possible to the poorer sections of the population.

The kisan organisation should also take up actively and vigorously the task of building a mass campaign for increasing food production in the country. They should not only fight the bureaucratic red-tape, inefficiency and corruption that characterise all grow more food schemes of the government but should take the initiative in formulating popular schemes and getting them implemented both through official and private efforts. The kisan organisations should find ways and means of securing concrete concessions and help for the common cultivators in this respect and rouse their mass enthusiasm for increasing food production. All this would help mitigate the food crisis and give the kisan organisations a broader patriotic base and deeper roots in the life of the peasantry.

Rising Wave of Struggle

It is however necessary to sound a note of warning against the tendency to restrict the work of the kisan organisations to participation and intervention in governmental schemes and to what is called the day-to-day 'constructive work'. For, it should be understood clearly that the kisan sabha is a militant class organisation of the peasantry whose objective is to organise, unite and lead the peasant masses in the struggle for the achievement of basic agrarian reforms. During the course of this struggle, the kisan sabha will have to organise innumerable mass actions of the

peasantry for partial and immediate demands, actions which develop their fighting morale. It will also have to forge the unity of all down-trodden and exploited sections of the rural population through propaganda, mass campaigns, partial struggles, social and cultural work, etc.

The central aim of all this activity is to create among the peasant masses the will, determination and strength to breakthrough their shackles and reconstruct a free and happy agrarian life. Any outlook inside the kisan movement which loses sight of this central aim and seeks to convert the kisan organisations into an appendage of the schemes and projects of the present government should be fought ruthlessly and defeated.

The coming period is a period of intensification of economic crisis in the country. The failure of Congress planning and the bog into which it is leading the country cannot but result in the transference of more and more economic burdens on to the shoulders of the common people. The peasantry constitutes the most vulnerable section of our people. Being subjected to multifarious forms of exploitation, it is the worst victim of the crisis. But it is also the backbone of our growing democratic movement. With hunger and suffering stalking the land, the peasant masses will move more and more into action in defence of their right to live and enjoy the fruits of their toil.

The coming period will thus witness a rising tide of peasant struggles involving millions of toiling people in all parts of the country. The Party must equip itself for the great historic task of leading and guiding these struggles to success.

Nehru's Paradox*

Ajoy Ghosh

Moving the resolution on planning at the sixty-fourth session of the National Congress Sri Nehru proclaimed that 'India has to take the one and only path of socialist planning to cure the chronic disease of poverty.'

This fighting declaration was made before an august body among whose members were a fairly high percentage of businessmen landlords their allies and friends. A large number of them were avowed opponents of ceiling on land holdings, extension of the public sector and even of state-trading in foodgrains. Nevertheless after the amendments to the resolution had been either withdrawn or rejected the resolution was unanimously passed.

The reason lay not merely in the innocuous nature of the resolution but also the elaboration that Sri Nehru made of his concept of socialism. It completely disarmed his opponents and allayed their fears.

The Prime Minister according to press reports reminded the delegates that the essence of socialism was that there should not be too much of this 'high and low'. He said that even the biggest capitalist countries were going slowly towards socialism although they were shy to use the word socialism. Many of the capitalist countries had accepted the ideal of the welfare state. So many things we call socialism had spread even to capitalist countries. By and large the feeling was growing even in capitalist countries that there should be a classless society, with the disparity in incomes reduced to the minimum extent possible. Even in America the trend was growing that there should be a

classless society This phrase classless society was a Communist phrase but even so, people in America were talking about it and saying that there should not be differences of classes there This phrase had been adopted in America also although there was a lot of difference between American society and Communist society

Quarrel Over Words?

'Mr Nehru said the report continues, that he did not mean that there was no difference between socialist philosophy and capitalist philosophy There is a certain difference I don't deny it But I do say that this difference is becoming less and less and the two systems and philosophies are coming nearer to each other We should benefit from everything that we find good for us'

These amazing formulations if they had been made by anyone else, would have been the subject of ridicule Coming from a person of Sri Nehru's stature they cannot be dismissed so lightly

Capitalist countries are slowly going towards socialism The only quarrel is about the term This is true even about America the country which presents the most staggering contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many where the economy is in the grip of a recession, where registered unemployed number over 4 millions, where over 60 per cent of the proposed budget of 77 billions of dollars is to be spent on military needs that is in order to maintain and extend the sway of American imperialists over as many countries as possible and to step up preparations for world war De Gaulle's France which has put an end to parliamentary democracy, which while serving the big capitalists is imposing new burdens on the French people in the name of austerity, which is striving to drown the uprising of the Algerian people in blood, imperialist Britain which remains to this day the biggest colonial power in the world all these are perhaps without realising it themselves gradually growing into socialist countries The millionaire patrons of the Congress the big capitalists and landlords need not be frightened because all distinction between capitalism and socialism is getting obliterated

There is a grain of truth, of course, in Sri Nehru's assertions. Ideas of socialism, ideas of classless society have attained such sway in the mind of people that even enemies of socialism have to reckon with it. They are forced to camouflage their aims. They are forced to cover up the hideous ugliness of capitalism with pious phrases and depict it as a system which is undergoing a transformation, growing into something different, gradually, painlessly. They want to conceal the realities of class-domination and keep the masses away from the path of struggle. Their talks about classless society are meant to deter the masses from taking to the road which alone can lead to such a society. It is a part, an essential part of their fight *against* socialism. Surprisingly enough Sri Nehru does not see this.

'Outmodedness' of Marxism

After having explained what he meant by socialism, Sri Nehru thought it necessary to say a few words about Marxism. Marx, he conceded, was a great thinker and made a brilliant contribution to the thinking of the world. But Marx wrote at a time when conditions were far different from what they are now. It is no good therefore to repeat slogans of those days or solely rely on books written in Europe long ago. We have to understand our own conditions and the world through which we are passing.

Just a week before Sri Nehru made this speech, in which he repeated for the umpteenth time his pet thesis about the obsoleteness of Marxism, science had achieved one of the most spectacular triumphs in its entire history. A space-rocket made by the hands of man had streaked across the sky beyond the gravitational pull of the earth, left the moon far behind, and entered the solar system as a new planet, thus marking the fulfilment of one of the age-old dreams of man. And this stupendous success of science and technology had been achieved precisely in the country where 'obsolete' Marxism had registered its first triumph.

Also, a few weeks earlier had been published the Seven Year Plan of the Soviet Union, which on the basis of the advance already registered, opened up breath-taking perspectives. The

days had gone when even the worst enemies of the Soviet Union could ridicule these perspectives as mere dreams. They had seen what 'obsolete' Marxism had achieved in a once-backward country within 40 years.

And even while the Nagpur session of the Congress was on with Sri Nehru trying to convince his colleagues that the Second Five Year Plan has not been over ambitious news reached about the triumphant overfulfilment of 1958 targets in the People's Republic of China. The output of major industrial and agricultural products had doubled within a year—another proof of the 'obsoleteness' of Marxism.

For Sri Nehru all these meant very little in terms of basic philosophy. Nor was the fact of much significance that the Communist Party of India which according to him only repeats 'out-moded slogans' has despite every effort made to discredit and suppress it emerged as a powerful force in the political life of our own country, heads the government in the State of Kerala, is the main party of opposition in Indian parliament and is looked upon by increasing number of people in every State as the embodiment of their hopes and aspirations.

Predictions Come True

Sri Nehru is a keen student of history. Let him coolly consider what has happened in the world during the last hundred years or so.

Making a penetrating analysis of the stages through which human history had passed Marx and Engels in their celebrated *Communist Manifesto* stated in 1848: What the bourgeoisie therefore produces above all is its own grave diggers. Its fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable.

And in 1913 Lenin proclaimed: Capitalism has triumphed all over the world. But this triumph is only the prelude to labour's triumph over capital.

Many were those who ridiculed these predictions. Socialism appeared to them to be a chimera, the victory of labour over capital a wild unrealisable dream. The capitalist rulers of the world with all the power of the state at their disposal and aided

by their ideologues strive to wipe out from men's minds the teachings of Marx

Barely forty-six years have passed since Lenin wrote these words. And in this period, history has seen transformations the like of which it had never known before. Today Marxism-Leninism is not merely an ideology, not merely a movement. It has triumphed completely and irrevocably in countries which only a few decades ago were ruled by capitalists and landlords. Over areas inhabited by one third of the peoples of the world, the toiling masses are the masters of their destiny. They are advancing in every sphere at a pace considered unattainable by the learned economists of the bourgeoisie. The time is fast approaching when the socialist world will leave the most advanced capitalist countries far behind in per capita production.

In the early years after the October Revolution the question used to be asked: How long can socialism hold power in the country where it has triumphed? Today nobody asks that question. Today a new question has arisen: How long can capitalism continue in countries where it still wields power? Such is the profound transformation that has taken place within 40 years.

Not merely that. This socialist world stands out as the mightiest bastion of peace and freedom and has repeatedly frustrated the plans of the instigators of a new world conflagration.

In a number of countries where capitalism still holds sway, the Communist Parties have become powerful factors. The total membership of all Communist Parties was three millions in 1938. Today it exceeds 33 millions. The historic Twelve Parties Declaration further unifying the political and ideological unity of Communist Parties has charted the path of advance for the whole of mankind.

Never in human history has a movement won such sweeping victories against such obstacles in such a short period.

Nehru's 'Scientific Approach'

Sri Nehru considers Marxism to be outmoded. Has he ever bothered, however, to ask himself the question: How is it and why is it that this outmoded ideology has won such sweeping victories?

in our epoch ? How is it and why is it that of all doctrines which were propounded during the last hundred years, Marxism and Marxism alone has stood the test, gathered strength and triumphed in one country after another ? What explains the advance of Marxism ?

Sri Nehru will perhaps say that he has already answered the question in his article 'The Basic Approach'. Therein he stated that 'Communism comes in the wake of disillusionment' with religion and 'offers some kind of faith and some kind of discipline, thereby to some extent' filling a 'vacuum'. This however, is evading the issue. Even if one assumes Sri Nehru to be correct the question remains Why Communism alone ? Why not other doctrines ? Why did they fail to sway the minds of men to the extent that Communism has done ? Why did they lose ground ?

Time and again Sri Nehru has asked the people to acquire a scientific mentality to adopt a scientific approach towards problems, to give up irrational ways of thinking. Has he ever considered whether his own approach towards the most stupendous phenomenon in history—the conquest of power in one-third of the world by working people under the leadership of parties inspired and guided by principles of Marxism-Leninism—the sweeping advance of the world Communist movement—is a rational and scientific approach ?

All-Powerful Because True

Whether one agrees or does not agree with Marxism one can no longer deny that it has become the most potent force in history. One has therefore to ask the question Wherein lies the power and validity of Marxism ?

The classic answer that Lenin gave to this question was '*The Marxist doctrine is all-powerful because it is true*'.

The triumph of Marxism is not fortuitous. Marxism has triumphed is triumphing and will continue to triumph because it answers the basic question of our epoch—the question of transition from capitalism to socialism. The main content of our epoch is this transition.

The dominant problem facing human society has been different in different epochs of history and the most talented representatives of society have always tried to answer the specific problems facing their society.

How does Sri Nehru look at the basic problem of today?

Commenting on the 'tragic paradox of the atomic and sputnik age' Sri Nehru wrote in his article 'The Basic Approach'

Nothing is so remarkable as the progressive conquest or understanding of the physical world by the mind of man today and, this process is continuing at a terrific pace. Man need no longer be a victim of external circumstances, at any rate, to a very large extent. While there has been this conquest of external circumstances there is, at the same time, the strange spectacle of a lack of moral fibre and of self-control in man as a whole. Conquering the physical world, he fails to conquer himself.

Sri Dhebar has elaborated the same point in his presidential address to the Nagpur session of the Congress. After narrating the tremendous advance which man has registered in the realm of science and technology, he moans:

The human being has shown a capacity for taking tremendous risks in every direction but not in the direction of developing mutual trust and goodwill, co-operation and fellow-feeling. The result is the fouling of the hearts with thoughts of jealousy and animosity, fouling of the climate of peace by threats of total destruction and the fouling of the air with poisonous gases released from the destructive fission and nuclear bombs.

One finds in these words of Sri Nehru and Sri Dhebar an effort, nevertheless an unsuccessful effort, to lay their finger on the basic problem which has confronted society in the epoch of capitalism. The 'tragic paradox' about which Sri Nehru wrote did not arise today. The paradox confronted man over a century ago when capitalism was already fully developed and the bourgeoisie had won state power in the advanced countries. It was not and it is not due to 'lack of moral fibre and self control in man as a whole'. It is the paradox of the 'domination of the product over the producer', a feature of capitalist society.

In order to make this point clear, it is necessary to say a few words about the struggle that man has waged with nature ever since he emerged from the animal stage.

Man's Struggle with Nature

To the primitive man engaged in a struggle for existence, nature appeared as something mysterious and terrifying

Man seemed surrounded by forces whose plaything he was and over which he had no control. Death and devastation struck him apparently from nowhere in the form of floods, drought, forest fires and diseases. The gods he invented and worshipped were mainly the personification of natural forces to which he prayed and made offerings.

But man did not do only that. He did something more.

He continuously struggled against the forces of nature and tried to master them. He learned, for example, how fire can be made, how ponds can be dug and drought fought, how with spears, bows and arrows he could hold his own against wild beasts, how certain herbs can give relief in diseases and so on.

Many centuries have passed since then, centuries during which man has acquired increasing ascendancy over the forces of nature. He has tamed electricity, he has invented quick means of transport, he has conquered many diseases. All this he has done by discovering the laws which govern nature and utilising the laws for his own benefit. The advance was especially rapid in the epoch of capitalism.

But the advance of human civilisation was also accompanied by the division of society into classes, ruthless exploitation of the mass of people by the dominant class. Capitalist society which marked a gigantic advance in every sphere over any previous epoch was no exception. On the contrary, the exploitation of the oppressed classes and the struggle between them and their oppressors reached a new pitch of intensity.

Moreover, despite the advance that science and technology have made, the majority of mankind even today, especially those living in colonies and semi-colonies, remains sunk in conditions of poverty, squalor, cultural backwardness. Even in America the

land of fabulous splendour where the general standard of life is the highest in the capitalist world, conditions have not changed since 1949, when President Truman in his message to the Congress said

Our farmers still face an uncertain future and too many of them lack the benefits of modern civilisation

Some of our national resources are being wasted. We are acutely short of electric power, although the means of developing such power are abundant

Five million families are still living in slums and firetraps. Three million families share their homes with others

Our health is far behind the progress of medical science. Proper medical care is so expensive that it is out of reach of the majority of our citizens.

The advance which science and technology have made has not yet been fully utilised for the benefit of man for his material, cultural and spiritual development.

Further, the capitalist society while recording impressive triumphs of man over the forces of nature also brought to the forefront problems which in some respects were no less mysterious and terrifying than the problems which had confronted man in earlier epochs. Those problems continue to confront the majority of men to this day because capitalism still rules over the greater part of the world.

One of these is the crisis of over production. Three decades ago the crisis struck the world with the fury of a cyclone – only it caused more havoc and devastation than any cyclone ever did. Millions starved in every country not because there was not enough food but because it was alleged there was too much. Poverty in the midst of plenty became a by-word. Wheels of production slowed down throwing millions on the street. Fascism reared its ugly head in many countries. Its striving for world domination brought about the most devastating war in history. And today, even before the world has fully recovered from the ruins caused by that war another war seems to loom on the horizon. The annihilation of the world in the future atomic cataclysm is being forecast though wrongly by many

scientists in the same way as religious preachers of older days spoke of the approaching doom.

Man seems to have conquered nature only to become the helpless victim of new forces—crisis, war, man-made devastation. Having mastered elemental forces, he appears helpless before the forces of his own creation. He is unable to utilise these forces to the fullest extent for his own benefits.

Marx Explained the Paradox

This is what Sri Nehru means when he says that conquering the physical world man fails to conquer himself. But can this be explained by mere reference to the innate evil in man, his 'lack of moral fibre and self-control'? Whatever may be the merits of such explanation, originality is certainly not one of them. Long before Sri Nehru, social reformers and religious preachers had given such explanation. Only the best of them did not blame man as a whole. They blamed the rich and tried to convince them of the immorality of their outlook. Thereby they strove to change society.

Marx and Engels delved deeper. They understood that just as man can acquire mastery over the forces of nature only by understanding the laws that govern nature, he can mould society only by discovering the laws that govern the forces operating in society.

Marx and Engels discovered these laws. They discovered the general laws that have determined the development of human society as well as the specific laws that operate in capitalist society.

The paradox that baffles Sri Nehru, the paradox that he seeks to explain in moral terms was solved by Marx and Engels long ago.

Frederick Engels wrote in his well-known book *Socialism-Scientific and Utopian*:

The forces operating in society work exactly like the forces operating in nature: blindly, violently, destructively so long as we do not understand them and fail to take them into account. But when once we come to know them and understand how they work, their direction and their effects, the gradual subjection of them to our will and the use of them for the attainment of our aims depends entirely upon ourselves. This is especially true of

the mighty productive forces of the present day So long as we obstinately refuse to understand their nature—and the capitalist mode of production and their defenders set themselves against any such attempt these forces operate in spite of us, against us, dominate us But once their nature is grasped in the hands of producers working in association they can be transformed from demoniacal masters into willing servants This is the difference between the destructive force of electricity in the lightning of a thunderstorm and the tamed electricity of the telegraph and of an arc-light the difference between a conflagration and fire in the service of man

Such treatment of today's productive forces in accordance with their nature now become known at last opens the way to the replacement of the anarchy of social production by a socially owned production in accordance with the needs both of society as a whole and of each individual (Karl Marx and Frederick Engels **Selected Works** vol I p 183)

In a society formed on this basis new vistas open up before man The domination of the product over the producer ceases

The struggle for individual existence comes to an end And at this point man in a certain sense separates finally from the animal world leaves the conditions of animal existence behind him and enters conditions which are really human The conditions of existence forming man's environment which up to now have dominated man at this point pass under the dominion and control of man who now for the first time becomes the real conscious master of nature because and in so far as he has become master of his own socialisation The laws of his own social activity which have hitherto confronted him as extraneous laws of nature dominating him, will then be applied by man with complete understanding and hence will be dominated by man It is only from this point on that men with full consciousness will make their history themselves it is only from this point on that the social causes set in motion by men will have, predominantly and in constantly increasing measure the effects willed by men It is humanity's leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of freedom (*Ibid* pp 187-188)

With the ending of capitalist society and the establishment of socialism in every land, man will also be freed from the ever-haunting menace of war. A new society will be created 'whose international rule will be *Peace* because its national ruler will everywhere be the same—*Labour*' (*Ibid.*, p. 445)

It can be stated without fear of error that never has any philosopher depicted the perspective before man with such boldness and vision combined with such scientific precision. The moral and spiritual grandeur of the founders of modern socialism, their unbounded faith in the destiny of man, their deep humanism stand out sharp and clear and constitute a telling refutation of the calumny of those who never tire of alleging that Marxism ignores spiritual values.

Marxist Solution

Sri Nehru does not deny the evils of class society. 'The question', he says, 'is how to get rid of this society and have a classless society' This is precisely the question which Marx and Engels tackled. They knew that the task was not merely one of comprehending the laws of social development, of understanding the features of capitalist society, of delineating the features of socialist society. The task was one of showing the path to socialism. Capitalism was not merely morally repugnant, as every class society had been, but was becoming *historically obsolete*. Unable to effectively control and make full use of the gigantic productive forces it had unleashed, it had to give place to a higher system. But this transition could not take place without a sharp struggle because no class quits the stage of history unless it is forced to do so. The transition to socialism was impossible, said Marx and Engels, without a revolution, without power in the hands of a new class.

Stalin wrote:

Unlike the laws of natural science, when the discovery and application of a new law proceeds more or less smoothly, the discovery and application of a new law in the economic field affecting as it does the obsolescent forces of society, meets with the most powerful resistance on their part. A force, a

social force capable of overcoming the resistance is, therefore, necessary (**Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR** p 10)

Hence it is that social development, the transition from one society to another proceeds along the path of class-struggle, along the path of revolution. This was so in the past. This is so today.

Conquest of power by the working people led by the working class through this alone, Marx and Engels taught, socialist society can be established and the way paved to Communism.

The epoch making discoveries and formulations of Marx and Engels lifted socialism from the realm of utopia and gave it a scientific character. Following the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin which were further developed by Stalin and other Marxists the working people conquered power in one third of the world yet in end to the domination of the product over the producer, banished crisis, exploitation of man by man, national oppression, racial discrimination and effected material, cultural and spiritual advance the like of which the world has never known. The triumphant march towards Communism has begun.

The entire history of the last hundred years vindicates the truth of the teachings of Marxism. Marxism has become the most powerful force of our epoch because it supplies the only correct answer to the basic question of our day.

Marx and Engels were not the first to dream of a classless society. But they were the first to show why the transition to such a society has become a *practical possibility* in the era of capitalism and how that transition can be effected. Their teachings have not become obsolete but retain full validity. The laws discovered by them continue to operate. The basic features of capitalist society which they laid bare continue to be the same as in their days. These features cannot change as long as capitalism continues. Those who like Sri Nehru talk of capitalism growing into socialism ignore these profound truths.

They ignore the truth that whereas the basic aim of modern capitalism is the extracting of maximum profit from the mass of the people and the enrichment of the wealthy few, the basic aim of

socialism is the satisfaction of the ever-growing needs of the people. They ignore the truth that whereas capitalism is declining, socialism is the growing force of our epoch. They ignore the contrast between the two different worlds, two different societies. Above all, they ignore the truth that the only way in which capitalism can be ended and socialism ushered in is a revolution which places power in the hands of the working people.

Revolution, however, need not be equated with violence and civil war. Many a time this point has been dealt with by us and we do not propose to elaborate it here. The bogey of violence is raised by those who conceal the reality of violence under capitalist rule and strive to keep the masses away from the struggle for socialism. The Indian government, as its record shows, is no exception.

Many years ago, speaking about conditions in India Sri Nehru said:

It is obvious there are serious conflicts between various interests in the country, and every law, every policy which is good for one interest may be harmful for another—the ostrich-like policy of refusing to see a conflict and a disorder which not only exist but are entering into society's vitals to blind one-self to reality, will not change the conflict and disorder or suddenly change reality into unreality. For a politician or a man of action such a policy can only end in disaster (*Whither India?* pp. 41-43)

Will Sri Nehru say that these words of his have no validity today? The struggles of the masses which Sri Nehru frowns upon and which his government turns to suppress—are they not only an after expression of the conflict that already exists? Such attitude towards these struggles as Sri Nehru has adopted—does it not help precisely those interests which are hostile to socialism and even to democratic reform?

Our Party has repeatedly declared and it declares again that the possibility exists in India of achieving the transition to socialism by peaceful means and we shall strive our utmost to make this possibility a reality. This cannot take place without the struggle of the masses. Also a fundamental condition for peaceful transition

is the maintenance and expansion of democracy. Hence, our Party strives to strengthen democracy in every sphere. Recent events in a number of countries should tell Sri Nehru that the threat to democracy comes not from Communists but from their avowed opponents. It is they who in order to maintain the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords are in the forefront today in denunciation of parliamentary democracy.

Moreover can Sri Nehru assert that the party which he heads will never resort to undemocratic methods and violation of even the spirit of the Indian Constitution framed by itself in order to thwart the people's advance towards democracy and socialism? The attitude adopted by the Congress towards the Government of Kerala does not supply firm ground for such assertion. The open incitement of the bureaucracy to disobey the orders of the constitutionally formed government, the gross discrimination against Kerala in many matters, the refusal to supply food to this heavily deficit State in glaring contradistinction to what was done earlier when the Congress ruled Kerala— are all these consistent with professions of democracy? Can such attitude be morally justified?

Sri Nehru's tirade against Marxism will not deter the Communists of India from redoubling their efforts to spread the teachings of scientific socialism among the masses. They know the future belongs to Communism. They know that in Communism and in Communism alone can the noble ideas of liberty, fraternity and equality achieve their historic fulfilment.

This Crime Against Indian Democracy History will Never Forgive*.

Ajoy Ghosh

As we go to press, the papers carry the report that the Union Cabinet has taken the decision to intervene in Kerala and establish President's Rule. Formal proclamation to this effect, it is said, will be issued in a day or two.

What grounds will be advanced in justification of this thoroughly undemocratic action has yet to be seen. It is necessary however to draw attention to certain significant facts.

RUMOURS about imminent central intervention became persistent from Saturday July 25, the very day the Vimochana Samara Samiti of which two top Congress leaders of Kerala are members and which is the real organiser of the struggle announced their new 'plan of action'. On August 9, 'massive forces will march into Thrissur. The Secretariat would be "besieged" by 25,000 volunteers. They would quit only after they have attained their 'objective' - the resignation or dismissal of the Kerala Ministry. This would be the final and decisive phase of the struggle.'

It is to be noted that this plan was worked out only after Smt Sucheta Kripalani, the General Secretary reached Kerala. It is to be noted that the Joint Council of Action of which the Kerala Congress is the leading constituent had fully endorsed the plan and called upon its followers to join the proposed 'march' and 'siege'. Finally, it is to be noted that the announcement of the new

* Editorial of NEW AGE Weekly, Sri Jay Award - 1959. The Union Government of India headed by Jawaharlal Nehru decided on July 30, 1959 to remove the Communist-led Government in Kerala and impose President's Rule and this was put into effect on August 3, 1959. This Editorial of NEW AGE Weekly was written by Ajoy Ghosh, Editor of the Organ of the Communist Party of India in protest against imposition of President's Rule in Kerala.

plan almost coincided with Smt Indira Gandhi, the President of the Congress meeting Dr Rajendra Prasad, the President of the Indian Republic and demanding in her own words, "It is high time for the Central Government to act in Kerala"

Conscious of the "Constitutional difficulties" that stood in the way, she declared later in a public meeting that there was 'no room for legal quibbling' If the Constitution stood in the way of Central intervention, the Constitution "had to be altered"

The meaning of all this is too plain to need elaboration provocation on a scale vaster than ever before

Seldom, if ever, has such a diabolical plan been worked out in a civilised country with such brazen-facedness and callous disregard of human life, democratic conventions and decencies of public life A cold-blooded crime is planned before which pales into insignificance all that the Congress has done during the last twelve years of its rule

What has driven them to this position? Why have they become so desperate?

Because all their earlier plans miscarried These plans ended in resounding fiascoes Never in its long chequered history did the Congress suffer such political and moral defeats as during the last two months Never did its prestige sink so low

In alliance with dark forces of communal reaction, unprincipled politicians and frustrated careerists, the Congress in Kerala launched what they hoped would be a short and swift struggle a struggle that would wipe out 'within a week' the greatest achievement of the popular movement since India became free the democratic government of Kerala They hoped to bring about a state of lawlessness and paralysis of the administration which would justify Central intervention And they hoped that by raising the bogey of the "menace of Communism", they would be able to win mass support all over the country for their outrageously undemocratic and unconstitutional action

These plans did not materialise The vast majority of the people of Kerala refused to be drawn into the ill-conceived struggle The school closure movement failed despite acts of intimidation

arson and stone-throwing. The call to workers for general strike on June 29 evoked little response. Attacks on buses, heavy damage to State property and injuries to passengers created popular revulsion. The picketing of collectorates was a miserable failure.

Then, they announced that from July 9 to July 15, the struggle would be "intensified" and this "intensification" would bring down the government. July 15 passed but nothing spectacular happened.

In desperation, they launched a campaign of provocation, assaults and even murder of supporters of the government, hoping thereby to bring about mass clashes all over the State. This too failed thanks to the admirable restraint shown by the people.

Simultaneously, in the name of intensification of picketing, attempts were made to force mass entry into collectorates, keeping women in the forefront, so as to provoke firing and butchery in the heart of Kerala's capital. Here again, they failed.

In place of the "upsurge" which they had hoped would "paralyse the administration", there grew in Kerala a real upsurge of the people—an upsurge against hooliganism, an upsurge in defence of the government. Vast meetings took place all over the State, declaring their support to the government, demanding that the struggle should be called off. In a number of localities, units of the Nair Service Society dis-associated themselves from the struggle. So did many followers of the Muslim League and the Catholic Church.

Even more striking was the failure to enlist popular support for their "cause" outside Kerala.

They had hoped for intervention by the Central Government. What took place was another kind of intervention— intervention of democratic public opinion. All over the country, people from all walks of life, people holding all shades of opinion, condemned Congress tactics in Kerala as violation of the principles of parliamentary democracy and subversion of the Indian Constitution. Rallies and demonstrations took place in every part of the country, the like of which has not been seen for many years. Leading newspapers who have never harboured friendly feelings

towards the Communist Party, nevertheless denounced Congress tactics as fraught with grave consequences for Indian democracy. The campaign in defence of Kerala and against Congress tactics developed into one of the biggest campaigns India has ever known.

The Congress High Command wanted to isolate the Kerala Government. They found themselves isolated. People's intervention stayed intervention by the Central Government.

Relying on growing mass support inside Kerala, backed by democratic public opinion all over the country, the Kerala Government defeated every effort of the Opposition to unseat it. Its firm and principled stand, its conciliatory attitude and readiness to make all reasonable concessions, its moderation and restraint in dealing with the lawless movement launched by the Opposition won for it the respect and admiration of the whole country.

The struggle was dragging on, doomed to eventual defeat.

An unjust struggle, waged by unjust means, for an unjust demand could expect no better results.

But this, while it would be a triumph for democracy, is precisely what the Congress leaders of Kerala as well as the Congress High Command could not tolerate. They knew that the debacle of their adventure in Kerala would have far-reaching consequences for the whole country. The breach in the Congress monopoly of power which was effected when the Communist-led government was formed in Kerala would get widened if the new onslaught on the Kerala Government failed.

The defeat they had suffered in the second general elections could be passed off as a defeat only for the Kerala Congress. Defeat in the present struggle would be looked upon by all as defeat of the Congress High Command itself. The Indian democratic movement would get a powerful impetus.

This was a prospect which they could not view with equanimity. Hence the plan was worked out for 'march' and 'siege' on August 9. All pretence of non-violence was thrown overboard. Methods were adopted strikingly reminiscent of those by which fascism rose to power in a number of countries.

A blood-bath of unprecedented dimensions was planned -the very threat of which might supply the pretext for the centre to intervene

It was the duty of the Congress High Command and of the leaders of the Central Government to denounce the provocative action and to warn the organisers that no government worth the name could yield to such tactics of blackmail. It was their duty to tell their followers in Kerala that they must abandon their plan.

They did not do that. They seemed to have felt that if the new plan suffered the fate of earlier plans, as was very probable that might well mark the beginning of the end of the whole Kerala adventure.

Such was the background of the Union Cabinet meeting which started on Wednesday July 29.

The crisis that has developed over Kerala is no ordinary crisis. Issues vital for the Parliamentary system of government -vital for all that our national movement has stood for -vital for the cause of democracy are at stake.

The demonstrations that have been planned for August 3 acquire a new importance in the present context. They must become a vast and disciplined nation-wide rally in defence of democracy in solidarity with the people of Kerala in condemnation of those who are striving to destroy the Constitution at the behest of the vested interests and their allies.

With confidence born out of the successes already won conscious that the cause we are fighting for is the cause cherished by the masses resolved not to fall victim to provocation and to adhere to peaceful and democratic methods our Party faces the future.

We know that the final word does not lie with the Congress High Command or the Central Government. It lies with the people who are determined to defend democracy and bar the road to reaction and fascism.

July 30 1959

Lessons of Kerala*

B. T. Ranadive

The conspiracy that led to the dismissal of the Communist ministry in Kerala has been exposed from the forum of the press, the platform and the parliament. The debate in parliament saw the Congress government and its spokesmen making pitiful effort to justify their plot in terms of the Constitution and yet all the arguments that they could invent could not remove the suspicion that it was a plot engineered by the Congress High Command and leaders of the Central Government, including Sri Nehru.

Ominous Development

The Kerala developments have an ominous significance for the future of Indian democracy. It will be wrong to regard them as having only an episodic importance or as arising out of struggle between the Congress and the Communist Party for getting possession of the State government of Kerala. They must be viewed in the background of the happenings in a number of newly liberated countries of Asia. Reactionary forces have overthrown the parliamentary form of Government in Pakistan and replaced it by a military dictatorship owing allegiance to itself and the imperialists. In Thailand and Laos dictatorial rule has been established. In Ceylon, the menace is increasing, while in Indonesia the fanatical Muslim organisations, working hand-in-glove with rebels and imperialism offer a menacing challenge to the forces of democracy led by the nationalists and the Communist Party. In Burma, the national leaders have handed

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II. First Communist Government in India was formed in Kerala on April 5, 1957. And it was dismissed by Jawaharlal Nehru's Government on August 5, 1959.

over power to a military general whose dictatorship functions in the name of the constitution.

The Kerala developments emphasise the same process of attack against democracy, though under different conditions, and at present only in one State. In India, the Congress came to power riding on the crest of the revolutionary wave. It had a big sway over the people--and secured monopoly of power. The left forces were weak and in partitioned India, the communal forces and feudal organisations were no match for the Congress. The Congress absorbed part of them. In consonance with its existing hegemony of power, the Congress refused to have open alliances with the communal forces and especially share power with them.

This was but natural since the communal and religious forces and institutions have all along played a pro-imperialist and reactionary role, helping the British to keep division among the people and stabbing popular movements in the back. In the past they concentrated efforts on maligning and opposing the Congress which was heading the national movement and urging the British not to concede to national demands. The Muslim League and other communal organisations acted as the tool of the British and played a treacherous role. The Congress sought to register its victory against the forces of communalism and religious obscurantism by declaring India to be a secular State. Few in the Congress perhaps would have gone to this extent but Sri Jawaharlal Nehru was the most forthright champion of secularism which to some extent offered security to the religious minorities against Hindu domination.

Change Towards Communalism

But with the growing loss of influence by the Congress with the advance of the forces of democracy and the growing strength of the Communist Party, the Congress started shedding some of its scruples about caste and communal organisations. While Sri Nehru thundered against casteism and communalism, his followers in the State entered into secret alliances of understanding with the forces of obscurantism and sought the help of these caste or communal institutions. In the last

general elections, the Congress adopted a number of Akalis as its candidates in the Punjab, in Madras the Dravid Kazhagam, the communal organisation whose leader publicly burnt the Indian Constitution, campaigned for the return of Congress candidates, in other States compromises were struck with feudal jagirdars and in Orissa recently, the Congress losing its majority in the legislature, joined in a coalition ministry with the party of feudal princes.

Hitherto Congress alliances with communal reactionaries were clandestine, they were covered up by absorbing these elements in the Congress, they were never openly proclaimed. The communal forces had not yet come out as an equal partner in the alliance.

Kerala has emphasised and carried this process to a dangerous point. For the most outstanding character of the recent developments is the open and unashamed alliance of the Congress party with the Catholic Church—the agency of world reaction. This is followed by alliance with the Nair Service Society and further with the Muslim League—which has led to recognition of the League as a political party by the Congress and its freedom to build itself in other States. In the coming elections alliance with League is going to be sealed by giving it a place of honour in the coalition ministry, if this reactionary combination wins a majority. Since independence the Muslim League was never recognised as a political body and except in Kerala it was forced to close down. In 1957 Sri S. K. Patil proposed an alliance with the League but Sri Nehru opposed it. But now the Congress policies are helping to resuscitate the moribund Muslim League, helping it to rouse the Muslims in the name of religious fanaticism—all to check the tide of democracy in Kerala, to secure an electoral victory.

Twenty years back the national Congress under the leadership of Sri Nehru refused to form a coalition ministry with the League, as it would amount to encouragement to communalism. Today Sri Nehru is prepared to form a coalition with the League in Kerala, form an electoral alliance and certify that the League is not exactly a communal organisation. The desperation and isolation of the Congress in Kerala can be seen from the above. It is no hope of defeating the Communist Party or the democratic

forces on its own strength and on the basis of a democratic programme. Its only hope lies in rousing the fanaticism of backward masses, their religious frenzy and relying on the anti-national agencies of communal organisations.

The National Congress is only acting as a screen and cover to the reactionary programme of its allies by lending its all-India name and prestige to it.

The anti-national character of the Catholic Church hierarchy can be seen from the following independent testimony: "The Roman Catholic (read hierarchy) support the Congress government mainly because they are anti-Communist. There seems to be unholy alliance between Roman Catholics and American money to save India from Communism. The west must realise that this is none of their business and that Independent India needs no foreign help in solving the economic and social problems." (*Report of the Christian Missionary Activities, Madhya Pradesh* 1956 p. 164.) Though the report deals with the activities of the foreign missions the above applies to the indigenous Roman Catholic hierarchy with equal force. How apt is the statement about the combination of American money and Roman Catholic activity. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan, the notorious leader of the Vimochana Samara Samiti, announced that he spent not less than Rs. 50 lakhs within six weeks to finance his liberation struggle. A valuable admission in an unguarded moment. From where this plethora of money? It is obvious that the money was raised not from toiling people of Kerala. Then from where? Apart from British planters, it is obvious that money has poured in from foreign sources.

A letter of one of the Catholic Fathers from Ernakulam photostat copy published in weekly *New Age* (15 August) shows how these worthies were appealing to American sources for the sinews of war against the Kerala Government - in the name of charity 'To keep them (volunteers) in the field and continue the struggle is very expensive... We are obliged to stop the construction of the building - will you please help us to complete the building?'

The Congress Party which makes mean and lying allegations against the Communist Party of India about receiving Moscow money, has not the courage to tell from where its party and allies got so much money in Kerala

The Roman Catholic hierarchy – whether foreign or indigenous, acts as the direct agent of imperialist powers and world reaction of that there is plenty of evidence. The Niyogi Committee's Report gives plenty of material to show that the Church hierarchy seeks to monopolise education everywhere, oppose opening of government schools and strives to create a denationalised anti-Indian base among its flock. Lying, deceit and false complaints are some of the virtues of the Holy Fathers engaged in saving the soul of the 'weaker Hindu'. The Niyogi Committee itself was appointed because the foreign Church mission including the Roman Catholic priests made false charges against the Congress government about religious persecution.

The Missionaries launched a special attack on the opening of schools by Madhya Pradesh Government under the Backward Area Welfare Scheme. Following this a father of the Roman Catholic Church wrote a letter which contained the following:

We need help very much as we are so deep in debt and have to face worse times with a new Government so much against the Christians (this refers to the Congress government). Just now they are starting 40 new schools for the Backward Adiwasis. The third I hear of is in a village where we possess a school since 30 years. But knowing that many pagan children come to our schools and that we had sent a petition for a building to enlarge that school they surreptitiously try and draw away the pagan children from us. But we are ready for them. Today my men are gone there to attend a big panchayat to draw up a protest and get all the pagans to refuse withdrawing their children from us.

That is how this gentleman tried to organise a mass upsurge against the Congress government when the government opened new schools and raised the cry of religion.

And yet 12 years later, his cousins in Kerala are supported by the Congress to oppose progressive education measures in Kerala. It is not accidental that the conflict in both States arose over

education The Catholic Church keeps its hold over the Catholic masses by its monopoly of education, by giving a distorted education to young minds and warping their judgment for all time Every progressive interest in Europe has fought for ending this domination of the Church over education The separation of the Church from the State and the demand for secular education arise from the demand for freedom of thought and mind which are essential for democratic advance

The Kerala Education Act without limiting the freedom of religion, only asserted the freedom of teachers and this was enough for the Catholic hierarchy to raise the cry of religion in danger It demands teachers with enslaved mind The very possibility of non-Catholic teachers being employed on salaries paid by the State was sufficient to rouse the Church to revolt for that would mean penetration of national consciousness in Catholic schools and weakening of anti-national separatism The Bishops formulated the demand for separatism in the more blatant manner in a Pastoral letter

All Catholic parents are morally bound to send their children to Catholic schools Even in special conditions the permission of the Catholic Bishops is necessary to send children to other schools In fulfilling these responsibilities vested in the parents by the Grace of God the newly constituted private schools or Government schools under the new Education Act are not at all adequate This will not help to give our children an education according to our faith and religious principles Educating children in such schools filled with teachers of Communist conviction (they mean non Catholic teachers) is equal to throwing our little ones in front of venomous serpents

This anti-national and non-sensical demand for separatism and intrusion of religion in public education is tolerated by Sri Nehru and the Congress No wonder then that the Catholic Bishops demand that only Catholics should teach their children!

So much for the national outlook of this ally of the Congress

Not only money was supplied from foreign sources but the agitation of the Church also was foreign-inspired Documentary proofs exist about this

A conference of the Catholic Bishops of India was held in Bangalore on 4 December 1958. It was attended by the Vatican Ambassador in India, James Robert Knox. These religious dignitaries and servants of God devoted their time to find out "material and spiritual" means to overthrow the Communist Government in Kerala, the *Indian Express* reported on 5 December. 'During its fifty-hour deliberations, the Conference spent most of the time to discuss reports on Communist danger in India, especially the Communist danger in Kerala State. The Conference sharply criticised the Kerala Education Act and expressed its serious concern. Congress and its leaders feel no compunction in joining hands with this foreign-inspired revolt.'

In Kerala, the Church had openly intruded into politics. During the 1954 general elections, Comrade A K Gopalan drew the Prime Minister's attention to a circular of the Bishops threatening excommunication to those who would vote for the Communist Party. Sri Nehru did not see interference of religion in these threats—the more so because the threats benefited the Congress.

A loyal supporter of the British in the days of British rule, the Catholic Church hierarchy organised prayers for Salazar when Indians were being shot dead on the soil of Goa. The Kerala hierarchy is so religious that it considers Sri Nehru's letters to his daughter to be thoroughly unreligious and not fit to be read by Catholics.

It is in this Church that Nehru, the advocate of secularism, the man who preaches the democracy is a way of life, has found a new ally in the holy cause of fighting the democratic popular forces. How the nationalists among Congressmen tolerate this situation is beyond one's comprehension.

Opposition to Progressive Laws

To cover the tracks of the Congress, Sri Nehru asserts that Congress was not opposed to the progressive legislation—agrarian and others, that Congress joined the agitation because there was a mass upsurge against the Communist Ministry.

Unfortunately for Sri Nehru documentary proof exists that the Kerala Congress was opposed to progressive legislation. He

cannot cover so easily Congress alliance with landlords. In fact, Congress and its allies would not have come together had they not agreed to oppose the land reforms. Sri Mannath Padmanabhan—the big ally of the Congress—jumped into the fray against the Ministry when he found the interest of Nair landlords threatened.

This is clear from the speeches of Sri Mannath Padmanabhan who on one occasion declared 'It is not possible to send back alive whoever comes saying that excess land will be taken away. That is why I am sorry. My wish is that all including those Communist Ministers should live' (speech reported in *Deshbandhu* of 14 February). This new found ally of Sri Nehru threatened murder of Ministers because they put ceiling on land holding which the Congress is supposed to have demanded under the Nagpur resolution! And yet Sri Nehru does not feel the least compunction when his party joins hand with him.

That fact is that all including the Congress were too shy to refer blatantly to the agrarian legislation as that would have completely exposed the alliance in the eyes of our people. It was left to Sri Nehru to correct the crudities of the followers and give this unholy alliance suitable slogans to screen their real demands. It was at his instance that the crude slogan of dismissal of ministry was replaced by the demand for mid-term elections to befool the people. It was he who told his followers to declare that they were not opposed to the Education Act but only wanted the government to settle with the Church which was opposed in toto to the Act. And it was Sri Nehru who advised his followers and all not to speak against the Agrarian Act but to pretend that they supported it. And following this the communal and Congress leaders followed by PSP straddlers all sang in unison—this or that Act does not matter. The ministry must quit. It was made to appear that though the Congress Party supported the legislation, it was in agreement with other parties that the ministry should quit.

But unfortunately for Sri Nehru and the Congress leaders documentary proof exists that the Congress was opposed to the agrarian legislation from the beginning and it did its best to protect the landlords and defraud the peasants. The minute of

dissent to the Select Committee's Report - on Agrarian Bill - signed by Sri P T Chacko and other Congress worthies - show how strongly the landlord elements dominate inside the Kerala Congress and give a direct lie to Sri Nehru's contention that the Congress supported the Land Bill. In the first place, Sri Chacko & Co demand that fixity of tenures should be restricted to a small section of the tenants.

But the provisions in the Bill giving fixity of tenure and right of purchase only to those varamdars who have cultivated the nilam on 11-4-57 and in case there was no cultivation on that date during the cultivating season immediately preceding that date seems to be arbitrary and unsupportable on principle. We are of opinion that varamdars except those cultivating under public religious or charitable institutions should be given fixity of tenure only in case when they have cultivated the land for a continuous period of six years.

Secondly these worthies demand that the landlords should be given higher compensation. And lastly they demand that the whole Bill should be nullified by allowing the landlords one year's time limit to sell or transfer their land.

In view of the complicated and necessarily protracted proceedings involved in the surrender and redistribution of excess land above the ceiling area we are definitely of opinion that instead of providing for the compulsory surrender of all excess land to government freedom may be given to transfer such land within a period of year after the Bill becomes law. It necessarily follows that the restriction on alienation and the retrospective effect given to that provision becomes infructuous.

In Kerala the Congress stood naked and unmasked and revealed that the principles and policies that they proclaimed elsewhere were mere demagogy to cheat the masses. In the rest of India it thundered against casteism and communalism only to bow down before it in Kerala and ally themselves with the Catholic Church. They passed last year a resolution on land ceilings and trumpeted their intention to give land to the peasant and to betray their own pledges in Kerala in the interest of

landlords. To hoodwink the masses, they talked of co-operatives and co-operative farming, sent delegation to China to learn about the mighty advance there and repeatedly declared that India's progress, the progress of her handicrafts lies through co-operatives; but in Kerala they concentrated their fire against coir-workers', toddy tappers' and labour societies to safeguard the interests of contractors. They have made it a point in their charge-sheet. No party sheds such tears over peasant indebtedness as the Congress Party. And yet the President held over the Kerala Debt Relief Act for months. The Congress is loudest in its professions about socialistic pattern and removing economic inequality.

In Kerala, they opposed every concession given to sweated labour, whether in the form of wages or any other amenity. The Congress Party pretends to be a champion of democratisation of panchayat system and yet in Kerala its members oppose the Panchayat and District Council Acts which transfer substantial responsibility to the Panchayats and Councils. Some Congressmen have opposed adult franchise in the elections to these institutions. They are loudest in preaching the sanctity of the school teachers' profession; yet they fought against security of service for them in Kerala.

For ten years, the Congress was in power and it had done nothing to implement the directives of the Constitution or the rights guaranteed under it. On the other hand, it had done its best to suppress them. But now the Communist Party assuming the ministerial reins devoted itself to giving substance to the formal rights embodied in the Constitution. The right to hold property is enshrined in the Constitution and the landlords and upper classes have been utilising it to fight progressive legislation. But now the Kerala government gave a broad and real meaning to it by asserting the right of the vast mass of peasants and landless workers to hold it, through the new Act. This was enough to send tremors of fear through the landed interests and their Congress allies. The Kerala ministry likewise gave a new meaning to democratic and civil liberties by ensuring them for the masses in strikes and peasants in struggle. The Congress precisely deprives

them on these occasions State influence was now used to rectify the injustices heaped upon the workers and the underdog by the capitalists—a genuine equality before law was being established there with the big purse no longer able to evade the arm of the law or the state policy. Thus bit by bit extension of democratic rights to the common man gave new life and new courage to Kerala's masses.

Kerala's downtrodden castes and classes began to develop their personality and rise to their full stature as human beings. The toddy tapper no longer servilely removed his headgear in the presence of the contractor.

This meant a new correlation of forces round the working class in a new constellation which threatened to bar the return of Congress to power in Kerala, and which might produce a chain reaction in the country.

The reactionary alliance saw the danger and its first effort was to scare the backward masses who were capable of falling a victim to religious propaganda. It concentrated on sabotaging and obstructing every measure so that the masses should not feel the new breeze and be disappointed. It made every issue a class issue and attempted to carry on a ferocious class struggle all along the line. It obstructed the distribution of government land to the landless, it attempted to get the Presidential veto against the Education Act and the Debt Relief Bill, it obstructed peaceful settlement of labour disputes, it attempted to sabotage the Agrarian Act, it wasted seven days of the assembly on discussion on the title of the Act, it maligned expansion of democracy to the masses and on every issue sided with the exploiters.

Problem of Bureaucracy

But the biggest crime of the Ministry, in the eyes of the Congress leaders was the ministerial attempt to control the holy of the holies—the bureaucracy. The slanderous charges and accusations that have been bandied about by responsible and irresponsible individuals, while they keep silent over the social legislation, have one common tune—the government or the Party was interfering with the administration and using the state in its

own interests. This accusation has been exposed and unmasked several times. Besides, the Congress should be the last party to advise others on how to run the administration in a non-partisan way. Sri C. Rajagopalachari recently attacked it for interference in day-to-day administration and all that Sri Nehru could reply was that the interference was much less than in some other countries. The Congress has set up corrupt regimes everywhere and used official patronage to advance party interest—all to defend big money and landlords.

As regards interference with the judiciary, the top Congress leaders are the worst offenders. Even the Law Commission came to the conclusion that under Congress regimes appointments to posts of High Court Judges were often influenced by party consideration. The accusations and charges against the Communist Ministry in this respect should not be taken seriously. And yet they contain some real fears and dangers left by the Congress, fears which they cannot express frankly lest their class character is exposed.

The Congress inherited the bureaucracy from the British who had taught it contempt for the people - their rights and lives. The Indian bureaucracy was forged as an instrument of the occupying power, striking terror in the minds of the people. This anti-national machine was kept intact by the Congress and was even strengthened. The Constitution with its adult franchise, its elected legislatures and ministry, was grafted on this bureaucratic rule and Congress ministers considered it a fundamental principle of parliamentary democracy to cover all the misdeeds of the bureaucracy against the people. If once in five years the supremacy of vote prevailed, for the remaining period it was the supremacy of the upholders of law and order that prevailed. Citizens of India, especially the mass of peasants and workers, still dread the police station and the policeman.

The bourgeois-landlord government could not do without this all-pervading bureaucracy lording over the people. After securing popular votes, the Congress had to rule in the interest of the alliance and that meant it must rule with the iron rod of the bureaucracy. A Chinese wall must be created between the army,

the police and government servants and the people. Estrangement of the one from the other is essential if the former were to suppress the latter. That is why all the stringent regulations regarding discipline, not attending political meetings—that is why secret ban on Communists being given government posts. The bureaucracy can do no wrong. Arbitrary arrests, prohibition of meetings, lathi-charges and firings are its rights which can hardly be called into question. Mass killings by the police are not inquired into as for instance the shooting down of 107 people in Bombay city in connection with the Samyukta Maharashtra movement. Such enquiries and apportioning of the blame are supposed to demoralise the bureaucracy, create loss of confidence and affect their firmness in dealing with the people. This is Congress theory and practice and it is from this anti-people point of view that they charge the Kerala government with interference in administration.

Lenin had stressed the class role of the bureaucracy in the following words:

The centralised state power that is peculiar to bourgeois society - came into being in the period of the fall of absolute government. Two institutions are most characteristic of this state machine, bureaucracy and a standing army. In their work, Marx and Engels repeatedly mention the thousand threads which connect these institutions with the bourgeoisie. The experience of every worker illustrates this connection in an extremely striking and impressive manner. From its own bitter experience, the working class learn to recognise this connection; that is why it learns so quickly and why it so completely assimilates the doctrine which reveals this inevitable connection, a doctrine which the petty bourgeois democrats either ignorantly or lightheartedly deny... (*State and Revolution, Selected Works Vol. II. p. 169*).

The main crime of the party of the working class is that it intruded into these holy precincts and attempted to subject the bureaucracy to the rule of law. It attempted to cultivate in them respect for the people, the Constitution and fundamental rights, and behave not as masters and oppressors of the people but as

servants of the people --a phrase which is repeatedly used by the Congress leaders but never implemented.

In this background, the police policy of the Kerala ministry had, no doubt, an atomic effect. This policy announced by the Chief Minister has become the subject-matter of charge-sheet. What did it say? As the Law Minister speaking in the legislature stated:

This Government have taken the view that so long as there is no threat of violence to the person or property of any individual citizen, whether rich or poor, whether he is a big capitalist or industrialist, or an ordinary person, there should be no interference by police. If there is any threat of violence to person or by way of violent trespass, the police will intervene. Even in regard to strikes, the matter has been made clear. When there is positive physical obstruction from people and there are such incidents, even in the course of strikes, the police will intervene. On the other hand, what the police will not do is to play the role of a labour commissioner with a baton. They are there to step in only when there is a conflict -between parties and when there is violence or imminent unrest--of violence, when there is an actual threat of violence or imminent threat of violence, the police is there to avert it.

The task of policemen today is to rush to the aid of the ordinary people of all classes when they are menaced by the criminal behaviour of others, to track down culprits without reference to their position and influence, political or other, to keep himself vigilant and ever ready to intervene when (but only when) a dispute, agrarian or industrial, endangers the public peace or endanger violent occurrences.

Congress leaders cannot object to these statements but the trouble with the Kerala ministry was that it tried to implement these principles. It attempted to transform formal right of equality before law into a real right, denying the state's bias and partiality in favour of the wealthy.

Third degree methods were eliminated. Police harassment, corruption and shadowing was removed. Illegal arrests in economic struggles were stopped. Equality before law was

established. The government refused to act as the instrument of planters and landlords to crush the legitimate struggles of the workers and peasants, of school teachers and others.

This was termed demoralisation of the services, interference in the administration. Lack of partisanship in favour of the vested interests was regarded as party interference in administration. Not on one occasion could the critics charge the Kerala government that it helped the minority of vested interests against the exploited. Their complaint is that the government protected the legal rights of the people and did not allow the bureaucracy to trample them underfoot. This is the complaint of the Kerala Governor.

The Kerala government refused to oblige the vested interests. It continued to give a live meaning to the democracy embodied in the Constitution and sought to give the people a place of honour in Indian life. It made the bureaucracy see that it was responsible to the people for its deeds and that it will have to account for them in terms of the Constitution. It is the only government that appointed a committee to draft a new Police Code, so that firings on people were avoided as far as possible. It set up the principle of judicial enquiry into firing and compensation for victims of police firing. And finally it refused to use the notorious Preventive Detention Act, in scrupulous regard for the liberties provided in the Constitution. It did not use it against its opponents who threatened and organised open violence and overthrow.

The distinction between Congress regard for people's rights and Communist concern is seen from the difference between the policy pursued by Dr Roy in West Bengal and that adopted in Kerala. In West Bengal, Preventive Detention etc., prohibition of meetings etc. have been used from the very first day against a peaceful movement, against starvation and famine artificially created by corrupt government practices.

No government has shown such scrupulous regard for individual liberty, freedom of press and association. No government took such scrupulous care to see that the rights of the common man were made living and real. That is what incensed the Congress government at the centre. It realised that expansion

of the rights, lessening of the fear of bureaucracy in the minds of the masses, will increase mass consciousness and vigilance everywhere making it next to impossible to conduct the old bureaucratic regime elsewhere. Their accusations against Kerala ministry mean only one thing—they demand a bureaucracy lording over the people as an instrument of their class-rule; they demand that the implementation of rights be left to the discretion of the bureaucracy.

Role of PSP

The Kerala developments have served to unmask the thoroughly opportunist and reactionary character of the Kerala Praja Socialist Party and the Revolutionary Socialist Party. Socialist and revolutionary only in name, these parties joined hands with the worst reactionary forces including the Catholic Church in the conspiracy to suppress democracy and uttered all the lies and slanders circulated by the Congress. Devoid of all pride in the working class and the common man, concentrating all their hatred on the party of the working class—the CPI—these uncompromising revolutionaries were not ashamed to join hands with British planters, Congress capitalists and landlords and Bishops of the Church. It is they who acted as the agents of the Congress in the last elections, refusing United Front and preventing a rout of the Congress.

For this treachery to the people's cause, the RSP was routed from the parliamentary arena and the PSP could muster only eight or nine seats. But the leaders of these parties failed to learn the lesson. Blinded by their jealousy and hatred for the CPI, the two parties went deeper and deeper into the mire of subservience to vested interests, mouthing loud phrases about democracy and individual liberty. The high-water mark of FSP's love for democracy was its demand for central intervention against a duly elected Government.

There is nothing surprising in the role that the PSP played in Kerala. On every critical occasion reactionary leaders of social-democratic parties have stabbed the working class and the people in the back betraying them into the hands of the capitalist class.

The most recent instance is of the right-wing socialist leaders who helped de Gaulle to come to power by refusing to join hands with the Communist Party and other democratic forces in France.

In Kerala the PSP played its traditional role of the social-democratic party. Parties like the PSP have a certain role to play in capitalist society. They have to pose as independent socialist parties, galling the discontent against the ruling party and channelling it into safe channels. They are supposed to be the alternative to the government party. If they get the majority, they are to run the government exactly as the party of the bourgeoisie. They thus constitute the second line of defence of the bourgeoisie. In every decisive class conflict between the ruling class and the masses, their task is to side with the former. Because of the bankruptcy of the PSP leadership and the acute social conditions existing in India, the PSP could never come anywhere near being an alternative party to the Congress. All that was left to it was to play the second fiddle to the Congress—a role which it is playing very successfully. True to it the PSP in West Bengal has betrayed the mighty popular movement against high prices and food scarcity and is negotiating for seats in West Bengal Ministry.

In Kerala, besides, the PSP leadership is distinctly pro-landlord. The minute of dissent written by Pattom Thanu Pillai, the PSP leader and prospective chief minister of the alliance, follows the line of Sri Chacko & Co., and shows that the PSP leader and his party are in total opposition to the Act. Our esteemed Thanu Pillai wants to restrict the right of fixity of tenure and demands, like Sri Chacko, that 'Continuous possession for a period as a leasee should be made a condition for fixity of tenure.'

Then our esteemed Praja Socialist leader demands that the landlords should be paid more compensation. 'The compensation fixed for the full rights surrendered seems to be too low. Normally the full market value should be paid. According to the majority report there would be a reduction of about Rs. 6,000 on the first Rs. 15,000. This does not seem to be justifiable. It would be hard to penalise to this extent persons who invested their money on land while other investors are left untouched.'

And, finally, like Sri Chacko, this great one also demands, liberty for the landlords to dispose of their lands by sale or transfer before the Bill becomes an Act, so that no land is left for distribution: 'Instead of declaring voluntary transfers effected after 18th December 1957 invalid, I am of the view that owners should be given time, say six months, after the passing of the Bill so that their ownership may not exceed the ceiling. The provisions relating to the surrender or taking over excess lands can be applied only after the time thus given expires.'

As on land, so on every issue, the PSP took a reactionary stand and proved that it was nothing but a carbon copy of the Kerala Congress. Like the social-democratic parties in other countries, the PSP has collapsed as a left party in Kerala. The pace of events set by the Communist Party, the rapid democratic changes introduced, served to unmask the PSP and expose its socialist and democratic pretensions. No social-democratic party has ever stood the test of a severe class struggle.

Defence of Democracy

Not all the combinations in Kerala, and all the slanders circulated, could conceal from people that the issue in Kerala was between democracy and reaction and not between Communism and democracy. The Congress and the other political parties did their best to present themselves as defenders of Indian democracy against Communist totalitarianism. Sri Nehru joined in this unholy game and as days passed developed strange anti-Communist accent and finally opined that the Communist Party was so psychologically conditioned that it could not rule according to the tenets of democracy. Sri Nehru's speech in the Rajya Sabha during the Kerala debate was along these lines. A huge press machine was mobilised into service. It was thought that after these distortions central intervention would be considered to be a democratic way out and people would easily swallow the bait of mid-term elections.

But the Congress hopelessly miscalculated their strength and overestimated the effect of anti-Communist propaganda on the people. The democratic people, with their sober sense of realism

and their experience of Congress misrule, saw through the game and expressed against intervention. The Congress movement and the demand for intervention were so outrageous that jurists, lawyers, teachers, and other members of the intelligentsia strongly condemned intervention as unconstitutional and as creating bad precedents for the future of our country. A number of democratic parties in Bombay—the Peasants and Workers Party, the Lal Nishan and Janata Aghadi—denounced the intervention as an attack against democracy.

Popular vigilance delayed intervention by many months and introduced vacillations in the camp of the bourgeoisie. The seemingly democratic slogan of mid-term elections stood exposed for what it was in the minds of the people because when intervention actually took place the people recognised it as an act against the Constitution as an assertion of the doctrine might right. It created tremendous sympathy for the Kerala ministry and the Communist Party.

This remarkable isolation of the Congress and its central government from a cross section of all classes was a big tribute to the democratic instincts of our people and the work of the Kerala ministry and the activity of our Party. It shows that though for the present the central government has succeeded in imposing President's rule, it might turn into a pyrrhic victory if popular vigilance is kept alive. Though the dismissal of the ministry could not be prevented with the existing correlation of forces, still it has inflicted immense damage on the prestige and popularity of the Congress. It has made it clear that it is possible to bring in the near future a different correlation of forces which may well prevent such unconstitutional acts.

The Kerala ministry was a voyage on uncharted seas. This was perhaps the first time in the history of the world Communist movement that the Communist Party had agreed to form a ministry under capitalism—with a bourgeois-landlord government controlling the centre and with effective economic power in the hands of a handful few. How was it possible? It was possible because it was the desire of the Kerala masses and masses elsewhere. It was possible because the immediate issue

before the people was not the introduction of socialism—social transformation—but urgent social and economic reforms—including land reforms, honest administration and implementation of the rights given under the Constitution. It was necessary because people in India wanted to find whether the Communist Party could run the administration, defend the interests of the people and be a real practical alternative to the Congress. People had not yet lost their faith in the Constitution nor in the elections. Failure meant that they must turn elsewhere to seek an alternative party.

Role of Ministry

It is in the background of these considerations that a correct evaluation of the achievements of Kerala ministry should be done. True, some comrades did think that they would be allowed to run their full time; they, therefore, tried to take things a bit leisurely. But such illusions were entertained by very few. The National Council meeting held in October 1958 in Madras warned that we would be going from one crisis to another, as the opposition parties will give us no respite. The Kerala comrades and their leaders were fully seized of this situation.

The Party expected our Kerala ministry to make serious endeavours to solve the problems facing Kerala masses and thus attract towards it the hopes and aspirations of the mass of people in Kerala. In the short space of $2\frac{1}{2}$ years, the Kerala ministry has remarkably succeeded in doing this. Unprecedented scenes of mass enthusiasm are being witnessed in Kerala today in receptions given to Comrade EMS and other members of his former ministry. This mass mobilisation has given the lie to the propaganda that the Communist Party has lost its following and has sown panic among the members of the misalliance. The downtrodden castes and classes of Kerala, the oppressed middle-classes—are all aligning towards Party in whom they find their true defender. A big section of these downtrodden classes had voted for the Congress in the last election. Now through their own experience, they have swerved towards the Party. The ministerial acts, though maligned by the opposition, have been one of our

biggest weapons to bring new consciousness to the masses of Kerala and rally them for the cause of democracy. Tens of thousands who would have taken years to learn how the Communists work for the people, have learnt that in the last two years, thanks to our ministry and the activity of our Party.

The activities of the Kerala ministry also became a weapon of rallying the democratic masses in all States. The formation of the ministry itself created a new revolutionary element in the situation. Kerala became the advance outpost of democratic struggle. The ministry became the symbol of an alternative government to the Congress. The discontented and disillusioned masses of India were more and more attracted towards the Kerala ministry as the symbol of their hope.

Every measure of the Kerala ministry was followed with keen interest. Every defence of popular interests was acclaimed by them, every attack made by the Congress was resented. Kerala, thus, became an all-India issue, a democratic issue, and ceased to be a party issue. That is why, when the intervention came thousands considered it as an attack on them and democracy.

Thus, the acceptance of ministerial responsibility in Kerala has tremendously helped to organise and consolidate the democratic forces in India. Kerala has been in no small measure responsible for bringing about a change in the correlation of forces in the country. The masses have seen that the Party can deliver the goods, that it can administer and rule in their interests, that it is not simply a party of agitation and opposition. This experience is bound to exercise influence on the politics of the country and the next general elections.

Popular Vigilance

The most important question before the people today is the fate of Kerala elections. It is quite clear that Congress-PSP-Catholic alliance is now having second thoughts about the elections. The widespread mass mobilisation which the Communist Party is able to organise in reception meetings to the former ministers of Kerala has unnerved them. Consequently provocative clashes leading to bloodshed have increased. It is obvious that every

unconstitutional measure will be resorted to by these people to influence the elections and falsify the results. Already there are complaints that obstructions are put in the way of the supporters of the Party when they seek to enrol their names on the voting list.

Popular vigilance can defeat these constitutional efforts. The Congress-PSP-Catholic alliance in Kerala must be defeated at all costs. It is an anti-national alliance and it is the task of all nationalists to defeat it. If it emerges triumphant, it will herald the emergence of the most reactionary force in our political life.

To defeat it fire must be concentrated on the alliance between the political parties and religious bodies like the Catholic Church. The hierarchy of the Catholic Church acts as agents of foreign imperialism and this fact must be exposed before the people.

The triumph of the democratic forces led by the Communist Party in Kerala will mean a big victory for popular and democratic forces against reaction. It will continue with accelerated speed the process of revolutionising of Indian polities initiated with the formation of our ministry in Kerala.

The events in Kerala have posed before the Indian people the question: Whither Indian democracy? Is Indian democracy to go on expanding and widening itself or is it to retreat and confine itself to a handful few from the favoured classes? Is it to be real or formal? The Amritsar session of the Party Congress had stated that given mass sanctions and mobilisation, parliamentary majority can be made the instrument for gradual social transformation. That, of course, is correct if all classes and parties are prepared to abide by the verdict of the ballot-box and give substance to the rights embodied in the Constitution.

Kerala events have shown that the Congress considers nothing sacred except their own domination. The slightest breach in its monopoly of power made by a progressive party, is not tolerated by it and it is prepared to violate the Constitution to keep itself in power.

All this shows that the position of the Congress among the people is weakening. It is realising that every year that passes, it increasingly loses confidence. Its anti-people economic and

political policies are coming home to roost. Faced with the economic debacle, it relies on American imperialism; faced with a political debacle, it relies on the forces of communalism and Catholic Church. Its fear of the people and democracy increase every day. Kerala developments have only underlined it.

This is the time when the democratic forces led by the working class must be vigilant and active. It must expose the attempt of the National Congress alliance with religion and Catholic Church. By winning the Kerala elections, it must create a new correlation of forces in Kerala which should have sufficient strength to forestall all attempts to violate the Constitution or undermine democracy.

General Thimmayya's threat of resignation and the intrusion of army generals in politics is an ominous development. That the general has been allowed to continue to hold office is itself a serious thing. Far more serious is the fact that he had the sympathy of PSP and hundred Congress MPs; that the American and the anti-Chinese lobby and press was active on his behalf; and that the major objective was to secure the dismissal of Sri V. K. Krishna Menon as defence minister so that he should not lead the Indian delegation to the UNO to see that the delegation had strong anti-Chinese accent. There can, therefore, be no excuse for lack of vigilance. At the same time it must be realised that the democratic forces are strong enough to force a retreat on the reactionaries. What is required is that they must be kept fully mobilised, vigilant and on the move.

On West Bengal Food Situation*

Resolution adopted by the Central Executive Committee of the Communist Party of India

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has given its anxious thought to the present situation in West Bengal arising out of the total failure of the Government's food policy and the orgies of unbridled police violence against the people.

Over the past three years, the food situation in the State has gone from bad to worse as a result of the cornering of foodgrains by the hoarders and all-round corruption and maladministration in the Food Ministry under the Minister-in-charge, Shri P. C. Sen. Despite the fact that the Centre had, according to official figures, met the entire deficit, artificial scarcity was created to benefit the hoarders and profiteers. Prices have soared far beyond the reach of the common man and the entire State has been thrown into conditions of semi-starvation and acute distress. In all this, the guiding policy of the State Government, particularly its Food Minister, has been one of deliberate and direct abetment to the anti-social elements.

What is even more shocking and deplorable is that, instead of changing its discredited food policy, the State Government chose to suppress the peaceful food movement which the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC) was compelled to launch after all their constructive proposals for tackling the food problems had been arrogantly spurned by the Government.

Beginning with August 31, when a massive peaceful demonstration in Calcutta was surrounded by the police and mercilessly lathi-charged from all sides so that there could be no escape,

*Adopted in Calcutta meeting on September 23, 1959

a large number of persons, men as well as women, unofficially estimated at 80 and officially at 43, were killed in Calcutta and Howrah and the 24-Parganas in the course of 6 days as a result of police firings, lathi-charges and tortures in police lock-ups

Moreover, a number of people missing since those days remain yet untraced and it is feared that at least some of them must have been killed. Dead bodies of their victims were removed by the police and secretly burned and otherwise disposed of.

In these unprovoked and barbarous police attacks, about 3,000 persons suffered bullet and other injuries and many are still lying in hospitals in rather serious conditions. The police broke into houses of peace-loving citizens, assaulted the inmates and even dishonoured their womenfolk before taking young men of the family into custody. At one time in Howrah even the military was called out to assist in this terror campaign against the people. In its long history of police excesses and savagery first under the British and now under the Congress, West Bengal has scarcely experienced such premeditated and revengeful police brutalities. And it is now officially admitted that Chief Minister Dr B C Roy and the Police Minister Shri Kalipada Mukherjee personally directed many of these police operations from the Control Room of Calcutta's police headquarters.

The Central Executive records its strongest condemnation of these police atrocities and fully supports the demand for impartial public enquiry into them. The Committee notes with indignation that the State Government still refuses to meet this very legitimate demand even when all sections of public opinion including practically every newspaper in Calcutta are clamouring for such a public inquiry. No civilised society can tolerate this attitude on the part of a Government after it has taken so many human lives in an insane bid to suppress a perfectly legitimate and democratic movement. The Committee appeals to all right-minded men throughout India to voice their protest against this repression and lend their active support to the demand for public inquiry. In the larger interests of the country and its future, the crimes of the West Bengal Government cannot be allowed to go unchallenged and unanswered.

The Central Executive Committee is firmly of opinion that the demands of the food movement are not only just but they can also be easily met by the Government. These demands include the distribution of surplus lands already in the hands of the Government among the agricultural labourers and the poor peasants; the requisite extension of modified rationing scheme to cover all needy people; the building up of adequate food stocks through Government purchases at fair prices to the peasants; the curbing of hoarding and speculation through such Government procurement and effective anti-hoarding measures; the reduction of prices, provision for adequate agricultural loans and other relief measures and finally, the setting up of all-Parties Food Advisory Committee at all levels. No one who is at all serious about West Bengal's food situation being brought under control will say that these are unrealistic or impossible demands.

Yet, the State Government has thought it fit to brush them aside and persisted in their policies which stand self-condemned. It is regrettable that the Chief Minister of West Bengal, Dr. B. C. Roy should have refused to initiate discussions with the leaders of the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee on the basis of these popular and just demands.

The Central Executive Committee is confident that once the Government gives up its present rigid attitude and approaches the problem with an open mind and imagination, there will be no difficulty whatsoever in finding a way out of the impasse.

In this connection, the Central Executive Committee strongly feels that the resignation of the State Food Minister, Shri P. C. Sen has become an urgent necessity not only in broader public interest but also from an administrative angle. People have lost confidence in this Minister and his continuance in office, especially after the resignation of the Union Food Minister, Shri A. P. Jain can only cause constant irritation to the people and obstruct any fresh and constructive approach.

The Committee notes with satisfaction that all sections of public opinion have very rightly called for his resignation. The Chief Minister of West Bengal will be well advised to pay heed to this popular demand.

The Central Executive Committee notes with deep regret that although a number of persons arrested in connection with the food movement have been released, many still continue to remain in jails. Moreover, a large number of these prisoners are being denied the status of political prisoners and this can only be interpreted as a sign of vindictiveness on the part of the authorities. The Committee urges upon the Government to release all persons and withdraw all cases pending in connection with the food movement. This is essential to clear the atmosphere and initiate a new constructive approach.

The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India records its profound admiration for the people of West Bengal for their heroic struggle for food and relief under the leadership of the PIFRC. It is the unity of the people, their peaceful methods and, above all, the universal character of their demands which have heightened the moral prestige of the movement and given it enormous sweep and strength. The Committee is confident that whatever the provocations, the people of West Bengal will continue to seek redress of their legitimate grievances regarding food and relief through peaceful methods.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to the people in other States to express their solidarity in a befitting manner with this great movement of the people of West Bengal for food.

Food Struggle in West Bengal*

Jnan Bikash Moitra

The great struggle that the people of West Bengal have been waging for two-and-a-half months now will for ever become a part of the legend and history of our country and our people. It is an immortal saga, written in the blood and suffering of an entire people roused to action in defence of its right to live. The death-defying heroism of the people against the fascist savageries of the rulers will be remembered and emulated for generations to come.

The struggle for food, which started on 13 July and, still rages unabated, has been unique in many respects. It has already exhibited certain new features which mark it out as a struggle the like of which has not yet been seen in any part of the country since Independence. It is, however, necessary to understand the nature of the food problem in West Bengal in order to get a correct picture of a struggle of this type.

Man-made Crisis

Under the benign dispensation of Dr. B. C. Roy's government, the food crisis and near-famine conditions have become permanent features of the State's economy. The most concrete expression of this deep and all-pervading crisis, which has already shaken the entire economy to its very foundations, is to be seen in the steadily mounting deficits in internal food production

*NEW AGE Monthly, October 1959. The Police of Dr. B. C. Roy's Government in West Bengal resorted to indiscriminate killing of men who assembled at the Esplanade Raj Bhavan area in Calcutta on 31.8.1959 to demand food after sealing all exit roads to prevent their retreat. 80 people were killed on 31.8.1959 by police at this spot. This brutality of the Congress Government in Independent India was reminiscent of the most barbaric and brutal torture of the people in India under British rule.

Even according to official figures, which are in most cases untrustworthy, the deficit has shot up from 1,83,000 tons to 9,50,000 tons between 1947-59.

But while the government has utterly failed to step up internal production to meet the requirements, it has systematically allowed food hoarders and speculators to take fullest advantage of the deficit to corner the bulk of the stocks and to force up rice prices by creating artificial scarcity.

Little wonder that the prices of rice have steadily increased. The following figures speak for themselves:

**Average Price of a Maund of Medium Grade Rice
(in Rupees)**

1947	12.25
1955	16.44
1956	21.91
1957 (July)	23.01
1958 (July)	26.50
1959 (July)	33.00

The prices fell by Rs. 2-3 after the present food struggle was launched, but they have started rising again.

Since 1955, when the food situation took a serious turn, the distress and suffering of the people have steadily mounted. Starvation on a mass scale, starvation deaths, suicides and the tragic trek of thousands of hungry peasant families to Calcutta and to district towns in search of food and employment have become annual features, particularly between April-September when the food crisis becomes extremely acute.

According to an official estimate, the number of peasants dependent on gratuitous relief from the government, increased from 1,50,000 in 1955 to 5,00,000 in 1958. The conclusion is inescapable: during the twelve years the Congress has been presiding over the destinies of this State, a very large number of peasants have lost their land and employment and have been reduced to paupers.

The entire responsibility for the chronic food crisis, that has ravaged West Bengal and has imposed untold sufferings on the people, lies squarely on the shoulders of Dr. B. C. Roy's government.

Food Policy

The central objective of the government's food policy has been the protection and appeasement of the hoarders. The government consistently refused to procure directly adequate quantities of paddy and rice to build up buffer stocks; it rejected the demand for increasing the levy on the production of rice mills from 25 per cent to 50 per cent; it took no steps to enforce its own price control measures and allowed the hoarders and profiteers to flout the law with impunity.

Not only that. The government placed certain districts under cordon and prohibited exports of rice from these districts. But 'special' export permits were granted to a number of traders and rice mill-owners, proteges of the State food minister, thus enabling them to rake in a windfall profit of Rs. 10 lakhs. The government made a gift of Rs. 2,00,000 to the rice mill-owners of Birbhum district by increasing, on its own, the price of rice by Rs. 2-8-0 a maund.

Siddhartha Ray, former judicial minister, resigned from the cabinet in protest against what he aptly described as the 'diabolical food policy' of the State government. The concrete cases cited by Ray and also in course of the debate on the no-confidence motion moved against the ministry by the opposition, exposed the utterly anti-people and pro-hoarder food policy of the government.

And yet, when such grave charges were levelled, these 'standard-bearers' of democracy did not even care to reply to the charges, let alone the question of resigning from office. But what was even more amazing was that Prime Minister Nehru hastened to dub Ray's statement as 'irresponsible' even before taking the trouble of going through it.

Some of the charges levelled by the opposition were borne out by the Food Enquiry Committee, which the government had been

forced to set up due to deep resentment in the ranks of Congress MLAs. The committee was entirely composed of Congress legislators with a minister of State as its chairman. Yet, some of its observations and findings were in the nature of severe indictment of the government's food policy. Naturally, Dr. Roy tried to suppress the report. But the attempt was completely foiled by *Swadhinata*, the Communist Party's Bengali daily, which published the full text of the report.

Background of Struggle

When the Anti-Profiteering Bill was being discussed in the State assembly in December 1958, Jyoti Basu, leader of the opposition, repeatedly warned the government that a serious disaster would overtake the State in 1959 if the government continued to adopt an attitude of self-complacency and refused to act on the advice of the Price Increase and Famine Resistance Committee (PIFRC).

But, instead of conceding any of the demands of the PIFRC, P C Sen, the food minister, boasted that the government was 'determined' to see that its food policy was not rendered ineffective by the traders. And government's Price Control Order in respect of paddy and rice was also promulgated from 1 January 1959. But rice was nowhere available at the controlled rates, although the hoarders started buying up bulk of the new paddy harvest from the peasantry at the controlled prices of Rs. 9-0-0 to Rs. 9-8-0.

As the lean months approached, rice was not just available in the open market and prices began to climb to dizzy heights. The government sat back absolutely unconcerned and gave a free-hand to the hoarders to play havoc with the people's food. The government finally suspended the price control order on June 22, thus legalising profiteering and blackmarket prices.

As early as January 1959, the PIFRC had placed the following demands before the government with a view to averting the impending crisis. It is to be noted in this connection that the PIFRC had been pressing the government for the past three years to concede these demands:

Measures for Stepping Up Production

- Adequate amounts of agricultural and cattle purchase loans should be distributed to the peasants.
- Prices of paddy should be fixed at Rs. 12-13-0 a maund.
- All *mala fide* transfers of land should be declared invalid and immediate steps should be taken to distribute all surplus land.

Measures for Ensuring Proper Distribution

- Modified rationing (1½ seers of rice and one seer of wheat per adult per week) should be extended to the entire population and adequate and regular supplies of edible rice at Rs. 17-8-0 per maund must be ensured.
- Prices of rice in the open market should be brought down to Rs. 20-22 per maund.
- The government should build up buffer stocks of at least 5,00,000 tons of paddy and rice through direct procurement from the producers and by imposing a 50 per cent levy on the production of rice mills.
- Adequate quantities of foodgrains should be procured from the centre to meet the entire internal deficit
- Stern measures should be taken to muzzle the hoarders and profiteers.
- All parties food advisory committees should be formed at all levels in order to ensure proper distribution of foodgrains.

Relief Measures

- The scope of test relief work should be considerably extended.
- Gratuitous relief should be given not only to the old and the infirm but also to those who do not get employment in test relief operations.

Everyone of these demands was curtly turned down by the government. Not a single suggestion given by the opposition members in the State food advisory committee was accepted

Yet, the PIFRC went on appealing to the government to see sense. It repeatedly warned the government about the disastrous consequences of its food policy. But all these appeals and warnings fell on deaf ears. The government was adamant. It was determined to steamroller everything and go its own way. It was foolish enough to interpret the PIFRC's sincere efforts at negotiations as a sign of its weakness.

Meanwhile, the food situation was rapidly moving to conditions of a famine. Hunger was already stalking over the land. The cry of distress rose from every house in the countryside. The PIFRC could no longer sit idle. It called upon the people to mobilise their forces. Rallies and demonstrations began, and within a short space of time the movement assumed a statewide character.

Then came the historic general strike and hartal on 25 June. It was a powerful demonstration of the entire people's condemnation of the government's food policy. Yet, the impervious and callous Roy government refused to budge an inch.

The PIFRC was, therefore, left with no other alternative but to prepare for direct action.

Midnapore district was the first to launch the struggle on 13 July. Within ten days, it spread to the 24-Parganas and Hooghly districts. In all other districts, increasingly bigger mass mobilisations took place.

The State food convention met in this background on 8 August, under the auspices of the PIFRC, and decided to launch peaceful direct action throughout West Bengal from 20 August. From then onwards events moved swiftly. On 10 August, the leaders of the PIFRC announced the programme of the struggle at a press conference and three days later all the representatives of the PIFRC on the State food advisory committee resigned en bloc.

On 14 August, Dr B. C. Roy and P. C. Ghose, PSP leader, issued a joint statement the sole purpose of which was to hoodwink the people into believing that some of their vital demands had been conceded by the government. Having bagged

the 'leftist' leader, Dr. Roy came out with another statement next day, threatening to launch brutal repression against the peaceful food movement.

The PIFRC in a statement told the government that millions of hungry people could not be bullied by threats into accepting the man-made famine conditions.

Then came the attack. Dr. Roy's police made a frenzied swoop in the early hours of 16 August and arrested over 100 leaders and workers of the left parties, trade unions, kisan sabha and other mass organisations.

The government had hoped to deliver a 'stunning blow' to the food movement by this *blitzkreig*. But it miserably failed to achieve its objective. On 20 August the scheduled date, the struggle began in every part of the State. And the sweep and organised character of the struggle on the very first day was unprecedented. To cite an instance, over 30,000 people assembled in a rally in Calcutta, and from there 20,000 people surged forward to demonstrate in front of the house of the food minister.

The magnificent resistance of the people and the decisions of the PIFRC to hold a giant rally in Calcutta on 31 August and to call a Statewide general strike and hartal on 3 September drove the Roy government to a frenzy. It started hitting out madly. A phase of savage repression began throughout the State from 25 August.

Then came the bloodbath and fascist brutalities in Calcutta, Howrah and parts of 24-Parganas between 31 August and 4 September. The toll was shocking - over 80 killed in police firings and lathi-charges, more than 3,000 wounded and nearly a hundred missing.

Phases of the Struggle

The great struggle for food has passed through three definite phases. But an important point that should be borne in mind is that between 13 July, when direct action was first launched, and now, the struggle has undergone a vast transformation- in sweep and tempo, in tone and temper, in demands and significance.

The different phases of the struggle have been as follows

First Phase (13 July-19 August)

Total no. of arrests for defiance of the law	1,631
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Second Phase (20 August-3 September)

(i) Total no. of arrests for defiance of the law	9,967
(ii) No. of arrests under PD Act and West Bengal Security Act	789
(iii) No. of arrests under different Sections of Cr PC and IPC	1,845

Third Phase (From 4 September onwards)

(i) No. of arrests between 4-23 September for defiance of the law (figures incomplete)	3,141
(ii) No. of arrests under Security Act and different Sections of Cr PC and IPC (4-23 September)	3,112
Grand Tot'l	20,485

Unique Features of the Struggle

The above figures give an idea of the vast sweep of the struggle. It is a struggle the like of which has not been seen in living memory in this State, which has witnessed so many big struggles.

The struggle has assumed the shape and form of a national upsurge of the entire Bengali people. Millions are on the move. The struggle is not confined to Calcutta and the district towns, but has spread to the remotest villages. Thousands upon thousands of peasants, workers, students, middle-class employees, professional people and all other sections have been swept into the struggle. Never before was the unity of the villages and towns so unmistakably demonstrated as now.

Of the 20,485 people arrested till 23 September, over 75 per cent were peasants. Workers, students and middle-class citizens made up the rest. Even the womenfolk have been swept into the vortex. Over 2,000 women mainly from the peasantry, courted arrest.

The struggle has spread to even those areas that are regarded as politically backward. Thousands of *adivasis* in different districts, particularly in Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri, Cooch Behar, Midnapore, Malda and Birbhum have participated in the struggle. The Nepali-speaking people of the hill-district of Darjeeling have also joined the battle. The participation of the *adivasis* and the Nepali-speaking people is particularly significant.

It is no exaggeration to say that West Bengal has not yet witnessed any struggle of such dimensions and such militancy. It is this mass participation of the people, particularly of the peasantry, that has given an unbreakable continuity to the struggle.

It has been going on since 13 July. It had had to stand up to the most savage repression. Yet the struggle still rages unabated throughout the State. Nothing short of a real national upsurge could achieve such a miracle.

But our rulers think otherwise. Frightened out of their wits at the unprecedented upsurge against their blatant misrule, the Congress rulers desperately tried to slander the struggle. Dr. Roy was pleased to characterise it as a struggle that had passed into the hands of 'hooligans' just because of a few unfortunate incidents, for which the government itself was wholly responsible. Nehru had gone into raptures over the 'mass upsurge' in Kerala, but the only thing that caused him concern in the great struggle here was the unfortunate death of a police constable. He had called for a judicial enquiry into police firings in Kerala. But he did not have even a word of sympathy for the eighty killed and thousands wounded by Congress bullets and lathis in West Bengal, let alone the question of a judicial enquiry.

Nehru had advised the Kerala government to negotiate with the leaders of the 'liberation struggle' while he and his colleagues lent inspiration and strength to the reactionary struggle. But here, in West Bengal, he demanded unconditional withdrawal of the struggle before the government would condescend to talk to the leaders of the PIFRC.

Surely, hypocrisy and double-standards could go no further

Had the struggle passed into the hands of the hooligans, nobody could have stopped large-scale arson and looting. But not one such incident happened. Had the people chosen to answer the government's violence with violence, the whole of West Bengal would have gone up in flames.

But the people refused to fall a prey to the government's diabolical game, despite gravest provocations. Some police stations were no doubt attacked, but no harm was done to any policeman. The one question that was put to policemen in every police station was: 'Why should you beat and kill your own brethren?'

One railway station was raided, but the cash was not touched by a single person in a crowd of over 5,000.

Were all these people 'hooligans'?

But for a few isolated expressions of the intense anger of a hunted and infuriated people, they were superbly peaceful and disciplined throughout. And precisely because of the people's unflinching adherence to peaceful and democratic methods that every single programme of the PIFRC has been carried out to the very letter despite the savage violence let loose by the government.

Secondly, the working class through its mass participation and the noble sacrifice of the lives of its sons has given an immense striking power and a high tone of militancy to the struggle. Odds against it were heavy. The massive repressive machinery of the State was set in motion. Employers, INTUC goondas and Congress workers acting as agent-provocateurs joined hands and were actively helped by the police. The treacherous PSP leaders also fell in line. Gravest provocations were given. Desperate attempts were made to foment Bengali-Behari clashes.

And on top of all these, police brutalities reached unheard of dimensions on 2 September. Police broke into working class bustees and severely beat up the inmates. Not satisfied with this, they teargassed the bustees. The streets repeatedly resounded with bursts of fire from police rifles.

Yet all these acts of provocation and organised terror were of no avail. The entire working class went into action on 3 September.

The workers of trade unions and left parties had waged a heroic battle against the heavy odds and they had more than ample reward in the magnificent, unprecedented response of the working class.

Even for West Bengal which has a proud record of general strikes and hartals as forms of popular wrath and protest, the mass action on 3 September was unique in every sense of the term. In tempo, mood, sweep and significance, this general strike was unlike any previous one. Every industrial area witnessed an upsurge, over 15 lakh workers and middle-class employees having gone on strike. The sweep was so vast that even those sections of workers and those areas that had never observed strikes on previous occasions went into action. To cite one example, over 30,000 workers in the Titagarh region and the majority of jute mill workers went on strike for the first time.

The mass participation of both the peasantry and the working class in *one* movement and the spilling of the blood of peasant and working class martyrs for one common cause constitute a memorable chapter in the history of democratic movement in this State.

Thirdly, the PIFRC, which has been leading the struggle, is composed of representatives of all the left parties in this State excepting the PSP. The chief among these ten parties are the CPI, Forward Bloc, RSP and the Marxist Forward Bloc.

The food movement has been a united front movement in every sense of the term. The PIFRC *as a whole* has given leadership to it at every stage. Differences of views have no doubt arisen at times—and such differences are bound to occur when as many as ten parties are there—but these have been always ironed out through mutual discussions, and the PIFRC has moved into action with one will and one programme.

It is this unity among the left parties that has been one of the key factors in rousing such vast masses of people to action. Not only that the masses and individuals owing allegiance to these parties have been drawn into the struggle. The unity has inspired far larger sections of people, who do not particularly follow any party, to swing into action.

The Congress rulers took this fact into consideration when they planned to drown the struggle in blood. They made desperate attempts to create divisions among the left parties. They bagged Dr. P. C. Ghose and 'neutralised' the treacherous PSP leadership. Savage repression was then let loose, but the Congress and its government again tried to undermine the Left unity.

On 21 August, the Congress daily *Janasevak* put out a blatant lie that serious differences had arisen between the CPI and other left parties regarding the tactics of the food movement. On the same day, Atulya Ghose, real boss of the West Bengal PCC, came out with a ten-page 'charge-sheet' against the CPI.

Obviously the nefarious game was to isolate the CPI, the spearhead of the struggle, and to demoralise the people by demonstrating that the left unity, on which they had pinned so much hope, had gone to pieces.

But the government's calculations totally went wrong and till now not one chink has appeared in the unity forged in the fire of struggle.

Fourthly, but for the Jallianwallabagh massacre, our country has not yet seen the sadistic savageries that were committed by Dr Roy's government between 31 August and 4 September.

The unprecedented terror and violence let loose by the government against unarmed and peaceful citizens cannot just be explained by the determination of the Congress rulers to crush every big movement of the people by utilising the entire repressive machinery of the State. The diabolical methods adopted by the Roy government very sharply pose the question whether our rulers were trying out new techniques to suppress the people and to terrorise them into submission.

The new features of savageries perpetrated by the government were as follows:

- In a number of cases, the police first sealed all routes of retreat, and then throwing a massive cordon round the demonstrating people, brutally beat them up. In each one of these cases, a miniature Jallianwallabagh was enacted.
- From the injuries it was absolutely clear that the police shot to kill and beat up with lathis with the object of

grievously injuring and permanently maiming the peaceful demonstrators.

- Several people were beaten to death with lathis. Such brutalities happened for the *first time* in our country under a Congress government.
- It was reliably reported that hundreds of arrested people were savagely manhandled in police lock-up as a result of which they sustained serious injuries but were not given any medical attention.
- Nearly a hundred are reported missing since 31 August and it is widely believed here that many of them are dead.
- In order to hide the ghastly evidence of mass slaughter, scores of dead bodies of unnamed martyrs were burnt at midnight in different cremation grounds under heavy police guards. The method reminds one so much of fascist gas chambers and mass burials.
- Whole areas in Calcutta and Howrah were the scenes of savage 'mopping-up' operations in the best fascist tradition.

Complete Isolation of Congress

These savageries, however, have utterly failed to crush the people. The struggle continues to surge forward. But the Congress has lost heavily. Never before was it so intensely hated and so completely isolated as now. It is no exaggeration to say that if mid-term general elections were held now, Congress would have been swept out of power.

Yet, Nehru and his colleagues who were so vociferous about the need of mid-term election in Kerala 'in the interests of democracy' have not even asked the universally hated food minister, P. C. Sen, to resign.

The position of the PSP leadership too, who have played a despicable role in the present food struggle, is no better. It is now making desperate efforts to recover the lost ground. But the people have seen enough of its ugly face and its treacherous action in their hour of trial, to be taken in by their 'anti-government' moves.

Role of CPI

The Communist Party has played a glorious role throughout the struggle. Being the most powerful constituent unit of the PIFRC, the Communist Party contributed immensely in shaping and implementing the decisions of the committee.

Despite police savagery the struggle remained within the bounds envisaged by the PIFRC. This was due, to a considerable extent, to the influence and prestige of the Communist Party. Functioning through the PIFRC, it never lost grip over the situation even in the hour of severest crisis.

The mass of comrades and sympathisers showed a splendid sense of initiative and courage and discipline. They were always and everywhere with the people—in the thick of lathi charges and firings, in the battle against goondas and agent-provocateurs, in the efforts to persuade infuriated people not to allow their hatred and indignation to be diverted into undesirable channels. The indefatigable work, the heroism of these comrades during the whole course of the struggle, and particularly during the stormy days, constitute an inspiring example to the entire Party.

The Party's daily *Swadhinata* occupies a special place of honour. The comrades working in the paper and its printing press rose to great heights on the occasion and helped to transform it into a real people's organ and an extremely powerful weapon of the struggle.

Braving serious risks, the comrades collected shocking reports and photos of police savagery and held them before the people. No wonder that every word printed in *Swadhinata* was devoured by lakhs upon lakhs of people. The circulation shot up to 40,000 yet there were scrambles for copies and as much as Rs. 5 were frequently offered for a single copy.

Such was the demand of the people for a paper which had taken up their cause.

The prestige and influence of the Communist Party in this State were never so high as they are today. It is looked upon not only as an alternative to the Congress but as a serious challenge to it. Thousands of new people have been attracted towards it and this has opened up big possibilities.

Dr. Roy's government had to bow before the storm of protests all over the State and had to release certain categories of prisoners, including the leaders of the PIFRC. But the government has not yet conceded any of PIFRC's demands, referred to earlier, or the *new* demands that have emerged out of the struggle and have become its vital issues, viz., release of all persons arrested in connection with the struggle and withdrawal of all cases, public enquiry into police savageries since 25 August and payment of compensation to the families of the dead and to those maimed, and resignation of the food minister.

The struggle will, therefore, continue till the government climbs down.

Food Policy for West Bengal*

West Bengal Committee, C.P.I.

The West Bengal Committee of the Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern at the new food policy that has been adopted and pursued by the Government of West Bengal in 1960. It is highly deplorable that even after the bitter experiences of the last few years and particularly after the disastrous consequences of last year's food policy, the Government of West Bengal is persistently refusing to adopt just those measures that are necessary to prevent a repetition of serious food crisis, and has decided to pursue a policy which, in the considered opinion of the Committee, is bound to lead to disastrous results in the coming months. It is evident that in spite of apparent differences, the government is pursuing the same old policy of strengthening the hoarders and giving them a free hand to create havoc with the lives of people.

Crude Deception

So far as we have understood from various statements and pronouncements, the government policy boils down to the following measures: there will be no internal procurement within the State; whatever little procurement was made last year through levy on mills, will not be made this year. There will neither be any statutory minimum price fair to the peasants nor any maximum price reasonable for the consumers and such prices will not be guaranteed; that is, the open market will be completely free--free for the hoarders and profiteers.

Orissa has been tagged with West Bengal to form a single food zone and the surplus rice of Orissa will be imported on private account through licensed dealers. The central government will supply foodgrains from the central pool to the West Bengal government with a view to making up the deficit as calculated by the government. Regarding food production in the State, the government is propagating, perhaps to justify its food policy, that in spite of serious damage to crops by the flood resulting in a loss of about five lakh tons of rice, there has been such good production in the non-flooded areas that the overall production this year will be much higher than that of last year and instead of 12 lakh tons deficit, this year's deficit will be, only about 6 lakh tons.

Depending on such statistics, the government wants to create an impression that with much less deficit, with import of Orissa rice and supply from central stocks, there will be no food crisis this year and everything will be normal. The West Bengal Committee is sorry to state emphatically that all this is nothing but a crude deception.

Present Production

As regards this year's production our report is that the actual position is just the opposite of what the government propagating. There is every danger that the overall deficit will not be less. It may be a little more than that of last year. This reality will be evident to anyone who takes the trouble of going to the villages instead of manufacturing statistics in the office.

It appeared three months ago by seeing the paddy plants that the yield in non-flooded areas this year will be better. But due to prolonged rains and particularly due to storms just at the time of flowering of the plants and other causes the actual yield has been poor. At the time of harvest it has been found that in most of the areas, the production has been much less than expected, and in many areas it is even less than last year.

Add to this the serious crop failure in 15 to 20 lakh acres of flood-affected areas and there is little prospect of the overall deficit being less this year. This huge deficit is also reflected in

the trends of market prices of new paddy. Usually at this time every year, the price of paddy falls sharply hitting the producers very hard. But this year the price has not fallen to that extent. Recently there has even been a little rise in many places. There may be many other causes for this phenomenon, but it cannot be denied that heavy deficit is certainly one of them. So far as a fair price for peasant producers is concerned, it is good that the price now has not further fallen, but considering the fact that the gap between the price at the time of harvest and that of a few months later becomes wider every year, this is a dangerous portent. It means that unless serious urgent steps are taken to prevent the hoarders from cornering the marketed grains, the price after a few months will rise very high.

The bigger the deficit, the more scope for hoarders to profiteer. In this context, the propaganda about bumper crop is not only misleading, but is dangerous. It results in lulling the vigilance of the people, hiding the nefarious activities of hoarders before it is too late, covering up the government refusal to shoulder the responsibility of procurement and supply. Apart from this, it seriously weakens the case of West Bengal in the matter of getting necessary supplies from the central government.

The centre will be justified in depriving us of the necessary foodgrains to make up the real deficit on the basis of wrong statistics supplied by the State government. Even if the central government helps with a quantity of foodgrains that is equal to the deficit in production, then also the activity of hoarders artificially increases the deficit and creates a serious crisis, as was proved last year. But if the actual deficit is seriously minimised by wrong statistics with consequent less supply from the centre, then the crisis will be more serious.

Hoarders' Grip

The increasing grip of a small number of hoarders and big *jotedars* in West Bengal over foodgrains is a serious thing creating food crisis every year. However, much the spokesmen of the government may try to deny the existence of hoarders and to propagate the untruth that the millions of ordinary peasant

producers are the real hoarders, the people of West Bengal know from their bitter experiences that the overwhelming majority of the peasants are forced by sheer economic factors to sell their paddy just after harvest at a comparatively low price, that except a small number of big landowners, the peasants have got no power to hoard.

They know that the major part of marketable paddy and rice is cornered and stocked by the big merchants, millers and big *jotedars*, that after three or four months of harvest the market becomes short of supply, because stocks are then held by the profiteers in towns and villages—the big merchants, millers and big *jotedars*, who, by their control over the stocks, force the prices up beyond the purchasing power of the millions of consumers. This has been the experiences of the people.

This can only be prevented if the government procures at a fair price a substantial quantity of paddy and rice sold by the peasants and thus prevents the hoarders from cornering the total stocks and from cheating the peasants of a fair price, and if on the strength of the stock built up by internal procurement and central assistance, the government ensures regular supply to consumers at a reasonable rate through fair price shops.

Thus, government procurement at a fair price has become a key factors in preventing a food crisis. Accordingly, we demanded last year that the government should have procured about five lakh tons of rice. We said that if the government procured at a price of about Rs. 12 to Rs. 13 per maund of paddy the peasants would have been saved and the market price of rice could have been kept throughout the year at Rs. 20 to Rs. 22 per maund, thus helping the consumers. The government paid no heed to our demands and its pro-hoarder policy resulted in fleecing both the peasants and the consumers.

Abandoning Procurement

We are seriously perturbed at the government decision of altogether abandoning internal procurement which means handing over all the marketable grains of the peasants to hoarders. The hoarders by holding back stocks can artificially create a

deficit, even if there be no actual deficit and they can create havoc when there is actually a heavy deficit in production. The argument that government procurement means less grains in the market and hence higher prices, is devoid of any sense, because in reality, stocks in the hands of the government means less stock in the control of the hoarders.

Secondly, while it is true that the price of paddy has not fallen like last year, which hit the peasants very hard, it is also a fact that harvest is not yet over and large-scale sale by peasants has not begun, with the consequent uncertainty about the trend of prices. Hence, there should be a check against any eventuality of the paddy price going down to the detriment of peasants interests. Government procurement at a fair price can prevent this eventuality. Hence, the need of a fair minimum price.

Thirdly, government procurement is not suggested to be a monopoly procurement. If according to our proposal, government procures about five lakh tons of rice from the peasants and traders in the open market, as well as from a levy on the mills and by requisitioning hoarded stock of big *jotedars*, then also sufficient stock will be left for the traders to handle and the government can control the open market operation by releasing its own stock augmented by adequate help from the centre. The people also can get, over and above the usual quality central rice, a part of their ration in good quality Bengal rice at a reasonable rate.

Fourthly, to prevent food crisis and high prices the government from now on should fix a maximum price of rice and paddy to ensure that it does not go beyond the purchasing power of the people. The government can ensure such a maximum price only by procurement and regular supply. The big *jotedars* and big traders and millers should be warned against hoarding huge stocks for the sale at a much higher price later on and a policy should be taken to unearth their stocks with the help of the people at the appropriate time.

In West Bengal where a huge deficit and chronic food crisis is the order of the day this can be the only food policy. But it is highly unfortunate that the government has adopted just the

opposite policy which will result in strengthening the hoarders and raising the price of rice to the detriment of millions of consumers.

Orissa-West Bengal Zone

It is poor consolation that Orissa has been tagged with West Bengal. Compared to the huge deficit of West Bengal, the surplus in Orissa is small. Moreover, if the Orissa surplus rice was meant to be imported on government account and sold by it from the fair price shops at a fixed price, it would have proportionately helped West Bengal.

But this is not proposed to be done. This rice will be imported by licensed private dealers and they will naturally be big traders who will use these stocks for profiteering purposes. It is natural that the big traders of Orissa will try to take a share in this profiteering. This arrangement, in reality means that the West Bengal hoarders will be placed in control not only over the marketed grains of West Bengal, but also on the surplus imported stocks of Orissa

The people of West Bengal will not derive proportionate relief, while the people of Orissa will be forced to face high prices. We are at a loss to understand why the Orissa surplus is not proposed to be imported by the government on its own account to strengthen its stock position.

Overall Result

The overall result of the food policy being pursued by the government will mean, firstly, that the big *jotedars* and profiteers will control the marketable grains and purchasers will be at their mercy; secondly, they will control the surplus foodgrains, imported from Orissa. The huge deficit in West Bengal will strengthen the hoarding tendency of these elements and give them ample scope to create havoc.

Thirdly, the government will have no stock from internal procurement; compared to last year it will get much less stock from the central government due to its unreal statistics about

bumper crops and with such meagre stock, modified rationing instead of being extended will be seriously restricted.

The rural areas will particularly be deprived of modified rationing. The hint given by the central food minister about maintaining modified rationing system in Calcutta implies that the central assistance will be up to an amount that may barely meet the needs of Calcutta and the district areas will be completely left at the mercy of the hoarders. All this will make West Bengal a heaven for hoarders and will plunge it into a food crisis more serious than that of last year.

As against this, the policy as proposed by us and which is quite practical, means that hoarders and big *jotedars* will have less hold over foodgrains; the State government will have sufficient stocks at its disposal of about five lakh tons of rice from internal procurement as well as the surplus imported stock from Orissa and adequate central assistance to make up the total deficit in production.

With this huge stock, the government can control the market and extend greatly the modified ration system with regular supply. Only this policy can save West Bengal. The experience of the past years conclusively proves it. This policy can be made successful with the co-operation of the people at every stage.

People's Demands

Last year, the West Bengal government deliberately pursued a pro-hoarder policy rejecting all our requests and the protests of millions of people. When this policy created a serious crisis and people had no other way but to fight peacefully for a reversal of this policy, the government came down on them with brutal repression unknown in the history of West Bengal. But it could not cow the people and its policy stands more nakedly exposed before the people.

We sincerely hoped that the government would learn from these events and would adopt a policy in the interests of the people. We hoped that the declared policy of state trading would begin to be implemented. But the government has adopted a dangerous and more than ever pro-hoarder policy and to justify it,

has manufactured the statistics about bumper crops. We warn the government of the consequences of such a policy, a policy for which it will have to shoulder the sole responsibility. We again urge upon the government to abandon this policy and request for immediate acceptance of the following demands:

- (i) Stop misleading propaganda about bumper crops, inform the central government that this year's deficit will be a very heavy and ask for its assistance to meet this deficit.
- (ii) Import the Orissa surplus on government account and sell it at a controlled rate through modified ration shops.
- (iii) With a view to building up a stock of about five lakh tons of rice, immediately start procurement by purchase in the market from peasants and traders and by levy on mills and also by requisition of hoarded stocks of big *jotedars* with the cooperation of the peasantry.
- (iv) Fix a minimum price fair for the peasants with a view to preventing any eventuality of a fall in paddy prices now after the harvest. Fix also a maximum price in the interest of consumers and ensure it by regular government supply.
- (v) Continue and extend modified rationing in all areas with guaranteed regular supply. Supply in the districts must be regular. Modified ration system and cheap grain shops must be a regular feature particularly in the flood-affected areas.
- (vi) Start, continue and extend relief operations in the form of gratuitous relief, test relief works, cheap rations, grain loans for all distressed and poor people in flood-affected and other areas. These measures are absolutely necessary to prevent a food crisis and check a steep rise in food prices.
- (vii) For the success of this policy ensure the co-operation of the people and their organisations at every stage of its implementation.

Kerala*

B. T. Ranadive

The Kerala elections are over. The opportunist triple alliance of the Congress, Praja Socialist Party and Muslim League, blessed by Nehru, has won a decisive majority in the State Assembly, capturing 94 out of the 126 seats. The Communist Party which had 66 seats in the old Assembly, now got 29 seats, losing more than thirty seats to the formidable combination facing it.

These results of the election went far far beyond the expectations of the Congress leaders and their allies who till the last feared that they would not get a majority of seats. And yet the victors, especially Congress leaders, could not be very exuberant in their jubilation, in their moment of supreme 'triumph' over the Communist Party.

Their conscience sat heavy on them for they knew that their victory was achieved by bartering away the principles for which they stood, by a sordid and nefarious pact with the devil of communalism and religious fanaticism. They knew it was not a victory of advanced democratic forces but of a reactionary alliance. In their hour of triumph, they felt it necessary not to parade their victory too much lest their unsavoury allies drew too much public attention.

Central Intervention Condemned

But the main reason for the restrained jubilation was the fact that notwithstanding the majority of seats captured by the Congress and its allies, the Kerala vote showed that the

*NEW AGE, Monthly, March 1960 This is a review of mid-term election in Kerala held in February 1960 following dismissal of the Communist Ministry in this State on August 3, 1959

Communist Party was the biggest single party in popular vote, bigger than any other party. It convincingly showed that notwithstanding the combination of all parties against it, notwithstanding the malicious and slanderous propaganda carried day in and day out by more than thirty daily papers against the Party, the Communist Party emerged stronger—much stronger than before in popular estimation.

And the popularity of the Communist Party was in fact the central point of the election. When the Kerala Ministry was dismissed, it was not because it had not behind it 51 per cent of the electorate. It was a known and accepted fact that the Communist Party, though it had a majority of seats, had behind it not more than about 40 per cent of the electorate. The Ministry which enjoyed the confidence of the legislature was dismissed under the plea that it had lost its following among the people, it had lost its popularity.

The resolution of the Congress Parliamentary Board, justifying the demand for intervention stated: 'It seems obvious that a big changeover has taken place among the people and many of those who supported the majority party (Communists) in the Assembly in the last elections have changed over and are opposing it.' Whether Nehru and the Union Government, led by Nehru, seriously believed it or not, they used it as a pretext for dismissing the Ministry hoping that the Kerala electorate would be misled by their propaganda. They made the strength of the Communist Party the central point in the election and lost heavily, the Kerala electorate having administered a strong and convincing rebuff to Nehru and colleagues.

To the allegation of shrinkage of popular support, the electorate replied by increasing the Communist Party's vote by more than fifty per cent. The total Communist vote increased from 23 lakhs in 1957 to 35 lakhs in 1960—a net addition of more than a million votes. Could there be a more convincing reply to the Presidential intervention and Nehru's justification of it? No wonder then that the victors were not excessively jubilant over their triumph.

Party Miscalculation

While the increase in popular vote against tremendous odds is a big advance for the Communist Party and the democratic forces, the fact remains that the calculations of Party spokesmen regarding seats, have gone hopelessly wrong. State Party leaders, district committee leaders down to the village cadre—all more or less firmly believed that our Party would win a majority of seats and give a crushing rebuff to the alliance. Even if the worst came to the worst, it was thought that the Communist Party would not get anything less than fifty seats. Why are the results so heavily out of proportion with the expectations?

Firstly, there does not seem to be any miscalculation regarding the votes that we were expected to poll. Barring a few constituencies, the votes polled were up to our expectations. Every constituency, barring three, showed an absolute increase in our vote in varying proportions. Only in these three constituencies—one in Quilon and two in Alleppey district there was an absolute decrease in our following—at least in two of these the decrease was due to organised terror or intimidation by the alliance parties.

Our comrades in basing their expectation of a majority in the legislature, constantly referred to the huge mass upsurge in our favour. Was this mass upsurge a fact? Anyone who visited the villages and towns of Kerala during the elections could see the huge mobilisation under our banner—in villages and towns, especially in the rural areas. Compared with the 1957 elections, the meetings in rural areas were far bigger, the total village population in many cases joining our demonstrations and processions. There was more active participation of women in our campaign and the number of women attending our meetings was far bigger than before. One saw hundreds of them sitting in the front before you when you addressed a village or town meeting.

The mass of agricultural workers, poor peasants, Harijans, toddy tappers and factory workers participated in our campaign more actively and enthusiastically than before. Large number of those who had formerly voted for the Congress—those among

the agricultural workers and poor peasants—now joined us and our campaign. Quite a few among those who had participated in the liberation struggle against us were to be seen working in our election committees. All these were the visible and manifest signs of a big shift, a big upsurge in our favour. Any one who visited the villages of Kerala in these hectic days could not doubt that there was a big shift of the people towards us.

Was this shift seen in the voting figures? It was precisely this upsurge that increased our vote by more than a million votes—by more than 50 per cent compared with 1957. To have added more than a million votes in the teeth of opposition from all political parties, the frenzied appeal to Church, God and hell, and the persistent campaign of villification was a tribute to the confidence engendered by our ministerial and Party activity among new sections of the masses.

But for this big shift towards the Party, the Party would have been routed in the elections. For, the combined forces of reaction were able to ensure the participation of the most backward sections who had not outgrown communal and caste considerations and some of whom were voting in the elections for the first time. Reaction dug deep into the recesses of the old society among the backward masses to give the Communist Party a heavy blow. But the new upsurge among the people helped the Communist Party to improve its total vote and its percentage of voting, though it lost its majority in the Assembly.

The percentage of votes secured by the Communist Party and its allies increased from 40.74 in 1957 to 43.81 in 1960; while the percentage of Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance polling slightly declined from 54.19 in 1957 to 53.52 in the recent elections.

Underestimation of Situation

Nonetheless, it is evident that in our calculations of seats we had exaggerated our strength and underestimated the combined pull of the opposition parties and the communal forces. This, no doubt, was due to a certain underestimation of the political situation as well as to a certain failure to grasp the full impact and effects of the activities of our opponents.

The realisation that this was not an ordinary electoral battle but one of the sharpest political conflicts in Kerala for political supremacy; the fact that with the paraphernalia of an electoral campaign a big class and political battle was being fought—a battle in which victory, by hook or crook, was essential for the Congress Party and the Union government, since the latter had staked its reputation on it—was sometimes missing.

The main thing, however, was the miscalculation regarding the mobilising capacity of the opportunist triple alliance led by the Congress Party. That the combination of the Congress with the forces of caste and communalism, and religion could somewhat transform the situation against us, immensely increasing the mobilising capacity which these organisations possessed by themselves was not seen. It was thought that the result of the combination would not be very much different than a more arithmetical pooling of their votes with a few thousands thrown in.

On this calculation, it was thought that the Party would be able to retain all the old absolute majority seats and would be able to capture all the other seats it had captured in triangular contest because of division votes of the opposition. It was thought that total polling would at best increase to 80 per cent from 68 per cent in 1957, and with the shift in our favour, we would certainly come out victorious.

These calculations did not further allow for the fact that these organisations and parties had organised a struggle against the Communist ministry in which a large number of people had participated and which had conditioned the minds of a large section of the masses under the influence of these parties. It was not realised that the struggle had also affected certain sections who had formerly voted for the Communist Party.

The pull of the communal and caste forces in particular was underestimated. The fact that backed by the Congress, their *bona fides* certified by the Congress leaders, the communal forces would be able to rouse a much bigger section of the population, that they would have an appeal for those who had hitherto not bothered to go to vote and had remained indifferent to political issues was not clearly understood.

Typical of this outlook was the estimate of the effect of the League-Congress alliance on the Muslims of Central Travancore area. The League did not exist in this area. Therefore, it was thought that the Congress-League alliance would not have a material effect either on the total polling of Muslims or on the percentage of Muslims voting for us. It was thought that the Congress-League alliance would affect us merely in Malabar where the League was strong.

Ideological Crusade

But the reality was quite otherwise. The Congress-League alliance played a big role in mobilising the Muslims in this area against us. It is extremely doubtful, whether, except in a few cases, we could retain our former Muslim vote or the percentage of Muslim vote.

In our minds, we had overestimated the impact of the popular measures enacted by our ministry on the people as a whole. To a certain extent, we thought that at least everybody, every interest that was benefited by us would automatically vote for us. Every interest that we had proposed to defend would align itself with us—that was our expectation.

This arose out of an underestimation of the pull of ideological forces, of the obscurantist forces of religion and caste, because it did not correctly place the impact of anti-Communism as a political force. Day in and day out certain sections of the people were conditioned by continued propaganda against Communism.

While there were no illusions amongst us about the masses under the influence of the Church, the fact that the Church would mobilise its following 100 per cent to vote for the Congress was, perhaps, not grasped. In the last election the Church slogan was 'To vote Communist is to commit sin'. This left room for remaining neutral and many did remain neutral in the last election, whether out of political indifference or because they did not want to vote for the Congress.

But this time there was no room for neutrality. The Church direction was 'Not to vote for the Congress is to commit sin'. The faithful were asked to gather in the Church in the morning of the

election to attend mass, go through confession and were directly shepherded to the polling booth. Never was the intervention of the Church and religion more blatant in any election. Never did God and hell play such an important part in any previous election.

This time the pull of the Catholic clergy was so strong that in many cases the family members of the Catholic supporters of the Party did not vote for us. The wives, fathers or mothers of our Catholic followers often voted for the Congress and the alliance under the strong pressure and intimidation of the Church.

The election review made by the Kerala Party in 1957 underlined three major areas of our weakness: the Muslim belt (mainly in Malabar) in which the League was very powerful; Christian belt; the urban middle-class.

Election figures show that we have improved our position in the Muslim belt where the League was strong. We have made a dent in Muslim following of the League. Voting figures for this Muslim belt show that several seats which were won by the League in 1957 in three-cornered contests could have been won by us if the contest had been three-cornered.

While there was good progress in Malabar on the League front, the Christian belt continued to be a weak belt for us. In addition certain sections of the middle class in the towns and cities among whom we were already weak, tended to shift away from us during the election. This was the part of marginal indecisive vote which had given us victory in the past in the cities by tilting the balance in our favour.

The whispering campaign of Congress leaders from outside that the Communist Party will be declared an unlawful party; that even if it secures a majority it will not be allowed to form a ministry; the open threats of Congress leaders like Sanjiva Reddy that if the Communists secured a majority, rice from outside will not be sent to Kerala; the threat of Union Deputy Minister A. M. Thomas that there will be no new dockyard at Cochin Port if the Congress is not returned to power—also played a role in frightening certain sections of the middle-class to vote Congress.

Kerala's urban middle-class, largely composed of Catholics and Nairs, was, it must be remembered, exposed to the anti-

Communist propaganda of the press. Day in and day out the daily papers blared forth scurrilous propaganda against the ministry. The lies circulated by them turned to be believed by a section at least—all the more so since they were repeated by Congress leaders outside Kerala, including Jawaharlal Nehru.

The sponsors of the 'liberation' struggle fully exploited the temporary conflict of interests in the camp of the people and appealed to the backward selfish interests of the middle-classes. Notwithstanding the urbanisation of Kerala, the salary earners, professionals, doctors, lawyers, shop keepers—who comprise the middle strata—have feudal ties with the villages. They invariably own a small plot of land which they rent out and draw a small income from it. The Anti-Eviction Act passed by the ministry displeased a section of the middle-class.

Even the democratic police policy of the Kerala ministry was presented to them by the press and regarded by them as the bolstering of the lower orders, against their privileged position in the villages. The Agrarian Bill, though it protected the interests of the small holder, was again misrepresented to them by the Congress and others as an attack on them and every effort was made to rouse their hostility to it. Our explanations hardly reached them. The legislation to enforce a minimum wage for the downtrodden agricultural workers, the harijans, was also looked upon in the same hostile manner, though it did not directly affect them.

And, finally, the attempt to protect the interests of backward communities by safeguarding their employment in government services and teaching profession brought forth a hostile reaction from sections of the privileged communities of the middle-classes.

It will be seen, however, that the section of the urban middle-class when it moved away from us was not protecting any advanced interests but was trying to maintain its status quo in the village. In this connection, the reaction of sections of school teachers and NGOs whose salaries we had raised considerably is interesting. Many of them are reported to have actively worked against us in the village because they did not relish the fact that the agricultural workers and harijans have gained a new

confidence and new self-reliance under our rule; that they standing up as self-respecting citizens and not as the village serfs. They no longer did obeisance to their superiors by tying the towel round the waist.

Such temporary conflicts among the ranks of the people, conflicts based on one section's attempt to protect its feudal privileges can only be removed by persuasion and propaganda. It will be surprising, indeed, if these are not exploited by the reactionary for their own purposes. Democratic progress cannot be abandoned because of such temporary conflicts.

Care has to be taken only to see that the transitional measures cause the minimum dislocation and disturbance to sections of people affected by them; that they are given proper compensation so that democratic legislative advance does not disrupt the unity of the people as a whole. But there is no doubt that these temporary factors and conflict of interests did cause a certain breach between the urban middle-class and us; affect the floating marginal vote and was yet another reason for our calculations going wrong—though this certainly was not the main reason.

Herculean Task

Besides, the elections were not free and fair in all constituencies. Intimidation and terrorisation of our voters, threat of murder and actual murders on the eve of polling, large-scale arrests by the police of the followers of the Party, illegal capture of booths by alliance goondas and driving away of our voters, impersonation of our votes by the goondas of the opposing parties, violation of election procedure by officials, open partisanship and illegal acts of officials, refusal to give recount when the margin was excessively small—Krishna Aiyyar who lost by 23 votes was not given recount—violation of the rule of secrecy in connection with postal votes—all these have played their part in reducing representation in a number of marginal constituencies.

What role this played in deciding the results all over Kerala cannot be stated just now, as the full information will be available only after the meeting of the Kerala State Council of the Party.

But at present there is no tendency to regard them as the main cause of our setback.

The setback in seats appears as a big setback because the formidable character of the task was underestimated. The CPI has no reason to be downcast or disappointed for alone, single-handed, against the most formidable combination, it has secured 43.8 per cent of the total votes polled. It has increased its votes by more than a million votes and increased its percentage of votes. The percentage of votes of its opponents has gone down.

For the twenty-eight months of its rule, the Communist-led ministry was vilified by the opposition. Every attempt was made to sabotage the enactment of progressive legislation and measures like distribution of land and other constructive activities. The central government took a hand in this by refusing to sanction the bills passed so that the masses should not feel the beneficial results of Communist rule. And above all, anarchy and insecurity was created to frighten peace-loving people into believing that only the Congress could grant peace and security.

Rally for Party

And yet the people rallied round the Party in huge numbers. How? And who were the people that rallied? The agricultural workers, the harijans who were divided in their political affiliations in the 1957 elections, voted almost to a man for the candidates of the Communist Party. The terror of the landlords, of the alliance goondas was primarily directed against them for, they were considered to be the firm, rocklike base of the Party. They knew what the ministry stood for. The police no longer obliged the landlords by organising terror against them; arrests, third degree methods in police lock-up all these were things of the past. As agricultural workers, they were protected by the Minimum Wages Act from the rapacity of big landlords; as harijans, their rights were safeguarded by the ministry. In the villages almost for the first time they had a new status of respect and they were in many places the leading cadres of the Party—their party in power. Whatever following the Congress had among this section it irretrievably lost.

The mass of tenants and poor peasants, wide section of middle peasants except those imprisoned by the Church ideology, threw their weight on the side of the Party and its candidates. This deeply cut into the old following of the Congress and the Muslim League bringing tens of thousands of new votes to the Party in many places. The same Acts which slightly alienated a section of the urban middle-class, enthused wide sections of the peasantry, for they held out before them prospect of liberation from the burden of debts and feudal rents, of security of tenure and ownership of a price of land.

The position of the Party would have been thoroughly hopeless had the Party not succeeded in putting on the statute book the Anti-Eviction Act, the Debt Relief Act and the most important—the Agrarian Act. It is these Acts that acted as the big shield against the villifying propaganda of the landlords and the triple alliance and wrecked all chances of the alliance misleading the mass of peasantry.

The bulk of the factory, transport and plantation workers stood solidly by the Party despite heavy odds. They were the base of the Party, the highly politicalised section of Kerala's electorate. They knew what was at stake and they had been big beneficiaries of the government's labour and police policy. Let it be said to the honour of the Catholic worker, that he voted for the Communist Party almost to a man though this time the pressure against the members of his family was so intense that he could not secure their votes for his Party in many cases.

A big section of the city middle-class not directly under the influence of the Nair Service Society or the Church also voted for the Party, though there was a shift in this class.

The toddy tappers for whom we promoted the co-operative societies voted to a man for the Party where the co-operatives proved a big success. They knew how the toddy contractors wanted to destroy their societies so that they could be exploited as before, and how the government had protected them and through the co-operative societies placed a new weapon of economic advance in their hands. Where the societies did not work well for one reason or another, the vote was divided, a

section of toddy tappers thinking that co-operatives were to blame for their misfortune.

Our agrarian legislation enabled our ally the Progressive Muslim League, to break through the cordon of communalism in the rural area where the Muslim peasants were fighting interested in the Agrarian Act. A large number of Muslim peasants in these areas voted for us, while the Muslim petty-bourgeoisie in the cities, and trading interests in the town and villages voted en bloc for the League.

Thus, thanks to our ministerial legislation and Party activities, the Party could rally behind it a major section of the lower orders and strike deep roots among those classes which constitute the driving forces of social change. The Party was not only not alienated from its base but struck deeper roots among the basic masses.

Confronting Camps

The camps that confronted each in the Kerala elections may be described as follows. Behind the triple alliance stood the plantation owners, landlords, trading and industrial vested interests, local and rural gentry, who mainly with the aid of the Church and the Muslim League, ran away with a section of the masses, including large sections of the middle-classes. Behind the Communist Party stood industrial and agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants and other sections of the rural and urban poor with a section of the intelligentsia and small property holder. In the elections, the basic alliance of industrial workers and agricultural workers with poor and middle peasants has been immensely strengthened.

A study of the election statistics reveal all these conclusions. They dispel all sense of gloom and despair initially felt by the followers of the Party and reveal the giant strides taken by our heroic Party in Kerala. At the same time they reveal the basis of our miscalculations.

In 1957, with 66.11 per cent of the voters going to the poll, the Communist Party polled 40.74 per cent of the total votes polled. In 1960 with 84.75 per cent of the voters going to the poll, the

Party polled 43.81 per cent of the votes. The Congress, PSP, League combination polled 54.19 per cent votes in 1957 and 53.52 in 1960. Their vote registered a decline in terms of percentage.

At the same time the figures clearly show how reaction was able to counter the effect of the mass upsurge in our favour, by mobilising the backward sections in big numbers. As against the more than one million extra votes that the Party single-handed gathered behind it, the triple alliance aided by the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society also increased their combined vote by more than a million. The Communist poll increased from 23.77 lakhs to 35.48 lakhs; while the combined Congress-PSP-League poll increased by the same number from 31.63 lakhs to 43.35 lakhs—the increase in both cases is 1.1 million votes.

The Communist Party increased its vote on the basis of its democratic legislation and programme. For the reactionary alliance, the shift of the middle-class constitutes only a small part of the increase. In the main this was attained by full mobilisation of the Catholic vote, by uniting all other Christian sects to vote anti-Communist—some of them used to vote for the Party in the previous elections—by mobilising the Muslim vote to the full on a communal basis. This is how the mobilising power of the alliance was used to counter-balance the peasant upsurge in our favour. We saw only the latter but failed to see the former when we made our estimates. The net result was that the difference between the total vote of the Communist Party and the alliance was the same in 1960 as it was in 1957, viz., 786,000 in 1957, 787,000 in 1960. But this time because the vote was pooled together the Party lost majority of its seats.

The district-wise figures confirm the generalisation made earlier. The Quilon and Alleppey districts have been our strong centres. In the last elections we captured all but one or two seats in these districts and the percentage of our poll in 1957 was 43.80 per cent in Quilon and 49.49 in Alleppey.

But these districts were also the centres of the 'liberation' struggle and the influence of the Nair Service Society among

middle-class Nairs and the Catholic Church is also strong in these districts. The Muslim League was non-existent but the Congress alliance with the League for the first time made the Muslim susceptible to League appeal.

All these unfavourable factors are fully reflected in the voting figures. Though the total poll in Quilon increased from 786,000 in 1957 to 994,000 in 1960, i.e., 208,000 our poll increased only by 80,000 and our percentage dropped to 42.80.

Similarly in Alleppey total poll increased from 695,000 in 1957 to 875,000 in 1960, i.e., by 180,000, while our poll increased only by 60,000 and our percentage dropped to 46.17. Naturally, we lost half our seats in Alleppey and more in Quilon. Further expansion here was prevented by the Catholic-Nair propaganda and the 'liberation' struggle.

The same tale is revealed in the Catholic dominated district of Ernakulam. Though the total poll increased by 210,000, our poll increased only by 77,000 and our percentage of votes dropped from 43.83 in 1957 to 41.59 in 1960. However, in the other two struggle districts of Trivandrum and Kottayam, the Party improved both its total polling as well as percentage compared with 1957. There was an increase of 208,000 votes in the total poll in Trivandrum and the Party increased its poll by 108,000 and increased its percentage from 43.38 to 45.83. The triple alliance increased its poll by 135,000 and its percentage from 44.01 to 49.81 per cent. Part of the increase on either side was at the expense of the independents.

In the district of Kottayam, which was one of the strong centres of struggle, total poll increased by 280,000; the Party's voting strength increased by 150,000 while that of the Congress increased by 180,000—part of the increase on either side now being at the expense of the independents. The Party's voting percentage increased from 38.25 to 43 per cent.

Obviously in these two districts, there was still scope for expansion without directly coming into conflict with the barrier raised by the Church and the Nair Service Society. The Congress-PSP-League alliance increased its percentage of voting in the Catholic dominated struggle districts and more so in those

parts where the Nair Service Society had influence. In those districts further the Congress alliance with League, ensured wide support of the Muslim votes for the alliance candidates. The League had no influence here and in the previous elections a large number of Muslims stayed away from voting while among those who voted, a good chunk used to vote for us.

Quite a different tale is revealed by districts free from Catholic domination and districts which were not the active centres of the 'liberation' struggle.

In Trichur, the total poll increased by 238,000, the Party poll increased by 166,000 and the alliance poll increased by 91,000. The Party's percentage increased from 38.46 to 46.58 while the alliance percentage declined from 56.65 to 52.64.

In Palghat, the total poll increased by 286,000; the Communist poll increased by 209,000 and the alliance poll increased by 79,000. The Party single-handed secured majority of the votes cast. Its percentage increased from 44.13 to 53.79 and the alliance percentage declined from 54.99 to 45.82.

In the 1957 elections also we captured majority of the seats in Palghat as we did this time. But this time we did against the combined opposition. Palghat was in a large measure free from the intimidation of the Catholic Church against the voters, the Catholics forming a small part of the total population. Besides, in Palghat in the rural areas we could penetrate into the Muslim masses to some extent. And finally, we were able to firmly unite the agricultural workers and poor peasants by properly handling the question of agricultural wages under the Minimum Wages Act. The wages were settled in a friendly spirit and the conflict of interest was smoothed to the satisfaction of all concerned.

In the Malabar districts—Palghat, Kozhikode and Cannanore—the League is strong among the Muslims. The significance of the voting figures in these districts lies in the fact that we were able to detach sections of Muslims from the League, increase our votes and improve our position considerably, though we lost a number of seats in the last two districts.

In Kozhikode district the total poll increased by 270,000, the Party poll increased by 185,000 while the alliance poll increased

by 182,000. A considerable part of the increase consisted of a shift among Muslims in our favour. For, our ministry was very vigilant in protecting the rights of the Muslim minority—political and religious rights. Besides our agrarian legislation was a big attraction for the Muslim masses.

In Cannanore, the total poll increased by 370,000 and the Party's votes increased by 132,000 and its percentage of votes went down to 40.46. Here in the town of Tellicherry a stiff fight was given to the League and Krishna Aiyyer had nearly won the seat. For the rest, the trading interests among Muslims went against us, while we could improve our position among the rural Muslims to some extent.

Balance Sheet

The statistics, therefore, reveal both the strength and weakness of the situation as well as the advance registered by our Party.

They show that during the 28 months of the ministerial rule, our Party has made a tremendous advance in forging the unity of the democratic masses, and has struck deep roots among the basic classes. They also show that reaction has lost no time in organising itself and fencing off a big section of the down-trodden masses away from us by calling the aid of the communal and religious organisations. It shows that the democratic base of the Congress is rapidly shrinking in Kerala and it has to base itself on the backward sections, their prejudices and lack of consciousness, to retain itself in power.

A significant feature of the situation is that a section of the urban middle-class, which formerly voted for us has moved away from us. In the fight for social and democratic advance, the urban middle-classes have an important place along with the toiling sections. Their estrangement from us only disrupts the people's unity. At the same time, the fact must be recognised that this estrangement is partly due to their resistance to legitimate agrarian changes. Congress and the alliance have made unscrupulous use of this fact and succeeded to some extent in pitting sections of urban middle-classes against the agrarian reforms.

But this is not the whole truth. The town middle-classes and certain sections of the masses are being affected by the poison of anti-Communism. Blind anti-Communism has become a political force in Kerala. The anti-Communist poison doled out by the reactionary press day in and day out, the vile slanders and lies did have an effect on certain sections of the people. The propaganda of our Party was unable to meet this torrent of hatred with the result that the poison has begun to percolate to certain sections of the masses. Politically the Congress concentrated on the middle-classes for sowing anti-Communist hatred. The Catholic Church and the League attempted to do the same thing among their masses.

While the strength of the Communist Party is increasing, the polarisation among Kerala's masses is being brought on the basis of blind anti-Communism and communalism. The last one is the main weapon to create anti-Communism among the masses.

Utilising the hold of the landlords, the fear of the small property-holder for agrarian advance, utilising the selfishness of the privileged castes, and the hold of religion over the minds of the people—reaction is making a desperate bid to stabilise the present state of affairs, to erect permanent barriers between the advanced democratic forces led by the Party and the masses under the former's leadership. It knows that it can rule only if this is achieved.

New Situation

Such is the new situation that faces our Party in Kerala after registering a proud and spectacular advance in its influence and strength. That situation demands new effort to end this artificial polarisation, if Kerala's democratic advance is to go ahead uninterrupted.

This task is beset with formidable difficulties. In the first place the alliance government seems to have no desire to behave as a democratic government. The Communist Party has emerged as the biggest single party—with 43 per cent votes to its credit. This fact should have great importance for those who claim to believe in parliamentary democracy and in the right of the opposition to

exist and work for a change of government. By all rules of the game the Party and its followers must be given the consideration in view of their influence.

Instead, the bureaucracy encouraged by the alliance parties is starting a reign of terror against the defenceless agricultural workers, the harijans who have been the staunchest supporters of the Party. Murder, burning of residence, whole-sale expulsion from villages and denial of employment—these are the weapons shamelessly used for daring to use their right of vote according to their conscience. Simultaneously the Catholic followers of the Party are being excommunicated by the Church for the crime of having voted for the Party. What remains of the right to vote under the Constitution?

Reaction in Kerala is seeking to achieve through terror what it failed to achieve through the ballot box, the violent 'liberation' struggle and vilifying propaganda. Armed with a majority in the legislature, it seeks to reduce the Communist following by means of repression. The democratic forces in Kerala and outside will no doubt foil this attempt to disrupt the people through repression. The harijan workers, agricultural labourers and peasants of Kerala will meet this challenge with the same courage, persistence, patience and persuasion with which they have met a situation in the past.

The next immediate step before our Party is to move quickly to end the present polarisation, to heal the breach between the different sections of the masses so that Kerala's advance can be resumed. Taking *the realities of the situation into consideration*, the fact that a majority of the electorate has voted for the triple alliance, our Party has stated that it will work as a constructive opposition party, prepared to co-operate with the government in whatever measures of popular benefit it adopts.

This should be the first step to ease the tension and heal the breach that exists today. Simultaneously our Party suggests positive measures to advance the interests of the masses. We ask all fair-minded people to join with us in asking the new government to implement the three Agrarian Acts passed by us. We would also suggest to other political parties to hold

consultations with us to' prepare a programme for developing Kerala, implement the remaining parts of the Second Five-Year Plan and prepare a suitable Third Plan for Kerala which would effectively tackle the great problem of unemployment.

This is our reply to the anti-Communism of the alliance and its efforts to keep the people of Kerala permanently divided.

It goes without saying that we will have to oppose the government if it undertakes measures prejudicial to the people's interests and fulfils only the will of the vested interests.

Playing the role of a constructive democratic opposition, the Party must turn to strengthen its own mass base and mass organisation of the workers and peasants—the trade unions and kisan sabhas. The capitalists and landlords may open a new offensive against them hoping to get the support of the government.

A growing unity of the democratic forces of Kerala is more than ever needed if the Kerala masses are not to be cheated of the benefits of the legislations passed by our Ministry.

The new alliance government is already showing big cracks in its solidarity. The parties to the alliance are treating it as a thieves' kitchen, each trying to cheat the other in its hunt for power.

The Muslim League was made to believe that it would share the spoils of victory. S. K. Patil gave a public assurance to the League in his election speeches in Kerala. But as soon as the Congress found itself in a dominant position, the League was shown the door, the Congress leaders having discovered that their organisation was all along opposed to communalism Nehru suddenly discovered that he had not read the Muslim League Manifesto; he found after the election that the League had advocated separate electorate and that its economic programme had nothing in common with the Congress.

The Praja Socialist Party of Kerala has covered itself with disgrace by disregard of all principles and lack of self-respect as a political party. The unscrupulous combination of politicians that goes by the name of Praja Socialist Party is already disintegrating because some of them could not be included in the ministry. And

the arch-opportunist Pattom Thanu Pillai does not find it derogatory to parade as a dummy chief minister with effective power in the hands of the Congress and its High Command. The Congress is steadily outmanoeuvring the other parties and is preparing to instal its own government. Mannath Padmanabhan himself has been shown his proper place by the High Command. Only the representatives of the Catholics, who represent the Church hierarchy, are playing their cards well and drawing closer to the Congress, so that the Congress is firmly gathered in their net.

What chance does social advance and social justice, etc., have before this opportunist combination? Kerala's masses, the masses behind the alliance, will soon realise that they have been the victims of cheating and political hoax.

The Communist Party will help these masses to see the real face of their representatives. It will decisively champion their cause and do everything to see that the artificial barriers which divided the common men of Kerala are removed and the reactionary alliance is brought face to face with the invincible unity of Kerala's people.

Resolution on Observance of Tagore Centenary*

The National Council of the Communist Party of India, meeting at Calcutta on May 8, 1960, joins our people in homage to Rabindranath Tagore on the occasion of the 99th anniversary of his birthday.

The National Council recalls with pride the glorious legacy left to the country by our myriad-minded poet; his ceaseless creative labour in various spheres of the arts; the vivid and powerful social conscience which made him a participant in India's struggle for freedom, a friend of the Soviet Union and an ardent crusader against fascism; the deep sense of values which drew from him unforgettable ideas regarding peace and friendship among nations, social justice and the highest ideals of humanity.

The National Council calls upon the people of India, and particularly all members and units of the Party, to apply themselves devotedly to the tasks that the country has set itself in celebration of the Centenary of his birth.

On The Draft Political Resolution*

Ajoy Ghosh

1 The Resolution adopted by the CEC to be placed before the National Council makes many correct formulations. But it also suffers from very grave shortcomings. In the main these shortcomings are

FIRSTLY, it is full of contradictory formulations.

SECONDLY, the negative aspects of the Indian situation have been laid so thick and elaborated at such great length, while the positive aspects have been dismissed so cursorily that in the totality a misleading and distorted picture emerges. It is the picture of an economy which is in the throes of a deep crisis and over which American grip is tightening. This can be made the basis of a thoroughly Right Reformist, as well as Left Sectarian tactical line.

THIRDLY, the resolution fails to draw any lesson from our struggles, campaigns and activities.

FOURTHLY, and above all, it gives no tactical line.

2 I shall deal with all these points briefly.

(a) The resolution states that America's capacity to compel other countries to toe its line has visibly weakened. It states that the industrial base of Indian economy has been strengthened that the Indian bourgeoisie had grown stronger that they are determined to go ahead and build their capitalist economy and so on and so forth. Yet the manner in which the paragraphs about foreign and especially American capital, have been written convey

This document was placed before the Central Executive Committee of the CPI in its meeting held in Calcutta 3-5 May 1960 prior to the National Council meeting of the CPI convened in Calcutta 6-12 May 1960.

a totally different impression. The cumulative effect of those paragraphs would be that it is American control over our economy that is growing, that the Indian bourgeoisie has practically surrendered or is on the point of surrender to America, Soviet help and India's economic cooperation with the USSR is only mentioned, while American penetration is dealt with elaborately and at great length.

Further, at one point it is stated that the Indian bourgeoisie with Soviet help is striving to overcome imperialist obstructions; at another place, it is suggested that a more conciliatory policy towards Western imperialists has grown. Nowhere does the resolution suggest how these formulations are to be reconciled with each other, nor what the totality of the situation is.

(b) The resolution admits that despite all shortcomings, the Second Plan has achieved certain success, especially in the industrial sphere, that possibilities of further growth have arisen. If words mean anything, this certainly does not suggest that the Plan as a whole is in *crisis*, or that the "middle path" has reached a crisis. Yet, the resolution repeats phrases about "crisis of the Plan", adopted at Amritsar, and adds that "all these features have grown and got accentuated during the last two years" which can only mean that the crisis of the Plan has deepened. This I consider to be totally wrong. It is one thing to state that the crisis of semi-colonial economy which existed when India won freedom has not yet been overcome. But to assert that the Plan is in crisis and that crisis has deepened is wrong. Actually what happened in the CEC was that something which could not be put straightforwardly in the resolution was brought in by the back-door by quoting the Amritsar resolution.

(c) The resolution states that in relation to the Right, the policies of the Nehru Government have a dual character -conciliation and resistance. But the manner in which it deals with American capital and other things suggests only one aspect - *conciliation*.

(d) As a result of all this - the excessive stress on American penetration, stress on deepening crisis of Indian economy, etc., the resolution can either lead to the conclusion that in order to prevent a total victory of the pro-imperialist Right, we must line up behind

Nehru or to the conclusion that the victory of pro-imperialists has already become inevitable or almost inevitable. That is to say the economic and political analysis made in the resolution can lead to both Right reformist and Left-Sectarian conclusions.

(e) Coming to the tactical part, the resolution rightly states that our task is to halt the drive to the Right and bring about a move to the Left. But it does not state what objective political and economic basis exists for the hope that such effort can succeed.

(f) Also the fact that inside our Party, there has grown a marked tendency to minimise the importance of struggles in defence of the economic interests of the people, minimise the importance of trade union and kishan sabha, work due to which, while our influence is expanding, our links with the masses have weakened--this has not been stated.

(g) Further, while the resolution states that it has become "particularly important" to draw Congressmen into the general democratic movement, it refuses to state that "particular importance" arises from the fact that the bulk of our allies, real and potential, are to be found among Congressmen, among followers of Nehru. The bulk of the forces of Right are undoubtedly in the Congress. But it is equally true that the bulk of the middle forces are also inside the Congress and even part of the Left follows Nehru. To speak of particular importance of drawing Congressmen and to refuse to state specifically wherfrom that particular importance arises means to pander to sectarian concepts.

(h) The resolution speaks of "proper approach towards the progressive declarations of the Congress", but it refuses to examine whether such an approach has been there in the past. Evidently, if it has been there, then it is superfluous to repeat it. If it has not been there, then it is necessary to give instances. Or if such an approach has been there partly but not wholly, then too the actual practice needs elaboration. I had in my report mentioned lack of proper approach on our part towards the Nagpur resolutions. The CEC neither agreed with me nor disagreed.

(i) At the CFC meeting, I stressed that we must discuss the Party's task in relation to the working class and'peasantry, that the

main orientation which the Party has to be given cannot even be understood unless its implications in terms of the tasks before the working class and peasantry are worked out at least in broad outline. Unfortunately now we are placing a general all-embracing political resolution before the National Council without any report on our work on the working class and peasant fronts.

3 As a result the whole National Council meeting will be bogged in discussion for days on the Political Resolution alone. The resolution would be pulled to the Right by some comrades and to the Left by some others each trying to put in as much of its view as possible in each paragraph. There is every danger that after adoption by the National Council, the contradictory character of the resolution will get further accentuated.

4 Such things are inevitable as long as we do not give up the practice of discussing resolutions on the political situation in the manner in which we discussed them paragraph by paragraph and moving amendments to each paragraph. By the time the second half of the resolution is reached members have forgotten what has been passed in the earlier paragraphs and whether what they are voting for now is consistent w h what was passed earlier. Many comrades get bewildered and do not vote at all. Moreover several amendments taken by themselves may be right. But in the totality they may give an altogether different picture from the draft that was originally placed. Yet this method of discussion does not prevent all such amendments from getting adopted and thus change the basic character of the draft without all comrades being even conscious of it.

5 I may mention here that this is not the first time that I am objecting to such methods of discussions. More than four years ago I was convinced of the futility and even harmfulness of such methods of discussion. What I had stated at that time in connection with the forthcoming Congress of the Party (Palghat) was contained in a document which was circulated to the CCMs (Document No 3 January 1956).

"Paragraph by paragraph discussion on a Resolution which attempts to cover such a vast field as the Madura resolution did,

would be a laborious process. Scores of amendments would be moved to each paragraph. Comrades disagreeing with the line of the resolution would strive to put in as much of their own point of view as possible through amendments. The discussion would not merely be long but would assume the character of a Parliamentary debate over a controversial Bill. The Resolution ultimately adopted after such discussion would, because of its very character, be interpreted in different ways by different comrades. It would thus fail to unify the Party.

"Such a procedure, therefore, should not be adopted.

"The Party Congress has to give definite answer to the controversies that have arisen in the Party, controversies which are holding back Party activity. But that alone is not enough. It must also work out the tactical line. This, in the existing situation, will inevitably be of a broad general character. But it must, at the same time, be so specific and so unequivocal that all delegates of the Congress as well as the entire Party knows clearly what has been accepted, what has been rejected, what the basic understanding of the Congress is. It must be a line which is not liable to various 'interpretations.' "(*ibid*, p. 2)

Therefore, I proposed that instead of a resolution a Report should be placed before the Party Congress. "The Report", I said, "should be introduced with a speech by the Secretary. The Report is not merely for discussion but also for *adoption* by the Party Congress." (*ibid*)

"There should be no paragraph by paragraph discussion of the Report, nor even section by section. Discussions should be on the Report, as a whole, though individual delegates may confine their speech to specific parts of the Report only.

"Those who disagree with the Report as a whole with specific major formulations in it will move amendments: 'The Party Congress rejects the part of the Report dealing with . . . and resolves that it should be rewritten with following line.' (Here the main alternative formulation should be put)

"Others who support the Report or want to substantiate certain formulations with their own experience will also take part in the discussion.

"After discussions are over, the General Secretary, on behalf of the CC will move a resolution 'The Party Congress endorses the Report placed before it by the CC with the proviso that (1) such and such parts be deleted, (2) such and such parts be amended as follows (3) such and such parts be added. But there must be no such items as 'The Report to be rewritten in the *light of discussions* at the Congress'. Instead of that, if the line of the Report is considered wrong, the Party Congress should adopt a short resolution *rejecting* the Report and laying down the main formulations on whose basis the Report should be rewritten.

"There should also be supplementary reports on working class unity and kisan unity laying down broad guiding line for work on these fronts. The procedure on these reports should be the same as in the case of the political Report" (*ibid* pp. 2-3)

My proposal was discussed in the January 1956 CC meeting. But it was not accepted. The main reason given by comrades was that since the CC resolution of June 1955 had been made the basis of District and Provincial Party Conferences now it was too late for the CC to change the procedure. Comrades who had taken part in these conferences would resent such a change (see CC minutes January 1956).

I disagreed with the view but I saw the force of the argument put forward by these comrades.

The majority being against me on this issue, I had to acquiesce.

However now I find that the same method is being adopted for discussion in the National Council. I consider this method to be utterly wrong in principle, wasteful of time and energy and disruptive of Party unity. I am of the opinion that the National Council should take a firm decision that this kind of resolution should never be placed before it nor should there be paragraph by paragraph discussion on such resolutions.

On Draft Political Report*

M. Basavapunniah

Introduction

1. Since the Party Congress at Amritsar, important developments have taken place in the economic and political life of our nation which demand of our careful analysis and assessment. The limited advance registered in building an independent capitalist economy through the Second Five-Year Plan is accompanied by the sharpening of all the contradictions inherent in the situation and thus bringing into play certain new elements in the political situation.

In the period following the Amritsar Party Congress, our country has witnessed a tremendous rise of mass discontent against the economic policies of the Government, leading to innumerable mass struggles, some of which reached the level of upheavals, embracing tens of millions of workers, peasants and middle-class employees.

The effective leadership given to these popular struggles by the Communist Party wherever it exists as an organised force, has earned it enormous political prestige and the people have come to look upon it more and more as the genuine alternative to the ruling Congress Party. The formation of the Communist-led Government in Kerala and the popular measures it has adopted during the 28 months of its tenure of office have accelerated this process raising new confidence in the democratic forces on the one hand, and grave concern and panic in the minds of Right reactionary forces, on the other.

*This was submitted in April 1960 on the Draft Political Resolution to be placed in the National Council meeting of the CPI convened in Calcutta on 6-12 May, 1960

2. As the progressive implications of the nation's peaceful foreign policy and the planned development of an independent economy began to be more and more clearly revealed, as the Second Plan faced difficult and intricate problems to be solved if it is to be implemented and carried successfully, as the growing mass discontent against the daily increasing burdens is witnessed and as the democratic movement headed by the CPI is seen registering notable advances, the reactionary forces from all political parties, including the Congress, have stepped up their counter-offensive against all democratic features present in the situation. A series of developments during the period under review confirm this.

The reactionary parties and groups combined together, exploiting the Tibetan armed rebellion and the border dispute with China, have conducted two rounds of bitter anti-China campaigns in the country leading to the complete deterioration of India-China good relations and a concerted attack on the country's foreign policy. They raised the demand for dismissal of the Defence Minister and did not hesitate even to rally behind the Military Chief who challenged the supremacy of civil authority with a threat of his resignation. The most undemocratic and violent "Liberation" struggles were organised and led to overthrow the duly constituted Government of Kerala, culminating in the arbitrary dismissal by the Central Government.

The Swatantra Party, comprising a small but influential section from the Congress and other vested interests outside it, with a blatantly counter-revolutionary programme, has emerged openly challenging the Congress Government from extreme Right.

The PSP leadership in its blind anti-Communism, abandoning all its pretensions of a "Left" Opposition Party, is engaged in forging united fronts with any and every reactionary group or party—a feature markedly emphasised in the recent period.

Further, we see another menacing phenomenon of different political parties and groups like the Swatantra, PSP, Jan Sangh, Muslim League, Akali Party and Ganatantra Parishad acting in unison on a number of political issues facing the nation today.

The Congress leadership, including Nehru, have been found compromising and surrendering to the pressure of Right reaction on a number of questions. They are forging anti-Communist fronts in State after State, allying with avowedly communal and feudal parties and groups such as the Muslim League, Ganatantra Parishad, Catholic Church and Nair Service Society, offering all sorts of unashamed political-ideological justification for the same.

3. The attempts to reverse the present foreign policy, the demand for severance of diplomatic relations with China, the slogan that no talks be held with the Chinese Premier until China vacates disputed territory, the open advocacy of a military pact with Pakistan, the attacks on the extension of the public sector, State trading and ceilings on landholdings, the demand and clamour for greater and greater private foreign capital investments in the country and the cry frequently raised for outlawing the Communist Party—all these cannot be brushed aside lightly as some discontent notes struck by sections of exploiting classes but will have to be viewed as dangerous trends of growing Right reaction.

Hence, all these developments since Amritsar need proper assessment so that we might reorientate our political and tactical line to meet the needs of the political situation in our country at the present time.

Second Plan in Progress and its Effects on our Economy

4. The Government of India has embarked upon the Five-Year Plans with a view to liquidating the crisis-ridden colonial economy, a legacy left by the British imperialist rule of exploitation, and build an independent economy on capitalist lines. The Second Five-Year Plan, with greater emphasis on the building up of industries, has aroused wide interest in the country. Our Party declared its wholehearted support for the progressive orientation, while, of course, sharply pointing out the contradiction between the aims and objectives of the Plans, on the one hand, and the methods they have chosen to implement it and the consequent conflicts and crisis that arise from it.

The progress of the Plan during the first four years of its course, does completely confirm the correctness of this analysis and all its basic weakness inherent in it are revealed with every passing day. Despite the fact that industry and the general economic growth have registered some advance and the completion of certain projects undoubtedly goes to strengthen the industrial foundations of our independent economy, it does neither correspond to the absolute needs of our society nor the opportunities present today, nor is it commensurate with the heavy sacrifices demanded of the common people. The process of rich becoming richer and the poor getting poorer as the Plan progresses is giving rise to mass discontent and resistance, on the one hand, and the Plan is itself going through one form of crisis after another, on the other.

5. The Plan and its set targets were undergoing crucial cuts and reductions, right from the beginning of the second year of its implementation. The talk of "appraisal", "reappraisal" and "agonising reappraisal", etc., has ended in reducing it to the "core" and "hard core" to be completed. While the Plan outlay originally envisaged was Rs. 4,800 crores, which on the basis of constantly rising prices actually requires Rs. 5,500 crores to adhere to its targets, is drastically cut down by the Government to a sum of Rs. 4,200 crores, as according to them, there is shortage of resources. Thus, in the first instance, a summary slashing down of 25 per cent of the Plan is effected with the result that some of the basic industries envisaged in the Plan period are either totally abandoned or left to be taken up at the sag end of the period to "spill them over" to the Third Plan.

6. While, on the one side, the Plan and its set targets are drastically cut under the plea of shortage of resources, the Government did, in fact, exceed in its taxation targets to the point of fleecing the common people. The deficit financing envisaged for the five-year period was Rs. 1,200 crores and yet, during the first year alone, the total deficit financing by the States and the Centre amounted to more than Rs. 1,100 crores. If the additional

taxation visualised for the entire Plan period was Rs. 450 crores, it has actually gone up to double that amount during the first three years, standing at an amount of Rs. 900 crores.

If the planners had estimated that a shortage of Rs. 800 crores of foreign exchange would be there for the Plan, and accordingly set the Rs. 800 crores target for foreign assistance, it has by now far exceeded that amount. Yet the shortage of foreign exchange to revised estimates, shot up to Rs. 2,000 crores in a modest Plan of Rs. 4,200 to Rs. 4,500 crores!

The Government has not merely squandered the huge sterling reserves it had inherited, but also contracted heavy debts from foreign countries to the tune of Rs. 800 crores. Add to it, the interest-bearing rupee public debt which has enormously increased and stands at Rs. 4,615 crores by the end of 1958-59! The foreign private business investments in the country which amounted to Rs. 287.57 crores in June 1948, by now have risen to more than Rs. 600 crores and the colossal exploitation of our national wealth with plundering profits continues unabated. Yet the rush for private investments is on the increase and the Government is offering every conceivable concession to attract them more.

In this connection, it is very necessary to note that the Government of India will have to repay her foreign loans from 1959-60 onwards at an annual rate of Rs. 100 crores, besides further debts it is contracting and the additional burden they impose upon us. Another annual bill that the country has to foot for the food imports under P.L. 480, thanks to the fiasco of agrarian and food policies of the Government, comes to Rs. 100 crores with all the alarming consequences this huge American debt carries with it. Thus, we find the future of our economy in a way mortgaged to the limited industrial advance achieved and endangering the prospects of steady growth of an independent economy and the prosperity of the nation.

The increasing dependence on private foreign capital for the Plan, the refusal of the Government to make decisive inroads into the dominant positions of the feudal and imperialist vested interests in the country in order to harness the required resources

for the planned development of our economy and the attempt to achieve the building up of a modern capitalist economy mainly at the cost of the common people, inevitably carry with them all the elements of an explosive crisis and conflict that cannot assure either rapid advance or steady growth of an independent economy.

7. The advance recorded belies all the expectations of the people and does not correspond to the huge investments made. This can be seen from the following facts.

The Planners have set a target of ten per cent annual rise in industrial production in the Plan period. But the actual performance during the last three years on average does hardly reach 50 per cent of the targets set for it. For food production, a target of 25 to 40 per cent increase is announced for the five-year period but in practice, during the last three years, not even half of it has materialised; despite the announced record rise of 73 million tons in the year 1959 and the statistical jugglery often indulged in by the planners, food scarcity, with shooting prices, exists.

The employment situation, contrary to what was promised by the Second Plan, is causing grave anxiety as the number of persons on the live register which stood around nine lakhs at the beginning of the Plan has by March 1959 risen to 12.17 lakhs.

While the high rate of profits are assured to foreign imperialists, the native big exploiters and traders, the real wages of the workers and middle-class employees have been either pegged at the 1939 level or cut down considerably. The feudal and semi-feudal exploitation of peasant masses, in essence, is perpetuated and, to add to it, the forms and methods of capitalist exploitation is being superimposed.

8. What is the general picture that emerges after 12 full years of independence and the near completion of two five year plans? The constant food deficit and recurring food crisis, the ever-deepening foreign exchange crisis, the crisis of resources for the Plan, the export crisis and the fall in their earnings, the drastic cut of imports including some industrial raw materials badly needed for nation's economy, the increasing dependence on

and the rush for private foreign capital, the rising prices and mounting burdens of taxation on the people, the demand of the profiteers for greater profits, the growing discontent and resistance of the masses against the back-breaking burdens on them, the rampant corruption, nepotism and graft—all these have come to stay more or less as a permanent phenomenon of our public life. What are all these except different facets of the crisis that has beset the Second Five-Year Plan?

It is true that the crisis facing us today is not similar in character and content to that of the conventional capitalist economic crisis but it can be described as the crisis for the capitalist path of development in its preliminary stages. The limited advance registered in the matter of industrialisation of the country by the implementation of the "hard core" of the Second Plan and the consequent growth that is reflected in the nation's economy, takes place at an enormous cost to the common people, leading to the intensification of all contradictions. The bourgeois rulers, in order to shield the bankrupt methods and policies they have chosen for their capitalist path of development, often explain away this truth as "teething troubles" and "inevitable strains" on the growing economy. But the hard realities can neither be hidden for long nor can they escape thereby.

Rising Mass Discontent & Struggles and the Role of the Communist Party

9. The political developments in the country are closely related to and, in a large measure, based on the prevailing economic conditions. During this period, since Amritsar Party Congress, the process of mass radicalisation and the growth of the democratic forces that was noted in the Political Resolution continued further, reaching ever new heights. The Communist-led Government in Kerala remained the centre of political attraction and hope for the democratic and progressive forces all over the country. The people of Kerala, under the leadership of the Government and the Communist Party, had a glorious record of struggles with might mass mobilisation, in defence of their Government and the numerous gains they secured from it.

The two successive attacks on the Communist-led Government in 1958 and 1959, organised and led by Right reaction in league with the Central Congress leadership, were fought back heroically through countrywide mass campaign under the leadership of the CPI. The protest meetings, hartals, strikes and demonstrations witnessed on this occasion were unique in character in the post-independence history of India, when millions all over India came into the streets on a clear political issue.

Then, again, after the Government was brazen-facedly dismissed by the Central Government and mid-term elections were forced, the Communist Party, together with its independent allies, did put up a marvellous fight, advancing its position among the masses by over a million votes more than during the 1957 General Elections. Its significance lies all the more, when this advance is registered in face of a formidable counter-revolutionary anti-Communist alliance forged by all the political parties, religious and communal organisations and led by the Central Congress Government which did not leave a single stone unturned to swing the masses to its side and away from the CPI.

Even the worst opponents and critics of Communists who gloat over the electoral victory of the unholy alliance in terms of seats and power,¹ are compelled to concede the political triumph won by the CPI, debunking the bogus thesis of the Congress leadership including Nehru that the Communists have lost masses in Kerala during their rule of 28 months.

10. In West Bengal, particularly in the great City of Calcutta, the biggest mass actions, reaching the heights of upheavals, took place. There were two huge food struggles in the successive years of 1958 and 1959, when besides thousands courted arrest and jails, scores of people laid down their lives facing ferocious repression let loose by the Government. Several popular working class actions and political demonstrations in which lakhs of people participated in the City of Calcutta go down on record as distant landmarks in the march of democratic movement under the leadership of the CPI.

11. In Punjab, all the towns witnessed a month-old food satyagraha in the year 1958-59. The Punjab peasant struggle against the unjust betterment levy was so wide and extensive only to rank amongst the historic *Tebhaga* struggle of United Bengal kisans in the year 1946 and the Telangana peasant revolt during the 1946-50 period. Thousands of men and women went to jail, faced imposition of punitive fines and even braved police lathis and bullets. It compelled the Government, in the final analysis, to give considerable concessions to the peasantry, offering the slashing of the betterment levy from a proposed sum of Rs. 120 crores to Rs. 25 crores. The CPI and the Kisan Sabha in the Punjab, which had the fortune of heading this struggle, did earn widest popular affection and political prestige in the State.

12. The people of Maharashtra and Gujarat, by their united and sustained struggle against the forcibly imposed bilingual Bombay State, won their demand for the formation of separate linguistic States. In a series of local board elections and bye-elections to the State Legislature and Parliament, the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the Mahagujarat Janata Parishad mobilised wide sections of people and scored victories defeating the Congress nominees. The Central Congress Government which was bent upon suppressing these movements by ruthless repression and shooting down 120 people in the streets of Bombay and Ahmedabad has been forced to retreat and concede the States of Samyukta Maharashtra including Bombay City, and the State of Gujarat.

13. In the traditional stronghold of the Congress Party, U.P., a Statewide mass satyagraha for food, into which lakhs of people were drawn and thousands courted arrests, was another big mass struggle of the period. Besides these outstanding popular mass struggles mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs, innumerable actions of the workers, and peasants in different States, the Statewide struggles of school teachers, NGOs and other middle-class employees in Andhra, West Bengal, Madras, Madhya Pradesh and Delhi, have gone on record as proud battles of the people in defence of their interests. In the same way, not insignificant were the election struggles during this period, for a

number of bye-elections to the Assembly and Parliamentary seats, for the elections to the municipalities and panchayats all over the country, where huge mobilisation had taken place, resulting in considerable success and for which the CPI played a leading role as a genuine democratic Opposition Party in places like Madras, Bhopal, Andhra, Pondicherry and other places.

14. Thus the growing mass discontent and disillusionment with the anti-people policies and methods of the Government, particularly the economic policies, and the leadership the CPI provided to these democratic struggles, earned it the affection and confidence to these increasing mass of people, pushed it into the forefront of the nation's political arena as the real and genuine alternative to the ruling Congress Party and posed the hegemony of the working class sharply over the democratic revolutionary movement. The successful running of the Kerala State for 28 months by the Communist-led Ministry and a number of benefits it could confer on the common people, added immensely to this process, placing the CPI impressively on the political map of India, an eye-sore for reaction at home and abroad. The collapse of the all-India Left Parties such as the PSP and Socialist Party, a process that was clearly visible during the 1957 General Elections, is more pronounced during this period as they miserably failed to give leadership to the rising mass discontent and radicalisation. The vexatious tax burdens and ever-rising prices of essential commodities, the utter divergence between the loud-mouthed promises and actual performance, the rampant corruption, nepotism and graft that has come to stay as a regular feature of public life in the country, have resulted in the big loss of moral political prestige of the Congress Party among the masses, giving rise to a spate of inner-party factions and revolts. The disruption of the United Congress Front in Andhra Pradesh, the open revolt of a big section of the Congress Legislature Parties in U.P. and Punjab, the never-ending factional fights in Delhi Congress Party, the extremely shaky position of the Congress Party rule in Orissa, the growth of the Communists as the single biggest force in the States of Kerala, Andhra and Bengal and the conflicts and friction that is often expressed

between the interests of the bourgeois leaderships of States and the Centre—all these are not fortuitous developments and they reflect the cracking symptoms of bourgeois-landlord alliance heading the Government. It is in this political background that the reactionary parties and groups, on the one hand, and the ruling Congress leadership, on the other, come to look upon the CPI and its position in the political life of the country as a potential threat to the vested interests and a challenge to the monopoly rule of the bourgeois-landlord government.

Growing Trends & Forces of Right Reaction

15. The emergence of the Swatantra Party at this juncture of Indian political situation need surprise nobody. There has been, for long, since the Second Five-Year Plan was initiated, a systematic and sustained campaign by the big landlord and capitalist sections from the platform of the "Forum of Free Enterprise" and "All India Agriculturists Association". These forces were opposed to the planned development of our economy, the restrictions on foreign capital, ceiling on landholdings, State trading and the extension of the public sector in industry. The reiteration by the Congress leadership of its adherence to the public sector development, State trading and ceilings on landholdings while rejecting the demands of extreme Right to abandon them, at the Nagpur Session of the AICC, threw them into despair, leading to the formation of a separate political party on all-India basis. It has to be definitely characterised as open split in the ruling classes.

16. The assessment and evaluation of the Swatantra Party by its present numerical strength either in legislatures or outside in different States will not bring before us its true political picture and the dangers implied in it for the democratic forces. The big capitalists and landlords to whichever political party they might have attached themselves at present, their wholehearted support and sympathy lies with the ideological programme of the Swatantras. A good part of top bureaucracy, both in civil and military services, are readily responding to its slogans. Several communal, reactionary parties and groups in the country like the

Jan Sangh, Akalis, Ganatantra Parishad and the like with more or less the same programme and class basis as Swatantra, do readily respond to its appeal and act as its reliable reserves. It could be clearly seen during the last session of the Parliament in the year 1959, when on the issue of foreign policy, Sino-Indian border dispute, the threatened resignation of General Thimayya and the demand raised for the dismissal of the Defence Minister, etc. The Swatantra Party does not merely content itself with the drawing in of its strength from vested interests, but also attempts to cash in on the terrific mass discontent that is growing. Above all, the big danger arising from Swatantra challenge can be appreciated, when we realise the fact that an influential section is entrenched in positions of power and authority, both inside the Congress Party and the Government, which is nearer to the Swatantra than to the declared objectives and policies of the Congress.

17. The direct and indirect support the Swatantra Party is deriving from the foreign imperialist circles, the enormous backing it gets from the monopoly public press in India and the spontaneous response it is receiving from sections of rich peasants and landlords in different States of India, will have to be reviewed seriously. Not only personalities of some public standing such as Rajaji and Ranga found themselves at the head of this Party, but almost all notorious American Lobby men like Masani, Munshi and V.P. Menon too, have joined them. In several States such as Madras, Andhra, Punjab, U.P., Bihar and Rajasthan, the Swatantra units are already formed and in most of these places, the leadership comes from the former Congressmen with considerable following in the people. While it is politically incorrect and practically unreal to exaggerate its strength and the immediate threat it poses to the progressive features and policies of the Government, it would be a folly to be complacent and underestimate its right reactionary pull in the political field.

Collapse of Left All-India Parties

18. The opposition political parties in the country, most of them whether they go by the Right or the Left label, have today come to play, more and more, the role of Rightist

opposition to the Congress Government. Not to speak of Swatantra, Jan Sangh, Akali Party, Ganatantra Parishad and the Muslim League, who make no secret of their reactionary policies and slogans, the so-called all-India Left Parties like the PSP and Socialist Party have, of late, assumed the role of unifier of all reactionary parties and groups to lead an attack on the CPI with a view to isolate it and disrupt the democratic forces and thus facilitate the growth of Right reaction in the country. The PSP leadership, completely frustrated in its hopes of assuming the role of the main democratic opposition in the country, left with no positive programme and political line of action, engrossed in its blind anti-Communism and faced with the prospect of total disintegration, is coming out with most undemocratic and counter-revolutionary slogans. Its leadership in the anti-China campaigns, the part it had played in the drama of General Thimayya's resignation and the demand for dismissal of the Defence Minister, the open hostility ~~if~~ displays on Panch Sheel and foreign policy, the despicable role it played in the struggle to pull down the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala, the slanderous manner in which it is politically ganging up with the parties of feudal and communal reaction like the Ganatantra Parishad, Akalis, Catholic Church and Muslim League, the betrayal of the people's food struggle in West Bengal, the systematic attempt to disrupt the popular unity of Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti in Bombay and a host of similar other undemocratic activities it is constantly indulging in, do virtually make a mockery of its "Leftism" and "democratic socialism". Mr. Jaiprakash Narain, the ideological-political conscience-keeper of the PSP is busy propagating in the country for the abolition of the Parliamentary democracy, to be substituted by the "basic democracy" of General Ayub Khan. He is engaged in mobilising world public opinion behind the demand of the Tibetan Feudal Chieftains for "independent Tibet". Further, he advocates a military pact with the Pakistani regime, a regime of aggression in Kashmir and a stooge of US imperialism. In a word, the PSP leadership carries

the banner of anti-Communism, subordinating its opposition to imperialism, feudalism and capitalism.

19 It is true that the PSP is having some mass following in the States of UP, Bihar, West Bengal and Bombay. Further, it is to be taken into account that it is still a force in the organised working class movement and a good chunk of Left-minded ranks, continue to follow it. Sections of the people who get discontented and disillusioned with the Congress Government, who hesitate to go to the CPI and are averse to join the openly communal and Right parties find the PSP platform as an acceptable alternative to them. In spite of all these factors, which deserve our attention and consideration while building people's unity, it does not hide the stark reality that the policies and activities of the PSP leadership at present objectively disrupt the unity of the Left and democratic forces, undermine the patriotic and democratic orientation of the Government's policies and assist the growth of Right reaction in the country.

20 The SP, a dissident group from the PSP, differs very little from the PSP in its fundamental ideological-political moorings. It is again split into two and one faction headed by former Raja of Vizianagaram in Andhra Pradesh has merged with the Congress Party accepting a ministerial portfolio. Its leader, Mr Ram Manohar Lohia, with his theory of equidistance both from the Congress and Communists and with a destructive and negative approach to problems, is leading the party to disintegration and disruption. Besides PSP and SP, there are hardly any all-India Left Parties worth the name, that go by the name of Left Parties. But there are Leftist parties, groups and individuals in States such as West Bengal and Maharashtra which have different ideological and programmatic stand, for each one of them, our Party's approach and attitude has to be decided mainly on the basis of concrete conditions primarily in the respective States. It should be remembered that, on the whole, these forces are very weak as to intervene and influence the political situation in a big way, though importance of unity with them in building the democratic movement should not be minimised.

Compromising Policies of the Congress Government and Crisis they are Brewing

21. The capitalist path of development, the Indian bourgeoisie has embarked upon, cannot succeed from the mere fact that it is able to receive help from both socialist and imperialist camps. It demands of them decisive inroads into the positions of British capital entrenched in India, and also the feudal and semi-feudal landlordism. If this path were to advance rapidly without halts and brakes giving rise to all sorts of economic and political crisis, it is incumbent on the bourgeoisie to break all the shackles of the productive forces, unleashing their full initiative and leading to the speedy creation and expansion of powerful internal market. But the national bourgeois leadership of the Government, because of its alliance with landlords and compromise with the imperialists and also due to its very class nature, is found systematically appeasing those very forces who stand to undermine the path of independent development. This is more pronounced during the last two years as the Plan continues to face all sorts of hurdles in its implementation.

22. The national bourgeoisie, typical of its dual character, continues to advocate ceiling on landholdings and the increase of agricultural production through co-operative methods, while in practice, under pressure of its landlord allies, they are either almost abandoned or completely emasculated wherever land ceiling legislations were enacted, virtually making the country permanently dependent on the US food imports under PL 480. They do not stop propagating the dire necessity of keeping the price line in check for the Plan and economy and yet, under pressure and influence of the profiteers, they utterly failed to keep it when prices of every essential commodity are rising sky high, dislocating the entire economy. They uphold the policy of building a strong and decisive public sector in industry, if the country is to advance on the path of economic independence, but allow the big capitalists to run away with the slogans of "free enterprise" conceding them all conceivable deals of collaboration with foreign private capitalists, including the strategic industry such as aluminium and oil. They adopt an industrial policy

resolution in order to keep check and control on foreign capital but when faced with fierce resistance put up by foreign capitalists and their native collaborators, they virtually nullify it, signing humiliating agreements granting them full liberty to take back their profits as they like, exemption from taxes prevailing in the country and ensuring against nationalisation, even with compensation. They freely indulge in the talk of building a "Welfare State" and a "Socialist Pattern of Society" and in practice, assist the monopolists, profiteers and landlord forces to gain the dominant position in the economic and political life of the society. The national bourgeois leadership, Nehru being no exception to it, and often leading it, concentrates its main fire and blows against the Communist Party, while joining hands with every other reactionary Party and group to isolate it, disrupt it. This increase in anti-Communist accent in the Government's policies and conciliation to compromise with the Rightwing reaction, is fraught with grave consequences. In fact, in the political arena today, it is the Communist Party which alone, out of all other non-Congress political parties and groups, stands to wholeheartedly support the bourgeois democratic policies of the Government such as its foreign policy of non-alignment, building up of independent economy, public sector, land reforms, State trading and strengthening of parliamentary democracy. It is curious that the Congress leadership finds allies in the political parties and groups who are either totally hostile to all those policies or a great part of them, and indulges in Communist-baiting, even toying with the slogan of banning the Party. Thus it is evident in the present context of things in India, that the so-called battle against Communists is in essence a battle to weaken and undermine the forces of democracy and assist the growth of reaction in the country. The weak-kneed opposition to Right reaction and active hostility to the Communists by the national bourgeois leadership is emphasised in the recent period.

23. The national bourgeois leadership shows its readiness to seek the necessary assistance of the Socialist camp in order to build the strategic industries like steel, oil, coal and heavy machine-building under the public sector, which are denied by

the Western capitalist countries. This fraternal aid by the Socialist camp, no doubt is a measure helpful to the economic independence of the country, increases resistance capacity of the Government to imperialist pressure and even enhanced its bargaining power with them. But the heavy dependence on foreign assistance for the Plan resources has placed the foreign capitalists in a strategic position to dictate terms to the Government. The imperialists, particularly the US, have also modified their cruder form of pressure and offensive and present themselves as the benefactor expressing their willingness to help India in a big way, if it were the private sector.

Exploiting the crisis of the Second Plan, operating on selfish interests of the native big capitalists and cashing in on the class fears and anti-Communist prejudices of the Indian ruling classes, the US imperialists have succeeded in forcing the Government gradually to make concession after concession. Several demands such as guarantee against nationalisation, freedom for taking back the profits out of the country, exemption from taxation and the curtailment of democratic rights for working class, etc., were accepted by the Government in the recent period. As many as 300 licences are granted to private companies for Indo-US collaboration and out of a huge total of US aid and grants amounting to Rs. 97 crores during the two plan periods, hardly Rs. 100 crores are permitted to different kinds of public sector undertakings. Thus the USA has succeeded in its cold war strategy on public sector and its strategic industries and got its way practically cleared for free and unfettered collaboration with private big capitalists.

24. Besides this alarming development of Indian big capitalists and foreign monopolists collaborating on a wide scale and concomitant economic, political effects that flow from it for the country's sovereignty and independence, the offence is daily mounting on the industries allotted to the public sector. The Government, after ten years of resistance, is beaten down in the case of shipping industry and forced to accept 50 : 50 basis with foreign capital, abandoning its 75 : 25 ratio which was laid down earlier. The formation of a rupee company with the collaboration

of Burmah-Shell on 50 : 50 basis instead of the earlier formulated basis of 66-2/3 : 33-1/3 basis is another instance. Recently, there was another official announcement regarding the use of private foreign interests in the exploration and exploitation of oil resources which is a very big concession to the persistent demand from the USA and it is fraught with grave potentialities for the future of the industry and economy as well.

Thus in the course of building an independent economy under the Second Plan period, the heavy flow of the foreign private capital and its collaboration with native big capitalists on a wide scale, is leading to the laying of dynamite under the foundations, undermining the independence part of the development. It is quite evident that the growth and strengthening of foreign private capital and its native collaborators in the economic and political life of the nation would, in turn, strengthen the pro-feudal and pro-imperialist Right reaction in the country and may even endanger the path of independent capitalist development, for opening the floodgates for foreign private capital, against the public sector, State trading, ceilings on landholdings and for the operation of free private enterprise, etc., are nothing but a clear reflection of the above-mentioned trends. It would be a grievous mistake to imagine that the national bourgeoisie will be able to keep these forces under check because of the public sector at its disposal and the economic assistance expected from the Socialist world.

25. The Congress leadership, including Nehru, is seen rushing for all types of undemocratic alliances with parties and groups of feudal and communal reaction, in its anxiety to protect its monopoly rule. Though this trend on the part of the Congress is nothing new, it is on the increase during the last two years. In Orissa, it straight-away formed a coalition government with the Ganatantra Parishad, a party of feudal princes and notorious landlords. In Kerala, it joined hands with the Catholic Church, Nair Service Society and the Muslim League. It does not hesitate in the least to build united fronts with the PSP and even form a Coalition Government together with it—a party that openly opposes Panch Sheel foreign policy, advocates shamelessly military pact with Pakistan and looks upon the aggressive

Western imperialists as the saviours of world from communism. Prime Minister Nehru who only a few months back pleaded before the Parliament that his party only associated with the reactionary and communal forces in Kerala to "exercise restraint" and again at Chandigarh AICC asserted that his party is merely having election adjustments with the Muslim League, now is throwing to winds all his qualms of democratic conscience and is going for full-fledged electoral alliance and formation of Coalition Ministry with all these reactionary forces. Curiously enough, he justifies it saying that these communal and religious parties are essentially national and patriotic while the Communists are not and can never be. In a word, the Congress leadership has come to treat all pro-feudal, communal parties and groups in the country wherever they exist, as it reserves to be drawn in whenever they face the challenge of democratic forces and the CPI to fight them.

26. The Government in its policy towards the working class and common people is shifting more and more towards the reactionary direction. The national bourgeoisie which attempts to build the independent capitalism without attacking the pro-feudal and pro-imperialist vested interests and, in fact, in alliance with them, cannot but direct its blows against the mass of the peasants and workers. Neither the huge import of the foreign private capital into the country nor the massive assistance from the Socialist States does alter this situation in any way. The endeavour to create a modern industrial superstructure on the foundations of feudal and semi-feudal agrarian economy, which comprises 80 per cent of our population is, in its final analysis, a contradiction in terms.

Failing to solve the basic problems of the people and unable to meet their genuine demands, the Governments at the Centre as well as States rely more and more on bureaucracy and resort to the use of force to suppress the legitimate struggles of the people. The brutal manner in which the steel workers' struggle in Jamshedpur, the anti-betterment levy struggle of the Punjab peasantry and the food struggles of West Bengal were sought to be suppressed underlines the Government's policy in this

regard. The ruthless repression on peaceful mass struggles, the splitting and disruptive tactics pursued on the working class front buttressing the stooge INTUC and the systematic sabotage of all the progressive aspects of the labour legislations and the perverse use of conciliation machinery, do speak eloquently of the Government's anti-labour attitude. Rationalisation in utter disregard of the employment situation, increase in workload on the workers resulting in increasing profits for the capitalists and heavy burdens on the working people is trust on the working class by the Government. Not satisfied with the existing draconic laws in existence, the Government threatens with the exacting of further ones such as the proposed "Black Bill" brought by the West Bengal Government and the "Industrial Disputes Regulation Bill" proposed by the Madhya Pradesh Government aim to deprive the people of their elementary rights and liberties.

Notwithstanding certain concessions secured by some sections of the working class in particular branches of industry, the labour policy of the Government as a whole during the last two years, shifted in a more retrograde direction. Exploiting the Sino-Indian border dispute, the slogans of national defence and greater production are being issued and under the plea, the right to strike and the demand for increase of wages are sought to be denied. The Minimum Wages Act for agricultural labour remains as either a decorative piece of legislation on the Statute Book or implemented in a reactionary manner by different States. The talk of a big Third Plan, leave aside other things, is surely promising big attacks on working people and the period that is ahead of us demands of organised TU movement mobilisation in a big way to defend their day-to-day interests.

27. In the field of internal democracy, the Government, far from extending and strengthening it, resorts to distortion and vulgarisation of it. The manner in which the duly constituted Government in Kerala was dismissed by using the Presidential powers in the Constitution to suit the partisan ends of the ruling party is a glaring example of abuse of the country's Constitution and State's autonomy provided under it. The prepressive police machinery is strengthened enormously, not to speak of radically

reforming the hated system built by British imperialists. Unashamed and open interference in the administration of the ruling party, not sparing even the judiciary, is on the increase and scandalous Karnal murder case that has shocked the entire democratic public, is only one example. In the twelve long years of Congress rule in the country, the party in power was engaged in throttling the local self-government that was introduced by the former British rulers rather than further enlarging it. At long last, they have been pleased to talk of democratic decentralisation and introduce the Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishad Acts with a declared objective of drawing the people into nation-building activities by unleashing their initiative and strengthening democracy at the base. So far, out of 14 States in the country, only three States of Rajasthan, Andhra Pradesh and Assam have enacted these laws and in the rest, still under consideration. Then again, under the pressure of vested interests in Assam, the entire Act was suspended for 18 months by a special ordinance but of the two other States where it is implemented, the experience of Andhra proves beyond doubt that these Acts, in the hands of landlord governments in the States, lead to cynical over-centralisation of power than the democratic decentralisation promised. Out of a total of 17,000 panchayats, secret ballot was denied to all panchayat elections except for a bare 300 for which it was in existence before the Act was brought into existence. Then again, instead of direct elections for Panchayat Samitis and Zilla Parishads, the system of indirect elections was deliberately introduced by which corrupt practices of buying and influencing the voters with money and power have become easier. Method of co-option is another device by which the bare and temporary majority in the Panchayat Samiti can be manipulated into a stable majority and thus perpetuate their sway for the five-year period of the Samity. The Block Development Officer at the Samiti level and the District Collector at the Parishad level are made lynchpins of the whole mechanism and thus the hold of bureaucracy on these bodies of local self-administration is ensured.

The net result of all these is that the ruling party has succeeded in seeing that in 90 per cent of the Panchayat Samitis and almost all the Zilla Parishads, the ex-zamindars and rajahs and big landlords are entrenched in the seats of power. Out of 20 District Parishads, 14 are captured by Congress MLAs, MLCs and MPs. Thus the Panchayat Act, instead of serving as a weapon to strengthen democracy at the village level, has become a handmaid of the Congress where they buttress the authority and power of local landlords whom the ruling party has chosen to serve as proper for its power. It bodes no good for domocracy and is fraught with grave dangers which is patent on the very face of it.

28. The foreign policy of peace and non-alignment during the period under review has become the target of attack and concerted assault as it was made by reactionary forces in the country. Despite the fact that Prime Minister Nehru with his stupendous popularity defended it against the frontal attacks that a big dent is made in it cannot be lost sight of. The reaction which suffered a defeat on this score has not laid down its arms but chosen to wage a guerilla warfare against it.

The Government, instead of carrying forward the foreign policy of non-alignment in a progressive direction, is faltering in the face of reactionary opposition, giving it a number of ideological-political concessions. The attitude adopted by the Government to the Tibetan counter-revolutionary gang lending it its moral support, the manner in which the Sino-Indian border dispute is being tackled by it and by Nehru's characterisation of the People's Republic of China with its growing population and industry as expansionist and thus a permanent threat to India's sovereignty are quite inconsistent with the peace-loving foreign policy and in fact provides political ideological grist to the mill of Right reaction in the country.

It is exactly after these dangerous concessions to the Right that the opponents of our foreign policy whom he described as a 'motley crowd' changed its tactics and pretended support to his foreign policy. The repeated declarations of Prime Minister Nehru that the settlement of the Sino-Indian border dispute is

possible only by the unconditional acceptance of the present Indian mass by the Chinese, the prolongation of the dispute without an early and reasonable settlement and the attempt to use this tension for the political exigencies of the bourgeoisie at home and abroad carry with them dangerous elements that undermine the real spirit and letter of the present foreign policy. The opening of the gates for penetration of huge foreign private capital and its collaboration with big native capitalists and the greater dependence on Western capitalists for the Plan resources would lead to the strengthening of forces inimical to the policy of peace and non-involvement, tendency to soften the Government towards the aggressive camp of world imperialists. In face of all these dangers, the dual policy of the Nehru Government of rousing anti-China feelings to a pitch and yet trying to contain them, of declaring its intention to settle the dispute by peaceful negotiations and discussions and yet repeatedly aware that this tension and conflict may last even for generation and of systematically fanning hatred against Communism in general and yet trying to befriend the Soviet Union would prove a precarious tight-rope walking.

29. The Indian bourgeoisie, while pursuing the present foreign policy, has set before it the two principal objectives. It aims at strengthening their international bargaining position between the Socialist and capitalist camps so that it might assist it to build independent capitalist economy in the country. Secondly, it aspires to consolidate its political position in the masses against the Left forces and the CPI. But years of life and results reveal that though a measure of success is achieved in the former objective, it has almost failed in the case of the latter. Hence sections of the bourgeoisie and its political representatives are extremely disturbed at the progressive implications of the foreign policy on the internal political developments and intent upon reorientating it in a reactionary direction, though not totally abandoning it. The open hostility of the Swatantra Party, PSP, Jan Sangh and other reactionary groups against the foreign policy, the increasing penetration of foreign private capital and its hold on the nation's economy, the concessions the reactionaries are securing at the hands of the Government, the placing of

Sino-Indian relations more or less on long-term footing of hostility and the leaving of its defence by the top leaders of the Congress to solely one person Mr. Nehru makes the foreign policy of peace extremely vulnerable and unsafe and the potential dangers to it cannot be minimised.

30. However, despite all these grave weaknesses for the present foreign policy and planned development of an independent economy there exist powerful objective factors to overcome them and carry forward the same provided the democratic forces act unitedly and with enough awareness. The all-round growth of the Soviet Union and other Socialist States, the upper hand gained by the Soviet Union over the West in the matter of scientific and technological spheres, the fraternal economic aid rendered for building the strategic industries in India, the anxiety of the national bourgeoisie to enhance their bargaining power with the West and which can be retained only if they pursue the present foreign policy, and the general democratic opinion in the country in favour of peace and in defence of nations are significant factors to influence the course of the foreign policy. The massive assistance given by the Soviet Union to India for the setting up of strategic industries such as steel, oil, coal and heavy machine building, the technical know-how that is freely shared on fraternal terms with it and the 1500 million rouble loan sanctioned for the Third Five-Year Plan have contributed in no small way to strengthen the hands of Indian people for defence of independence of the country. Add to it the fraternal aid rendered by Czechoslovakia and Rumania and the promised assistance by Poland and East Germany which go to help the same process. Similarly, the export and import trade which was solely dependent on the world capitalist market in the former days is now no more so and the trade with Socialist countries is on the increase, even though 90 per cent of the country's trade is still linked with the capitalist world whose economies suffer from a chronic crisis and periodical recessions with devastating effects on our underdeveloped economy. Thus there exist enough objective conditions which go to strengthen the forces that defend the policy of peace and non-alignment and

independent economic development of the country and defeat the game of reaction.

31. We observe today a number of contradictory developments in the situation present before us. There takes place a measure of growth in the independent expansion of industry and general economy of the country and yet the exploitation by foreign capitalists continues undiminished. The much needed fraternal aid without strings from Socialist States is coming and together with it a large-scale inflow of private foreign capital and its collaboration with native capitalists with many a covert and over political strings is on the increase. The expanding capitalism sharpens the contradiction between the feudal and semi-feudal vested interests and the industrial capitalist and still the national bourgeois leadership is moving for closer political alliances with the feudal and communal reaction in the country. The production work-load for the workers, profits for the capitalists and landlords, all are on the increase, in one measure or the other, but the real wage and general standard of the working people is on the decrease as apparent wage increases are robbed by high taxation, soaring prices and big monetary inflation resorted to by the Government. The native capitalist class as a whole has improved its position and yet the splits in the class are discernible.

The Congress Government is jubilant, with its successes of the Plans and the people's discontent against it is mounting. These and similar other developments in the situation have to be viewed as nothing but the expression of the crisis for the path of capitalist development, of course, in its initial stages. The growth of the Right reaction in the political field i.e., the emergence of the Swatantra Party, the reactionary swing of the PSP, the increasing tempo of political activity by the feudal and communal forces, the gradual moving of the Congress Government to the Right and the anti-Communist campaign that is let loose with all its vigour are the political expression of the same crisis. The border dispute between India and China and the manner it is sought to be exploited by different political parties in the country, only accelerated this process coming as it did in the background of certain political economic conditions in India.

32. Thus it is indisputable that the Right reaction has grown in the country and openly comes forward with its slogans and demands. It is true that it is not crystallised in one political party or the other but actions of different non-Communist parties and groups in their totality represent it. The principal and immediate political objective of this reaction is to concentrate fire on the Communists, the single biggest democratic force outside the Congress Party, to isolate it from the rest of the democratic classes and sections in the country and squeeze it out from the present political status it has acquired in the country namely the major democratic opposition party looked upon by the common mass of people as a genuine alternative to the ruling Congress Party, thus pave the way for the emergence of a conservative or Rightist opposition to usurp its place. Insofar as this objective is concerned, the Congress leadership, Mr. Nehru and his supporters being no exception, actively back this effort and assist it by every means at their disposal. Once this is allowed to succeed, reaction scores a victory in dividing the democratic classes and forces and then pressurises the national bourgeois leadership of the Government to yield more and more and ultimately leading to its surrender. But the Congress leadership is conducting a two-faced struggle, one against extreme Right in defence of its basic policies and the other against the Communists to eliminate them as the major democratic opposition in the country. In actual practice they have come to think that the growing Communists influence and role in the political arena as the immediate headache for them to be got rid off while considering the danger of Right reaction a mild one to be tackled at leisure. It is precisely because of this that they choose to ally with Rightist parties and groups to isolate the CPI and elbow it out from the important position it has acquired in the present political set up. Thus we find today all the non-Communist and anti-Communist political parties in India drawing on their own lessons from the two preceding General Elections and with an eye on the impending 1962 General Elections are conspiring, in the main, to squeeze

out the CPI from the parliamentary democratic forums and thus strike at its mobilising capacity secured through the utilisation of these forums.

33. In this sinister game, if extreme Right reaction has got its openly stated counter-revolutionary objectives and aims, the national bourgeois leadership of the Congress is guided by its own narrow partisan class ends. It wishes to woo foreign capitalists by meeting a good part of their demand for 'creating a proper climate' to their greater investment; aims at pushing the Third Plan at the cost of the common people without much resistance and escape the possible risks for its monopoly of power at least in some States in the coming 1962 General Elections. In the situation prevailing, when the parties such as the PSP and Socialist Party are collapsing without a mass appeal, where extreme Right forces organised outside the Congress Party are not yet posing a serious challenge and where the CPI alone as a well-organised democratic opposition stands in the field, acting as a centre of attraction for radicalised and discontented masses, the ruling classes are bent upon crippling the CPI so that they can pursue the capitalist path of development at the cost of the people without encountering much resistance. It is obvious that they cannot realise it and build a truly independent and strong modern economy in alliance with landlords and compromise with foreign capitalists and their native collaborators in opposition to the vast masses of peasants and workers in the country. Nevertheless, they dream of realising it. The weakness of the organised democratic movement, the disunity of different democratic forces in the country and the unawareness of the Congress following about the dangers inherent in this course embolden the ruling classes to pursue this experiment. The potential dangers for the foreign policy, for planned development of independent economy and to the parliamentary democracy arise in the end not from any one single party, source or force, but a totality of factors operating in the situation and in which the Congress Government with its anti-people policies and methods plays no small role.

34. An extremely complicated and difficult political situation presents before the democratic revolutionary movement in the

country. The CPI as its most conscious vanguard should adopt highly flexible tactics in countering effectively the innumerable manoeuvres of the extreme Right reaction, the Congress Government and the foreign imperialists to isolate the CPI and disrupt the growing forces of democracy and socialism. Despite the aspiration and attempt of Right reaction to build an anti-democratic and anti-Communist front and despite the apparent possibility and even initial success of it, the fact remains that the objective basis for it is very shaky with a number of insoluble contradictions corroding it from within and it can and should be broken. The effort at building up an independent capitalist economy carries with it all elements that sharpen the antagonism between the imperialists and the national bourgeoisie of India whatever the friendly pretensions the imperialists might put up with offers of aid for the Plans, etc. The acute differences that are expressed by the Indian bourgeoisie over the issue of European Common Market, on the trade restrictions and price manipulations of the USA, for raw materials from India, the question of imperialist opposition to the development of basic industries under the public sector and over the announcement by US that countries receiving DLF loans should purchase the goods in its own market, at its own prices, etc., go to prove the same. The Government of India which sticks to the foreign policy of peace and non-involvement support the moves of the Soviet Union for the banning of nuclear weapons, and total disarmament. It opposes the joining of military pacts, extends its solidarity with the colonial liberation struggles of Afro-Asian countries and stands for the peaceful co-existence of nations with differing social systems. Here again we find world imperialists and the national bourgeois Government of India stand sharply opposed to each other. Similarly, the crying needs of planned economic development for an expanding internal market are often compelling the bourgeoisie to move in the direction of agrarian reforms and conflicts in the bourgeois-landlord alliance are growing. The splits inside the Congress, the open opposition to land reforms by certain groups and the moves of the Government

for State trading in foodgrains and the co-operative farming, etc., reflect these antagonisms. Every such contradiction amongst the contemplated anti-Communist united fronts and every small conflict and fissure that appears in these allies has to be utilised to further the cause of democratic movement and foil the game of reaction. Such possibilities exist and the CPI should strive its utmost to make the possibilities into realities.

35. The growing Right reaction and its menace can be effectively met provided a broad united democratic movement is organised, leading to the formation of a powerful front of democratic classes and sections and all parties, groups and individuals representing them. It is necessary to bear in mind that the CPI is facing big hurdles and great difficulties in undertaking this stupendous revolutionary task and fulfilling it. As it exists at present, there is not a single all-India political party which promises the possibility of united front with CPI. The leadership of almost all these parties are essentially orientated to anti-Communist thinking and they try their utmost to prevent their mass following to join hands with the CPI even on day-to-day economic struggles of the people, leave alone on the national political issues of the day. The leadership of the Congress Party and Government with its monopoly of power and still existing wide mass influence does not feel so weak to seek the co-operation of the CPI to defend its comparatively progressive policies against the attacks of extreme Right but see the growth of the CPI and its political influence as an immediate headache since it stands in the forefront of all mass struggles against the anti-people policies and methods of Government. Above all the fact that the CPI as an organised political force is still very weak in the country, compared to the gigantic size of India and the great tasks facing the democratic revolutionary movement, a major handicap in the situation, should be borne in mind.

In view of all these factors the forging of a broad democratic unity is an extremely difficult task demanding of us patient and sustained effort with flexible tactics and a correct political line. As stated earlier when the leadership of every prominent all-India

Party is hostile to our Party, when the concerted Rightist propaganda offensive of Swatantra, PSP, SP, Jan Sangh and a good section of the Congress is on and while the Congress leadership, totally oblivious of the meaning of the growth of Right reactionary trends and forces, is moving to all sorts of opportunist and anti-Communist alliances, the immense complexity of the task of building the democratic unity of the masses who are divided behind all these political parties cannot be underestimated.

36. The slogan of "Left Unity" as a lever for building broad democratic unity, advanced in the Political Resolution at Amritsar has lost much of its validity at the present and is in need of radical revision. The leadership of the PSP as well as Socialist Party, gripped with blind anti-Communist hatred, is found busy disrupting every vestige of Left Unity left so far and building Right reactionary fronts against the Communists. Apart from this, the political stand that these parties are taking today on all the burning and major issues of the day is often reactionary, attacking the Government from the Right in league with other feudal and communal forces. The PSP and Socialist Party in the country are in the forefront in conducting the most vicious propaganda, maligning the CPI and is busy disrupting every united trade union or mass organisation that exists. This being so, the slogan of Left Unity is not only not feasible, but becomes unreal and it is futile to imagine that it serves as a lever for broad democratic unity. It lost all its force on a national plane. However, the necessity and importance of striving to unite with all Left Parties, groups and individuals wherever they exist, at the State and local level cannot be minimised. Utmost efforts should be made by the CPI to unite with the masses following these political parties and draw them into activity and struggles on their day-to-day demands of workers, peasants and other middle-class employees. In view of the considerable mass following these parties have in a number of areas, the interest of building a united mass movement and organisation demand of such a correct approach from us.

37 A broad-based democratic movement cannot be built unless we rouse the patriotic and democratic consciousness of all the progressive forces behind every political party, particularly the masses following the Congress and make them fully realise the dangers inherent in the growth of Right reaction in the political life of the nation. It is an indisputable truth that the biggest chunk of democratic-minded people, who believe in the strengthening of national independence, in the planned development of the country's economy, in upholding the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment and who cherish values of parliamentary democracy are still behind the Congress Party. The Political Resolution adopted at Amritsar Party Congress correctly emphasised the importance of winning their co-operation and support in the struggle against Right reaction. Under the present conditions, it acquires added importance and without which it is next to impossible either to halt the vacillations and surrender of the Congress Government before mounting pressure and offensive of the Right, both from within the Congress as well as from outside it, or beat back the attacks on foreign policy, planned economy, development of public sector industry, land reforms and State trading in foodgrains etc. Special significance in this connection lies in the attitude and approach to be adopted towards Prime Minister Nehru who though an individual, is a big force because of his outstanding position in the masses, his unquestioned leadership over the Congress Party and due to the fact of his being the architect and leading spokesman for the bourgeois democratic policies of his Government. A positive and constructive approach to him and the progressive policies his Government stands for is imperative notwithstanding some fundamental ideological and political differences between his Government and our Party, and the constant friction and conflict that arise between the people and Government on a number of live issues of the people.

38 While the great importance of co-operating and supporting with the progressive features of the Government is recognised in the struggle against foreign imperialism and native feudalism, and while realising that such a correct political stand alone can

win the broad masses of people and democratic-minded Congressmen for united people's movement, it is suicidal for the Party of the proletariat not to see the naked reality that the Government is coming into constant clash on a number of economic as well as political issues with the general mass of people since it is a Government allying with landlords and compromising with foreign imperialist capital, particularly the British. This dual character and role of the national bourgeois leadership makes it incumbent on the proletariat to scrupulously apply the formula "unite—struggle and unite". It is true that a clear-cut differentiation of the Indian bourgeois class into definite categories of national and collaborationist bourgeoisie has not yet taken place. All the same, a certain degree of differentiation is taking place and as the crisis of economic and political policies of the Government express themselves sharper, as united popular movement in defence of people's interests, foreign policy of peace, and planned economic development gathers momentum and sweep, the differentiation among the bourgeois sections becomes more clear. The organising and leading of political struggles against extreme reaction as well as the struggles to resist the anti-people policies and method of the Government acquires greater importance in an effort to build the broad democratic movement. The failure to organise the workers, peasants and other oppressed middle-classes in defence of their interests and against the mounting attacks of the exploiting classes would result in betraying the masses and make a present of them to the disruptive Right reaction which is out to exploit their growing discontent for its anti-national and counter-revolutionary ends. Such a failure, on our part, immensely harms the independent growth of the Party, weakens the struggle in support of national democratic policies of the Government and ultimately endangers the realisation of a broad democratic front which alone can lead the democratic revolution to its complete victory.

39. The enormous tax burdens imposed on the people, the oppressive bureaucratic machine that is daily strengthened, the rampant corruption, nepotism and graft that is in vogue, the

drastic curtailment of civil liberties and right of common people to conduct their legitimate and peaceful struggles, the reckless inflation without any price regulation resulting in soaring prices of essential commodities and the plunderous profits assured to private foreign capitalists, native big capitalists and landlords is hitting the people hard, giving rise to profound discontent and disillusionment. The advance registered through the implementation of the two Five-Year Plans does not reflect any betterment in the life of the average man and hence the proposed big Third Plan frightens the common people with the additional burdens rather than rouse their enthusiasm and welcome it. Our Party as the Party looked upon by the toiling millions in our country will have to shoulder the responsibility of giving effective leadership to this mass discontent and their struggles. The period ahead of us promises the further intensification of conflict between the people and the Government, thanks to the anti-people policies and methods that the bourgeois-landlord government tenaciously persists.

40. In the preparation and organisation of mass struggles, our Party and the mass and class organisations in which it is working, are coming up against great difficulties, because of the disruptive tactics indulged in by other political parties and their agencies in the TU, Kisan and other oppressed middle-class movements. The ruling Congress Party wishes to isolate our Party and strike at its mobilising capacity and keeping this in view, it constantly slanders our Party and the struggles it leads, pitting them against increased production, fulfilment of the Plan targets and the strengthening of national defence, etc. In order to expose these machinations in the people and to successfully organise and lead the mass struggles, our Party and other mass and class organisations with work in close co-operation with it will have to exercise utmost care and vigilance in the formulation of their demands, in adopting of forms of struggle and general agitation and propaganda carried in defence of these. We should see that no opportunity is given to our opponents in their game of disruption of unity of the masses and their struggles. Not frustrated with the disruptive tactics and methods of the INTUC,

HMS and other agencies of political reaction, we should constantly and patiently endeavour to build united mass movements and organisations, abandoning all sectarian tendencies and approach. A sustained intensified and patient mass work alone ensures the successful building up of united mass class organisations.

41. Equally important are our election struggles and their outcome in building the broad democratic revolutionary movement of the people. Our Party during the course of the two previous General Elections, has emerged as the major opposition party in the parliament as well as several State legislatures and in Kerala it has secured an opportunity to form and function the State Government for 28 months. The ruling classes are greatly agitated over this development. Other non-Communist and anti-Communist parties like the PSP, SP, Jan Sangh and Ganatantra Parishad, some of them completely frustrated in their efforts to become the major opposition parties and extremely jealous of this development have begun feverishly working against it. There has been a concerted effort on the part of these parties and groups to reverse this process and for that openly join hands with the ruling Congress Party, abandoning all their pretensions of being opposition parties. The Congress Party is actively engaged in its struggle to deprive the CPI of the position and status it has acquired in the democratic parliamentary forum in the country and it is utilising all the other non-Communist parties, whether they are pro-feudal or communal, as their reserves in its vicious political game. It is allowed to succeed, the toiling people and proletarian party loses all the advantage of galvanising and mobilising the people from the forum of legislatures in the country, serving as the major opposition. Every precaution must be taken and flexible tactics devised to foil the game of reaction in its cruel attempt to single out, isolate and reduce it to ineffectiveness in these forums. In a number of States, areas and constituencies our Party and its close allies together command a mass following ranging from 25 to 45 per cent of the total voters. In a distorted democratic electoral system, where proportional representation is denied, the political parties

and groups opposed to the CPI are constantly manoeuvring to deprive the Party from cashing on its independent mass strength into corresponding electoral victories. Hence, our Party should endeavour to utilise all the contradictions, conflicts and fissures in the ruling classes and its hangers-on to advance its position on the forums of different legislative bodies in the city. No dogmatic and sectarian outlook should stand in the way and flexible tactics have to be pursued. The level of mass movement and our Party's strength in various States vary widely from one to another. Similarly, the strength of political parties, groups and their political position also varies from State to State. Taking into consideration concrete conditions of each State, election tactics will have to be carefully worked out and lead these struggles correctly.

On Draft Resolution on Political Situation*

B. T. Ranadive

Since the Party Congress at Amritsar, important developments have taken place in the economic and political life of our nation which demand a careful analysis and assessment. The limited advance along the path of independent capitalist development is accompanied by the sharpening of all the contradictions inherent in the situation and thus bringing into play certain new elements in the political situation.

In the period since Amritsar, our country has witnessed a tremendous rise of mass discontent against the economic policies of the Government, leading to innumerable mass struggles some of which reached the level of upheaval embracing lakhs of people of workers, peasants and middle class employees.

The burdens of capitalist development and compromise with landed interests are obviously too much for the common man. The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the people has sharpened very much.

This had led to a rise in the democratic consciousness of the people large masses moving away from the Congress politically. The effective leadership given to these struggles by the Communist Party has earned it great political prestige and large sections are looking upon it as the alternative to the ruling Congress Party.

The formation of the Communist-led Government in Kerala and the popular measures it adopted during the 28 months of rule

* This document was submitted in March 1960 on the Draft Political Resolution to be placed discussed and adopted in the National Council meeting of the CPI convened in Calcutta on 6-12 May 1960.

accelerated the process of mass awakening giving new confidence and strength to the democratic forces.

The sharpened contradiction between the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the people is reflected, on the one hand in a growing collision between official policies and the people and on the other hand, in the rise of powerful forces of Right reaction which from inside and outside the Congress and Government have opened a broad offensive on the progressive part and pronouncements of Congress policies - especially India's foreign policy and a number of aspects connected with the independent path of India's economy.

These forces seek unrestricted exploitation of the masses, curb advance of Indian democracy and demand private joint concerns which will result in foreign penetration of our economy and put impediments in the way of developing an independent economy. They are attempting to join hands with reactionary landed interests to achieve their ends.

Pressed between the radicalisation of the masses and the growing strength of the Communist Party on the one hand, and the increasing pressure of the Right from within the Government and outside, the Government of Nehru and the National Congress pursue a policy which reveals their intentions.

Compelled by events to accept the challenge of the Right on many occasions, the Nehru Government still concentrates fire on the Communist Party and the advanced democratic forces as the main danger and joins hands with the worst reactionaries in attacking them as in Kerala. This is so not only when there is a direct electoral challenge to it from the Party and the democratic forces but it is a policy which sees in the Right reaction a mild danger, while it sees in the radical forces led by the Communist Party the main danger.

Compelled by the logic of its policies and pressed by the Right, the Nehru Government has shown a shift towards the Right on many issues of domestic policies as well as the India-China question. While resisting and conciliating the Right forces, its main pre-occupation is to curb the democratic movement, defeat the Communist Party and isolate it from the people. In the

immediate future it seeks to depose the Communist Party from its leading position in Parliament and Legislatures put up other parties to play the role so that in any emergency a broad offensive of repression can be opened against it. And for this purpose, the Congress forges a united front with the worst reactionaries. The leaders of the Congress talk of illegalising the Party in any emergency. Everything is being done to see that the Party does not retain its position as the alternative party in the minds of the people.

It is obvious that if the Congress succeeds in doing what it proposes only extreme reaction will be strengthened.

Two features thus stand out since Amritsar (1) Sharpening of the conflict between the national bourgeoisie and the people (2) Rise of powerful forces of reaction which assail Congress policies from the Right in the interests of their narrow anti-national gains. A proper assessment of both is necessary in order to arrive at a correct tactical orientation.

The Strength and Shape of Reaction

Events since Amritsar have underlined the fact of the growth of reaction as a powerful political force. The Amritsar Congress had already given an outline of real programme of reaction.

They preach that our economic difficulties can be overcome only with the help of American dollars and that for this a suitable climate must be created. They are openly advocating almost an open door policy for penetration of foreign capital particularly from the USA while striving to sabotage trade with the USSR and other Socialist countries. They demand the curtailment of social service measures under the plan while trying to blackmail the Government to change its fiscal and economic measures still more to their advantage and to the detriment of the common people. They demand modification of the existing labour laws to suit their interest. These people openly express their hostility to land reforms. They resort to threats and demand that growing burdens be placed on the masses.'

The change since Amritsar has been that they have gone beyond preaching and developed other forms of activity. They have forged powerful instruments to advance to the realisation of their

aims and recent events show that they can take advantage of any critical situation.

In the first place, the grip of the reactionary forces inside the Government and the Congress has increased very much during the last two years. In face of the difficulties created by the capitalist path, the economic difficulties created by the compromising policies of the Congress and the Government, there is a tendency in Government and top Congress circles to shift to the Right, to make concessions to the demands of the big bourgeoisie in the name of practicality and to resist the pursuance of progressive policies on national and international questions. Nehru, when he takes a progressive stand, is meeting with greater resistance than before from inside the Cabinet. The sabotage of Nagpur resolution on land reforms, the India-China dispute and attacks on Menon from within are instances in point.

Through money and class influence, the big bourgeoisie wield large influence on bureaucracy which is in a position to delay execution and implementation of progressive legislations. Notwithstanding a number of good and progressive declarations, bureaucrats have delayed or sabotaged a number of projects in the public sector, including those for which help was provided by Socialist countries.

The bureaucratic machine left by the British is more decisively in favour of the reactionaries.

Thirdly, the reactionary forces have openly mobilised the big bourgeois press against the progressive part of the Government's policies. This is a new development of recent times and the press was not so openly hostile to the Government on these questions as it is now. Editorially and in special articles, it often demands resignation of Nehru and a change in the basic policies.

And finally, these forces are attempting to link themselves with the landed gentry and secure for themselves an independent base by playing on the peasant's fear of cooperative farming and ceilings and in reality joining hands with semi-feudal elements to oppose further land reforms.

In the cities and towns, they try to create a base for themselves by exploiting the genuine discontent of the people especially the petty bourgeois masses.

The mismanagement of the public sector, the growing bureaucratisation of the State apparatus, favouritism of the Congress Party in the administration, the increasing tax burdens and utter inefficiency of the Government control regarding prices, food, etc., all are exploited for the single purpose of denying every form of Government control. Their demagogic carried through press and platform often finds a ready echo in the minds of the people. They made a demagogic use of India-China dispute to discredit the policy of Panch Sheel.

In this background, the open emergence of the Swatantra Party with an avowedly reactionary programme, is a measure of the confidence which the reaction feels in the present circumstances. The Swatantra Party comprise within its ranks not only big bourgeois and pro-landlord elements, but includes ex-Generals and almost all American Lobby men in India like Masani, Munshi and others whom Nehru had to remove from important positions.

The main thing is that the reactionary forces inside the Congress helped by the Swatantra Party and big bourgeois press form a formidable combination against the people and the progressive part of Government policies. The new factor is that those forces who hitherto only worked from inside the Congress are emboldened enough to seek and independent base to pressurise the Congress and the Government. Their aim is to see that the reactionary wing in the Congress gets complete control of the Government.

The combination of big bourgeois press, American Lobby, reactionary Generals, big bourgeoisie with Congre & Rightists is helped by the PSP-Jan Sangh alliance. It is sufficiently strong to take advantage of any crisis to mislead national opinion, confuse the people and force the Government on the defensive. Recently this alliance has been able to score a number of victories behind the back of the people.

Taking advantage of the India-China crisis, exploiting Nehru's own stand, they very nearly succeeded in creating a crisis for our foreign policy, forcing Nehru to defend its worst principles.

Utilising the Thimayya resignation, they attacked the Defence Minister and virtually incited the Generals to blackmail the civil authority. Instead of fighting the intervention of military Generals in politics as an attack on civil authority, they encouraged it and helped by the reactionaries inside the Congress, they created a crisis for civil authority. The crisis was deliberately brought about in the midst of the India-China dispute. But for Nehru's strong stand, they would have succeeded in their game of ousting the Defence Minister whom they hate for his support to our foreign policy.

By their pressure, they have virtually succeeded in sabotaging land legislation, which results in our continued dependence on American PL-480 for food imports. They have blown to pieces State-trading and are forcing a number of concessions for the private sector working jointly with foreign capital. In the name of solving practical difficulties, by means of manipulating the licensing authority and finally through sheer economic and political pressure they have secured the last two years a number of concessions for private sector and have succeeded in carrying forward their plan of joint private concerns. Birla's aluminium plant in collaboration with Kaiser, with cheap power being made available from the public sector and a number of other deals in which the principle of 51 per cent of Indian capital was given up constitute some of the successes scored by them.

These were the forces that were in the forefront in the attack against our Kerala Ministry, conspired for Presidential intervention and carried the support of Nehru in their anti-Communist crusade.

Thus, behind the back of the people, the reactionary forces have been slowly advancing to intensify the attack on people's livelihood, the slowing down of our progress to economic independence, attack democracy and our foreign policy. Their programme has ceased to be a propaganda slogan. By their entrenched strength inside the Government and the Congress, in the class whom the Congress policies serve, they are able to affect Government policies to the detriment of the nation.

The triumph of these forces will mean not only a setback to Indian democracy but a danger to our independence as well as

their policy will lead to a successful penetration of our economy by foreign capital with all its attendant consequences.

In their fight for democracy and livelihood, the working class and the CPI must arrest this progress of reaction in cooperation with all such forces as can be rallied.

Nehru Government, Congress & Reaction

Situation will be easy indeed if the entire Congress, including Nehru, saw the danger of reaction and were ready to unite with the masses and the Communist Party to fight it. Then a general support to the Nehru Government to fight reaction could have been given. But the Nehru Government pursues class policies which brings it into conflict with the masses. It is futile to talk of isolating and resisting reaction without putting a successful fighting against these policies.

By attacking the masses and imposing new economic burdens on them, by raising the banner of anti-Communism as in Kerala and attempting to isolate the Communist Party, the Nehru Government and Congress in effect disrupt the main force that can defeat reaction.

On many vital and important issues, the Nehru Government's policies coincide with the interests of the people and a common stand against reaction becomes possible. On these issues the Nehru Government pursues a policy of resistance and conciliation towards its reactionary class brother and not a line of firm resistance.

All these features have to be taken into account to evolve a correct orientation and approach.

The Shift to the Right

The difficulties of the economy developing following from its class policies and the impact of reaction have led to a certain shift of the Government to the Right.

Nehru's Government which aspires to build an independent economy and pursues an independent foreign policy has been under the constant pressure of imperialism--American imperialism.

Uttering friendly language, pretending to appreciate and understand India's policy of non-alignment, American imperialism presents itself as the would-be benefactor of India favouring the private sector Eisenhower's speech at the Ramlila ground once more served notice that American capital would be available for private enterprise only Preparing the way for the penetration of our economy through private equity investment is the policy of the American imperialists Softening of our foreign policy and progressive social measures reduction of taxation burdens on capitalists, guarantees against nationalisation and attacks against democratic forces especially the Communist Party—these are some of the measures which American imperialists seek to promote through their lobby-men

They are fully utilising the Plan crisis and India's heavy dependence on foreign exchange to force down their terms With the help of Indian reaction they are laying the ground for free entry of foreign capital and are pressurising the Government to give up the principle of Indian control in joint concerns through 51 per cent Indian capital or prohibition of foreign capital in the strategic industries and accept equality of treatment for foreign capital

Under their pressure Nehru Government has made a number of concessions The Indian Government has relaxed in a number of cases the condition of Indian control in joint concerns and has earned the praise of the World Bank Mission in 1958 The Mission's Report demanded freedom for the private (foreign) sector to exploit it The formation of a Government Rupee Company with the Government and Burmah Shell sharing capital on 50-50 basis, instead of the original 66- $\frac{2}{3}$ -33- $\frac{1}{3}$ basis was a conciliatory step towards foreign oil interests and the recent official announcement to permit foreign private interests in the exploration and subsequently exploitation of our oil resources is yet another concessions to the persistent demands from the USA

Taking advantage of the lack of resources for the Third Plan under the present dispensation the American monopolists are trying to have a say in influencing the shape and content of the

Third Plan The World Bank Mission which was recently sent here was composed of international bankers who made it clear that they would not be content with financing plans prepared by India without consulting them

But, while the reactionary circles want the Government to travel all along the path of conciliation, while the imperialists demand further concessions, the Nehru Government has been following a policy of conciliation and resistance and not conciliation alone

The resistance to the further incursion of foreign oil interests has been going on and it is only this year that new concessions have been announced. There is a greater degree of readiness to take the help of Socialist countries especially when Western countries hold up important projects in the State Sector. The Nehru Government uses Soviet help not only to build strategic industries but also to increase its bargaining strength with the Eastern powers. The help rendered by the USSR and other Socialist countries has not only helped the economic independence of India it has also increased the resistance power of the Nehru Government to imperialist pressure. In spite of these concessions the Nehru Government pursues the path of independent development.

Non-Alignment and Foreign Policy

Imperialists and reactionary circles have been pressing the Nehru Government to take decisive pro Western orientation in place of the present policy of non-alignment. By and large these pressures have been resisted, mainly due to Nehru and the stand of the Nehru Government on Summit, hydrogen bomb tests and general struggle for peace has been tremendously helpful on a world plane. The reactionary forces in India and the big bourgeois press have especially chosen Nehru's foreign policy as the main target to discredit Nehru and get the dismissal of Menon. Combining with PSP-Jan Sangh these forces have not let a single opportunity slip to decry our foreign policy. They got their best opportunity on India-China issue when Nehru himself revealed his limitations and partly played into their hands.

With the rapid change in the Tibetan scene, the defeat of counter-revolution, the exit of the Dalai Lama, Nehru's class limitations revealed themselves Panch Sheel was thrown to the winds and anti-Chinese feelings were roused to support Tibetan reaction in the name of Lord Buddha

This and the subsequent anti-Chinese campaign on the border question reveal the length to which the national bourgeoisie will go when driven by fear of Socialist China. Nehru's speeches rousing national hysteria, his demand for nation-in-arms, his new insistence on defence against China, followed by purchase of helicopters from the USA, negotiations for the manufacture of transport planes and purchase of certain other material from the USA were the results of this new fear.

In this dispute, Nehru paid compliments to all the reactionary parties—the Jan Sangh, the PSP, the communal parties as Indian Parties while he slashed against the Communist Party of India.

Nevertheless, Nehru wanted peaceful settlement and when he found his utterances being exploited to carry matters to excess he pulled himself up, refused to make the dispute an issue of cold war and stood by non-alignment. After initial hesitation due to opposition in his Cabinet, he has invited the Chinese Premier

Domestic Policies & Shift to Right

Nehru Government's domestic policies are getting deeper and deeper into contradiction the capitalist path of development coming into repeated conflicts with the path of independent development and rapid progress.

The Second Five Year Plan, with greater emphasis on heavy industries aroused high hopes in our people. Our Party declared its wholehearted support for its progressive orientation, while pointing out the contradiction between the aims and objectives of the Plan and the methods chosen to implement them.

The Government has no doubt heroically stuck to the public sector, despite mounting pressure from the reactionaries. It has succeeded in building the three steel plants and some other important industrial projects which no doubt lessen the dependence of our economy.

But day by day it is becoming clearer that the rate of advance is immensely slow, that at this rate there will be no radical change in people's livelihood in any foreseeable time.

In fact, because of the limitations imposed by the capitalist path, the minimum programme contemplated by the planners could not be implemented. The Plan had to be pruned and only 75 per cent of the original plan will be achieved in practice. This halting progress is accompanied by immense taxation burdens and the burden of deficit-financing on the common man which is multiplying misery and leading to mass anger against Congress rule.

But the biggest discredit of the Government from the point of view of further economic advance is its failure, its utter incapacity to reorganise Indian agriculture which is reflected in the failure to solve the food problem.

The pull of landed interests inside the Congress has made a farce of Congress resolutions on land reform. The Nagpur Resolution remains a dead letter, the landed interests in the Congress having opened a frontal offensive against it. It is now clear that for the mass of rural poor the land problem will never be solved under the present Government and that agriculture cannot be organised on progressive lines. The compromise with semi-feudal elements interests drags down industrial progress and acts as a veto on further advance, notwithstanding the subjective desire of the planners. It makes it impossible to solve our food problem, making our people and economy dependent on the American PI 480.

Sharpening Contradiction with People

All this results in mounting attacks against the people. Failure to solve the basic problems of the people, the Government's capacity to give economic relief to the people is dwindling. It piles up taxation and inflation burdens, it allows prices to run riot, imposing direct and indirect cuts on people's standard of living.

Forced by popular pressure, it often makes concessions and retreats before show of popular strength. The organised trade

union movement even now secures concessions, but they are meeting with greater resistance Superimposed on the old exploitation of the rural areas is the exploitation of the market, taxation, inflation The mass of rural population finds its condition worsening

Unable to change its compromising policies which prevent them from meeting the urgent demands of the people and pressed by the reactionaries to concede their own demands, the Congress Governments in the States often rely on a wanton use of force to crush the genuine movements of the people Wanton shooting of people to strike terror, virtual suspension of all law and brutal methods of total suppression were used against the big mass struggles of West Bengal and Punjab

The strengthening of the bureaucratic apparatus against the democratic movement has been the result of these policies

Attack Against Communist Party

In the period of this sharpened contradiction with the masses the Nehru Government directs its fire against the Communist Party whose influence as the leading Opposition Party has increased immensely since the masses and above all of the glorious role of our Ministry and Party in Kerala

In its fight against the Communist Party where it has become a big force, the Congress leadership recognised no scruples no principles and is prepared to join hands with the worst communal and pro-imperialist reactionaries as in Kerala Its conspiracy against the Kerala Ministry, its illegal use of Presidential intervention, the unleashing of the violent struggle in Kerala are all indications of its unprinciple opposition to the Communist Party and the democratic forces led by it

The open alliance of the Congress with the worst communal and pro-imperialist reactionaries in Kerala the Muslim League and Catholic Church, are new indications of the swing of the leadership to the Right when it is not able to rally the broad democratic forces behind it Though the Muslim League is not given a seat in the Ministry, it will be wrong to think that alliances of this type will not be repeated elsewhere where the democratic forces become a serious challenge to Congress misrule

The Congress leadership and the Nehru Government, besides, use every weapon to slander and isolate the Communist Party in cooperation with the worst reactionary elements Nehru and the Congress leadership did their best to slander and isolate the Communist Party of India on the India-China issue and join with Jan Sangh and PSP leaders to discredit it The Working Committee of the Congress seriously considered the question of banning the Party

The major political tactics of the Congress leadership in the coming period is to use the weapon of anti-Communism to isolate the Communist Party from all possible allies, to concentrate fire against its masses, so that it is able to depose the Communist Party from its position as the leading Parliamentary Opposition and the position of the alternative Party in the eyes of the people

For this purpose, the Congress Party is already preparing for an understanding with parties like the PSP in the next election so that the united opposition front is weakened and the CPI is isolated

While the Nehru Government adopts an attitude of conciliation and resistance against the reactionaries, it pursues a steadfast policy of opposing and isolating the CPI

The CPI and the democratic forces will not be able to defeat the progress of reaction without foiling this Congress game of isolating the CPI and ousting it from its leading position

Direction of Mass Movement

The post-Amritsar developments have underlined a tremendous growth in mass discontent against the deteriorating economic situation and the policies of the Government which lead to it The accumulated discontent locally bursts out on any grievance a major issue like food or the behaviour of local bureaucracy and police high-handedness (Kanpur) and brings into action huge number of people

In the main, the discontent expresses itself spontaneously mainly on economic issues and is yet unable to relate itself to the political policies and development

When the discontent is organised and politically led by the Party in cooperation with its allies, especially when it is led by several opposition parties, it develops into an unprecedented movement involving thousands of people, a total mobilisation in a wide region.

The U.P. food struggle, which started with hunger-strike, the unprecedented anti-betterment levy struggle of the Punjab peasantry, which drew thousands of Kisans against the heavy irrigation levy and historic food struggle of the West Bengal people have revealed the depth of the discontent among the masses.

These, together with the innumerable local conflicts, hartals, strike struggles, in cities and towns, police-shootings and conflicts between bureaucracy and the people, satyagraha and jail-going constitute a measure of popular discontent against Congress rule.

To the economic discontent is added the discontent created through corruption, bribery and favouritism under Congress rule.

This discontent expressed itself politically in innumerable local, panchayat, district board, municipal, assembly and parliamentary bye-elections where the Congress is meeting with stiff Opposition and sometimes with big defeats. The elections show that while the Congress is still the biggest political Party, it is at the same time losing its former position among the people.

A weakness of the situation has been that notwithstanding the widespread discontent among the masses, notwithstanding the fact that we have courageously led it, except on the question of Kerala and a few elections, it could not rise above the local economic level and was unable to express itself on vital national issues. It could not be used effectively to strengthen progressive national policies, to change Government's policies or to defeat the reactionaries' offensive. Big national question were decided behind the back of the people without they being aware of them.

A second weakness is that the Party has been able to head only a small part of the discontent. In many cases, it dissipates itself or is exploited by the reactionaries for their own purposes. The rise in the Jan Sangh vote in some towns of U.P., the rise in the mobilisation of other reactionary parties, are indications that there is every danger of this discontent being led into reactionary channels, unless the CPI is able to divert it along the democratic

path And the Communist Party of India is able to unleash a big movement mainly when it secures the cooperation of other parties for this purpose

The Kerala Upsurge

Only on the question of Kerala was there a proper political upsurge The people saw the political issues at stake, realised that the Central Government was attacking democratic norms The reaction of public opinion on intervention in Kerala, among broad sections of the people all over India, including the middle-class that a broad front to resist attacks against democracy can be built and that anti-Communism will not always deceive them The fact that against the combination of Congress and other parties, against the combination of press and reaction, the CPI could mobilise democratic opinion all over India and isolate to some extent the combined forces is a tribute to the democratic urge of our people and their confidence in the Communist Party

The huge vote mobilised by the Kerala Party in the recent elections and the reactions produced by it also reveal that the masses have understood the import of this advance and have not been misled by Congress victory

The Communist Party succeeded in evoking a broad support from all sections of Kerala intervention because it appealed to well-established democratic norms and Constitutional rights It appealed to current rights under our democracy, to the rule of law and the Constitution It carried forward the struggle on the basis of what was common between itself and the other democratic forces

It is political campaigns and movements like the Kerala campaign that transform the spontaneous economic discontent of the masses into a political force capable of intervening on national political issues and of changing Government's policies

By boldly championing the demands of the masses by its fearless oppositional role in the Legislatures and Parliament, by its sustained support to popular movements, and above all, by its work as the ruling party in Kerala the Communist Party has strengthened its influence among the people and has come to be looked upon as the alternative party The great work done by our

Ministry in Kerala has gone a long way to convince wide sections of people that the Communist Party can be trusted to rule as an alternative Party.

The collapse of the traditional Left Parties, their opportunist unprincipled politics, their alliance with the worst reactionaries, their support to extreme reaction and their opportunist alliance with the Congress—have made large sections to look to the CPI as the Opposition Party which can honestly defend their interests.

By its Kerala alliance with the League and the Church, its alliance with the Jan Sangh, by its blind anti-Communism, by its betrayal of the West Bengal struggle, by its attempts to disrupt the United Front organisation of Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and by its provocative stand on India-China question, its support of Thimayya, its unseemly attack against Nehru—the PSP has discredited itself more than ever before. Its top leadership is openly preparing to join hands with the Congress and is paving the way for an understanding with the Congress in the next election. Because of their unscrupulous polities, the PSP has rapidly lost its position as a leading Opposition Party. In matters of foreign policy, of combating foreign imperialism and democratic reaction, the PSP leadership is to the extreme Right of Nehru and plays a reactionary role. It is blindly anti-Communist and anti-China and voices the worst propaganda of American imperialists.

The disintegration of the Lohia Socialist Party has also taken place because of similar causes. The blind anti-Communism slightly embellished by the theory of equidistance, lands the Socialist Party in disrupting common struggles and weakening the resistance of the masses. Its open hostility to Socialist countries and its failure to join hands with the Communist Party and other progressive forces in defence of the masses, prevents it from emerging as a strong oppositional force.

The other Left Parties and groups are mostly local, some of them still playing an important Left role as in Bombay

The collapse of the traditional Left Parties increases the responsibility of the Communist Party to strengthen its oppositional role, to play the role of an effective democratic opposition.

The Communist Party and the working class have to take into consideration all these contradictions and conflicts to be able to march forward to defeat the game of reaction and burst through to further advance by checkmating the conciliatory and compromising policies of the Congress which impose heavy burdens on the people.

In the first place, this means that the Party cannot ignore the deepened contradiction between the people and the national bourgeois Government, between the abiding national interests and the vacillating selfish policy of the national bourgeoisie with its compromise with feudal elements, its concessions to foreign capital and unheard of burdens on the people. The Party must continuously press for its democratic programme, for a decisive shift of Congress policies towards the masses.

The Party cannot at the same time, ignore the fact that even the half hearted progressive policies of the Government are being called into question by the reactionary forces favoured by foreign imperialists. To ignore this offensive just because it appears as the offensive against the Congress Government, to treat it as a family quarrel between sections of the ruling classes having no connection with vital national interests, is suicidal. Neither consolidation of democracy nor of national independence is possible if this offensive is allowed to succeed for, its success means greater facilities for imperialism to penetrate our political and economic life.

The Party at the same time, cannot discharge its responsibilities by allowing the national bourgeoisie to isolate it, to depose it from its leading position as the Opposition Party. It will be suicidal if the masses begin to feel that the CPI has ceased to be an alternative to the Congress and has no programme of social transformation.

It is, therefore, necessary to orientate our tactics to see that while defending the masses against Congress policies while pressing forward a programme of democratic advance and shift of Government policies decisively in favour of the masses, and above all, fighting for a thoroughgoing agrarian reform and reorganisation, we should work for a broad democratic front.

extending to Congress followers to combat Right reaction inside and outside the Congress.

The immediate aims and objects of this broad front against reaction which must extend to all democratic elements besides the Left masses must be clearly understood. Its aim is to isolate the extreme reactionaries, increase the resistance of national bourgeois leadership against imperialist pressure and reaction's demands and gather popular support for progressive policies assailed by Right reaction. The defence of our foreign policy, of India-China settlement, of restrictions on private foreign capital, of public sector, etc., these come within the scope of this front. The strength acquired through this will enable the Party to gather greater support for its independent struggle against the reactionary economic and political policies of the Government, combat them and make possible further advance in our democracy and economy.

The two tasks, a broad democratic front against reaction, and a broad front against Congress policies, are interlinked but distinct. A broad democratic front is essential to defeat the entire programme of reaction which consists of—(a) opening the door to imperialist penetration by scuttling the public Sector; (2) discrediting the public sector for its bad management; (3) demand for private joint agreements with foreign, especially American, capital; (4) Opposition to Government restrictions on import of foreign capital; (5) gradually torpedo our policy of non-alignment and placate the Western powers, (6) cash on anti-Communism of the West by attacking Indian democracy in the name of fighting Communism; (7) untrampled freedom for private enterprise and opposition to ceilings and land reform and progressive labour legislation; (8) opposition to State controls, State-trading, especially in food; (9) attack against the civil liberties of the people and ban on the CPI; (10) swing the Congress Government to the Right and remove progressives from the Government; (11) encourage army reaction and link with it; (12) suppression of mass struggles.

Neither our own masses nor the broad masses in our country, much less the Congress masses, know about the programme of

enslavement before which Congresss Government has often to beat a retreat

This programme is openly avowed by the reactionaries outside the Congress like the Swatantra Party Though the extreme Right-wing of the Congress which is strong inside the Government and the leadership subscribes to this programme it is not the official programme of the Congress or the Government

The fight against it therefore should draw together all anti imperialist elements including the mass of Congress following The fight is something which we share along with them only the urgency of this joint fight is hidden from them by their leaders

The new orientation that is required is that of evoking popular support among masses among Congressmen to defend progressive policies of the Government to apply pressure if the Government is yielding to strengthen its hands if it is resisting and to fight anti national Right policies This means on occasions combining with the Government to defeat the Right on particular issues like the demand for break up of negotiation with China demands of foreign capital etc

The danger to national advance to democratic policies arising from the Right reactionary forces is not yet seen by the Congress masses They are made the mute spectators of vacillations before reaction concessions to it

It is the duty of the CPI to rouse this mass to action to defend common anti-imperialist and progressive policies seek united front with or at least sympathetic hearing on such issues and activise it against the advance of reaction This means approach on these questions in terms of Congress declarations readiness to distinguish between Right reaction and Congress on certain issues and a readiness to mark off the reactionary trend from the progressive trend on certain issues concentrating fire on the former

Thirdly this means that we should be in position to use our independent strength among the masses for this purpose that we shall raise their political consciousness and make them conscious and active participants in strengthening anti-imperialist democratic policies and combating reaction Without this latter

the struggle for a broad democratic front will degenerate into a wordy appeal to Congressmen who will not have courage to move on their own

To be able to build a broad front, it is essential that contacts with Congress and other masses in every field, political or otherwise, our active and constructive participation in community development, cooperatives Five Year Plan gatherings, etc., will go a long way in building these contacts. With this end in view, every opportunity must be utilised of securing cooperation of Congressmen on common issues of national construction service of the people so that the ground for broader understanding is laid

A Broad Front for Democratic Advance

The broad front to combat reaction, to defend progressive policies when assailed by reaction is only part of the great political responsibility that faces the Party as the main opposition force. The main aim is to move towards a rapid national and democratic advance by arresting reaction and changing Congress policies decisively in favour of the people

The path of capitalist development which the Congress has chosen compromises national advance, makes it halting and distorted throws enormous burdens on the people and paves the way for concessions to reaction. To meet the resistance of the people against growing burdens against effects of its policies like food scarcity and high prices, the national bourgeois Government often resort to large scale repression and increase the power of bureaucracy

A broad front is essential to resist these policies and sway the official policies in favour of the people by compelling through popular pressure. The conflict between the national bourgeoisie and the people, is also a serious conflict and the former will do everything to divide the latter by all possible means including suppression of anti Communism and appeal to communal passions. It should not be forgotten that the national bourgeois leadership will be concentrating its main fire against the CPI. It seeks to divide the democratic front by isolating the CPI. It makes desperate efforts to depose the CPI from its leading position in the [redacted] political and Parliamentary life. It will forge all

kinds of alliances, understandings, adjustments with the PSP and other parties to achieve this end. The CPI has to fight this offensive, strengthen its political position, go in for new allies and should be flexible enough to make all kinds of adjustments to defeat this game of the national bourgeoisie.

It will be suicidal if we surrender or relax our fight for democratic and economic advance under the plea of defending only the *status quo* against reaction. It will be suicidal if we give up our independent initiative, our independent political action and criticism, our fight against reactionary policies of the Congress regime, in the name of combating reaction. We will seal our own doom and we cease to appear as the alternative force in the minds of the people.

The aim of our tactics is not to keep in bay the present policies of the Congress but while fighting reaction, change the policies and increase the weight of the democratic forces against the national Congress vacillations also.

Therefore we must resist the anti mass policies of the Congress in particular its attempt to freeze agrarian relation, its conciliatory attitude to foreign capital and landlord interests policies which disrupt our national reconstruction of alliance with communal parties of anti-Communism suppression of mass struggles and administrative corruption, violation of the Constitution and the rule of law.

The struggle for a democratic path of national reconstruction for carrying forward the gains of our economy public sector strategic industries, help of Socialist countries must be carried on with greater vigour.

But even in this struggle we should not forget the earlier objective of combating reaction and a broad front for our struggle for a democratic path must take this into consideration and our approach methods of struggle slogans must keep in view the broader front against reaction that want to develop.

We must unhesitatingly lead mass struggles wherever necessary as we have been doing. Experience tells us that peaceful form of mass struggles is tremendously useful in getting a broad sympathy of our people, that our people hate the use of force by Government against defenceless population, that they are

not at a stage in which they seek to overthrow the Government by force. Therefore, we should stick to peaceful struggles from Satyagraha to mass struggle. Nothing isolates the Government more than wanton attack against the people fighting for their legitimate rights. Our fight against corruption, nepotism, communalism must be related to basic rights under the Constitution and our national outlook developed in the course of anti-imperialist struggle.

But a great task before us is that of politicalising our own masses and securing their intervention in political developments. Barring one or two States, our main masses hardly intervened politically except during elections—the issue of Kerala is the solitary exception. This is a basic weakness, reduces political activity to electioneering and makes us only parliamentarians. This has to be changed.

In consonance with this, a correct tactical orientation should be given to our day-to-day struggle—TU and Kisan activity. While pursuing this tactical line, we can never forget to wage an ideological fight against bourgeois ideology among the masses and inside our Party. The India-China issue has revealed how our party succumbs to all kinds of alien influences. This has to be fought on the basis of Marxism-Leninism.

Only a Party firmly based on Marxism-Leninism can pursue these tactics and achieve our immediate aims. Defending Marxism-Leninism against attacks, fighting the rampant revisionist tendencies in ideology and organisation, exposing those who seek to spread false ideas of Socialism, debunking Congress claims to it and educating the workers and masses in the true spirit of internationalism and Socialism, we must pursue flexible tactics to isolate the reactionary forces and take the next step forward. Those who fail to see the new danger, underestimate it, are unable to see that a differentiation is taking place among the bourgeoisie, do not see that game of imperialism and feel embarrassed to combine with the Government on certain occasions and do not see the importance of drawing Congress masses in the united front, do violence to Marxism. Their tactics *would imprison the masses in the narrow circle of economism and only facilitate the triumph of reaction.*

On The Draft Political Resolution For The National Council*

**S. G. Sardesai, Z. A. Ahmad,
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Significant developments have taken place in the international and national situation since the Amritsar Party Congress. Certain features noted at the Congress have become more pronounced. Some new features have appeared on the scene. While the new development broadly correspond to our earlier analysis, they also call for a new assessment of the situation and a new approach to the problems of the democratic movement.

International Situation

In this period, the outstanding development in the international sphere has been the reduction in war tension and the creation of a climate of negotiations.

The material power and moral prestige of the Soviet Union have grown tremendously. Soviet science and technology have made a gigantic advance. The economy of the Socialist countries, particularly of China, has made great strides.

The Soviet Union has confidently gone ahead with unilateral reduction in its armed forces. It has pressed forward the initiative in demanding total disarmament and the banning of nuclear weapons. It has still further concretised its proposals for building a stable peace. In result, even in the U.S. the

* This document was circulated to National Council members of the CPI for discussion in the National Council meeting in Calcutta on 6-12 May 1960 and circulated with the following Note:

The Central Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India has authorised the circulation among National Council members of the accompanying Draft Political Resolution for National Council submitted by four members of the Central Executive Committee.

warmongers have received a setback and the popular urge for ending the cold war has gained ground. The heads of the governments of USA, Britain and France have met the head of the USSR and the date for the much-desired Summit Conference has been fixed.

A number of countries in Africa have gained national independence and democracy has forged ahead in Africa and South America.

The world balance of forces has shifted still more visibly and decisively in favour of peace, freedom, democracy and socialism.

Our government and people have made a valuable contribution bringing about these changes.

The contradictions in the imperialist camp, intensified by the expansion of industry in Western Europe and Japan have weakened the capacity of the USA to compel other countries to line up with its policies.

The reduction in war tension and the prospect of preserving peace are the result of all these factors.

Despite these developments, the imperialists have no means reconciled themselves to peaceful co-existence. The blatant remilitarisation of Western Germany backed by American support; Sahara; the aggressive racialism in South Africa; US machinations in Japan and South America, are constant reminders that the imperialist drive towards war and colonial domination cannot be ended until it is defeated. There is no ground for complacency or resting on one's oars.

The most tragic development of this period has been the deterioration of the relations between India and China which is sought to be exploited by imperialists as well as the reactionaries in our country.

Under the conditions, our party must redouble its efforts to mobilise our people for:

- (i) Central and complete disarmament and the success of the Summit Conference.
- (ii) Support to African people in their struggle for freedom and for further strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity.

- (iii) Peaceful solution of the India-China border dispute and restoration of friendly relations between India and China.
- (iv) Peaceful solution of the outstanding problems between India and Pakistan through negotiations and normalisation of relations between the two neighbouring countries.

II. National Situation

India is moving forward along the path of independent capitalist development through the operation of the Five-Year Plans, despite many vicissitudes and setbacks. The strengthening of Indian economy in recent years is reflected in the growth of the public sector which occupies an important of three new steel plants and the development of machine building industries, the growth of increase in industrial production in the country as a whole.

The volume of Indian capital has considerably increased. The Soviet Union and other Socialist countries have given valuable and friendly assistance for the development of our basic industries. India has also imported large amount of foreign capital from capitalist countries, including huge loans from the USA.

In this development the import of foreign capital from imperialist countries on onerous terms, and in particular, private foreign capital, which has been increasing rapidly in recent years, undoubtedly constitutes a danger to the independent growth of our economy. It is also a weapon in the hands of imperialists to influence the political policies of our country. This danger has to be taken serious note of so that it can be effectively counteracted and fought. All the same it cannot be denied that in the last decade, the Indian bourgeoisie, despite the import of such capital, has been able to strengthen its position vis-a-vis imperialism and India is proceeding towards the building of an independent capitalist economy. This is so because the Indian bourgeoisie has the opportunity to utilise the Socialist camp and has a state in which it is the leading force.

But the actual economic development that is taking place is not only uneven from region to region, but is full of conflicts and contradictions which place serious obstacles in the path of the country's economic advance.

The pace of industrialisation lags far behind what is necessary and possible under the circumstances. Agriculture still continues to be bottleneck of planning because the remnants of feudalism have not been abolished and land relations have not been revolutionised giving land to the tillers and thereby unleashing the productive energies of the mass of the peasantry. The attempt to increase agricultural production mainly though technical improvements without carrying out basic agrarian reforms has produced very meagre results.

The path of building a capitalist economy in the country has brought with it the necessary concomitant of growing economic burdens on the people. Urban and rural unemployment is growing while prices, indirect taxation and monopoly profits continue to rise, real wages are depressed. Rationalisation leading to retrenchment and an increasing work-load is being enforced. Agricultural tenants are evicted on huge scale. Corrupt and anti-social elements are getting hold of the Congress and administration. The lot of the toilers and the middle strata is worsening day by day.

These conditions are leading to conflicts of policies not only between the ruling classes and the people, but also within the ruling classes themselves. The recent growth of Right reaction is a result of these conflicts.

The growing influence of Right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, in the course of last few years, indicates that a process of political differentiation is going on inside the ruling classes. While the Indian bourgeoisie as a class stands for industrialisation and independent capitalist development, a section of monopolists are more concerned with their narrow selfish interests than the development of Indian economy as a whole. They together with the big landlords are the main driving force behind Right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress. This differentiation is yet in its elementary stage and, therefore, there is as yet no polarisation within the class of the bourgeoisie. Nevertheless, the differentiation has already been producing conflicts of policies and is of great moment to the democratic movement.

A very significant development in our National political life is the emergence of the Swatantra Party with an independent platform of Right reaction, in open opposition to the policies of the Nehru Government. The formation of the Swatantra Party is an indication of the fact that the forces of Right reaction being not satisfied with putting pressure on the Congress from within are seeking to mount that pressure in a big way from outside.

The dangerous potentialities of the Swatantra Party should not be underestimated. It is seeking to play the role of the unifier of all reactionary and communal groups and parties in the country and is assuming their ideological and political leadership. While putting forward a blatant reactionary programme, it seeks to exploit the anti-Congress discontent of the middle classes arising from the corrupt and bureaucratic methods of Congress rule. It also works the feudal prejudices and ideas prevalent among the backward sections of our society. A section of Right-wing Congress leadership is sympathetically inclined towards it and links between Right reaction inside and outside the Congress are being strengthened.

The growing strength of Right reaction is the result of several factors:

Firstly since independence Indian monopoly capital has made significant strides.

Secondly the Congress Government by pursuing a policy of compromise with vested interests strengthen the economic position and therefore, the agrarian measures of the Congress Government have strengthened the position of a certain type of landlords employing either wage-workers or share-croppers and possessing a grip over trade in agricultural goods. This is increasingly nursing Right reaction in opposition to even the limited progressive measures for land reforms.

Thirdly the imperialists (primarily the US and its various agencies) pursue a policy of encouraging a Right opposition to Nehru in order to shift his policies further to the Right. Their incitement for a complete and permanent breach of the friendly relations between India and China for a military pact with Pakistan for the creation of a suitable climate for the import

of foreign capital in the private sector and for taking anti-democratic, anti-Communist measures are some of the glaring instances of their nefarious machinations.

Fourthly, the growing strength of the mass movements and democratic forces in the country and the increasing influence of the Communist-led Government in Kerala, scare the bourgeoisie as a result of which reactionary interests want to intensify the offensive against democracy and the Communist Party.

The trends that Right reaction, both inside and outside the Congress, is helping to develop are:

- (i) A reactionary modification of the present foreign policy pursued by the Nehru Government and a shift towards the Western Camp, a state of permanent hostility to China and therefore, disruption of Asian solidarity, hesitation to support the struggles of the colonial people.
- (ii) While adhering to the policy of industrial development, further concessions to big business, subordinating the public sector to the private monopolies and the creation of a suitable atmosphere for such a conciliatory attitude to private capital, especially American capital.
- (iii) Opposition to ceiling on landholding cooperative farming and state-trading.
- (iv) The undermining of the democratic set-up in the country and the suppression of the Communist Party.

From this platform of Right reaction, it is evident that it constitutes a growing danger to the democratic movement which can grow into the main danger if all the democratic forces do not fight it out with their combined strength and through common activities.

The policies which Right reaction advocates are to be distinguished from those of the pro-Nehru section of the Congress representing the interests of the national bourgeoisie as a class, as distinguished from the narrow and selfish urges of the big monopolies and big landlords, the pro-Nehru section advocates rapid industrialisation with emphasis on the public sector, certain limited measures of agrarian reform, cooperation

with both the capitalist as well as the socialist camp the maintenance of parliamentary democracy and the continuity of India's Independent Foreign Policy.

In pursuing this policy the pro-Nehru section makes compromises with foreign capital feudal landlords and Indian monopoly interest. It not only resists the Right reactionaries but also conciliates them. Such a dual policy is inherent in its character. But as it does not capitulate before the demands of the Right a conflict of policies has been growing steadily, in the background of a drift to the Right on the part of the Congress Government.

The most important manifestations of the shift to the Right on the part of the Congress Government in the recent period are that the Communist-led Government in Kerala was unconstitutionally removed, land reforms are being shelved or sabotaged, the emphasis on the public sector is reduced and the private monopolies are being favoured with the relaxation of the tax burden.

If recent years have witnessed a growing offensive of Right reaction, they have also witnessed powerful mass movements, often of state-wide significance, against the anti-people policies of the Congress Governments.

The mighty food struggle of Calcutta, the anti-betterment levy struggle of the Punjab peasantry, students' struggles in UP, working class struggles in Bombay, Calcutta and other industrial centres were characterised not only by a new popular heroism in the teeth of brutal police repression. They were equally characterised by their sweep and a massive, active support from all sections of the people, not directly involved in the struggle in question.

Mass radicalisation of the people and growing militancy are, therefore, no less a characteristic feature of the period than the growth of Right reaction. In fact, it is the most significant development from the point of view of the future of democracy and socialism.

This process of mass radicalisation has, however, not been accompanied by the strengthening of Left unity. In fact, Left

unity, instead of growing as an organised force, has been weakened and disrupted in this period and for this the responsibility lies on the shoulders of the PSP leadership, which in its blind anti-Communism, is aligning itself more and more with forces of the Right.

III. The Tasks of the Party

Under these conditions, the key task of the Communist Party is to work out and implement a tactical line which will unleash the united energies of popular forces which are under the influence of the traditional Left forces as also of the Congress. The central political objective of such a line has to be to arrest the drift to the Right and compel a move to the Left.

Leadership of mass struggles directed against the anti-people policies of Congress Governments, together with the independent mobilisation of the Communist Party and building its strength is, of course, the most important condition of a turn to the Left. But, under conditions when the masses are seriously divided between the Congress and the Left forces and Right reaction is mounting its offensive, it is essential to work out our tasks in a manner that the Party is able to fight for and defend the interests of the masses while simultaneously broadening the unity of all democratic forces inside and outside the Congress in the common task of fighting reaction and bringing about a shift to the Left.

In the working class movement, the opportunities, as also the necessity for united mass activity and actions, have grown.

Various decisions taken by the Tripartite Labour Conferences, particularly in respect of norms for minimum wages, rationalisation and the code of discipline are not being implemented by the Government. Such implementation is even being evaded or resisted. Dearness allowance is lagging behind the rapid rise in the cost of living. The Second Pay Commission's Report is totally unsatisfactory from the point of view of improving the living standards and conditions of employment of Central Government employees and has created the conditions for united action. Discrimination in the matter of the recognition of trade unions and the victimisation of trade union functionaries are causing widespread discontent.

Although the efforts of the AITUC and the unions affiliated to it for forging unity from the top have not yet yielded the desired results, the urge for unity from below is growing and taking shape.

The bourgeoisie and the Government attempt to utilise the urge for national reconstruction and national defence, for the purpose of increasing labour productivity and work-load and for depressing real wages in the interest of capitalist profits. The same urge properly guided by us can hasten the pace of National reconstruction while simultaneously improving working class conditions.

In this background, by a skilful leadership of the trade union movement and a proper appeal to their National pride, the Party must forge, among workers, the widest unity in action in defence of and enhancement of real wages, for trade union rights, against retrenchment and increase in work-load, etc.

In order to strengthen the peasant movement, the most urgent need is to broaden the base of the Kisan Sabha and raise the tempo of the Kisan movement for the immediate and effective implementation of the land reform measures promised or already undertaken by the various State Governments. Though the Congress leadership is going back on the Nagpur proposals for a ceiling on landholdings and State-trading, the initiative must be taken by the Communist Party and the mass organisations led by it to make the demand for implementation of the Nagpur resolutions with land to the tillers as the central slogan on the basis of maximum unity with all pro-peasant and progressive sections inside and outside the Congress.

In order to build the unity of all pro-peasant and progressive elements in the countryside for the carrying out of agrarian reforms and bringing immediate relief to the peasantry, it is essential that the Kisan Sabha should be developed as a united organisation of the entire peasantry regardless of the political differences that divide the peasant masses today. This cannot be done unless certain traditional sectarian methods of functioning the Kisan Sabhas are given up. The Kisan Sabha cannot possibly grow as a powerful united organisation of the peasantry as long

as it is functioned mainly as an anti-Congress platform of exposure and agitation, which is the prevailing pattern in most states. Besides, the almost complete identification of the Kisan Sabha with the Communist Party cannot but bar the entry into it of the Kisan masses following other political parties. The Kisan Sabha has to organise struggles and campaigns against the anti-peasant policies of the Congress Government but during the course of these campaigns and struggles it has to bring about greater and greater unity of the peasant masses following us and the Congress, in common actions. Unless this is borne in mind, the old sectarian tendencies of confining the Kisan Sabha to the mass base of the Communist Party will persist and consequently agrarian campaigns and struggles will fail to acquire the necessary tempo and sweep.

There are several issues on which conditions are now ripe for launching mass struggles and building up a broad Kisan movement and even a common movement of all the people in view of the growing food crisis, mounting taxation, the increasing grip of the money-lenders on the peasantry and agricultural workers, the price-scissor cheating the peasantry in two-fold ways by exacting from them higher prices for manufactured goods and by denying them a just price for their own products. A ringing call and mass mobilisation for food, for adequate credit, for a fair price, for fair wages for agricultural workers, for irrigation schemes, for lowering taxes and for a reasonable ceiling and the distribution of surplus land will get response from all sections of the peasants and even from groups, sections and individuals within the Congress for joint campaigns and common activities.

Furthermore, the Kisan Sabha, to grow as a powerful mass organisation should also be based on the immediate and day-to-day requirements of the mass of peasantry. An outstanding urge of every section of the peasantry is to increase production and to acquire the wherewithal to do so. The Kisan Sabha, should, therefore, take up the campaign of increasing agricultural production as one of its important campaigns and build the unity

of all sections of peasants through concrete practical assistance to them in the fulfilment of this task.

In the countryside, there are many other activities relating to the development works of the Community Projects, National Extension Services, Cooperative, etc. and construction works such as road-building, canal-digging, etc, which give enough scope for immediate joint work in order to serve the interest of the rural people and prevent the corrupt anti-social elements from grabbing the development resources. On account of the anti-Communist prejudices among many democratic elements, the task is not easy but by patient and persistent work the difficulties can be overcome.

Agricultural labourers constitute the most exploited and the most militant section of the rural masses. It is they who stand in most urgent need of improvement in living standards. Further, the strengthening of the democratic movements in the countryside necessitates the organisation of separate agricultural workers' unions as distinct from the Kisan Sabhas which today is a vital task for our Party. Without this, the most militant force which constitutes the backbone of all popular movements in rural areas cannot be fully roused and moved into action. It is this force that will be in the fore in the struggle for ceilings and redistribution of land which are the key items in our agrarian programme today.

The masses following the Communist Party are today divided from the masses following the Congress. The division between the two sections of the people makes it difficult to draw even the neutral masses into common movements. In order to raise the tempo of mass struggles to a higher, broader national plane, the Communist Party must do its utmost to end this division in the mass front, a division which helps Right reaction to thrive.

Let it be realised that the turn to the Right cannot be halted and a turn to the Left cannot be brought about by the strength of the Communist Party or even the Left forces alone. To fulfil this objective it is imperative that sections, groups and individuals within the Congress, who can be demarcated from Right reactionaries are drawn into common activities and common movements. The majority of those who belong to such elements are followers of Nehru. Among them are large sections of

intellectuals and the youth, who occupy an important position in the democratic movement. It is the duty of the Communist Party to create a suitable atmosphere for working jointly with them for the fulfilment of common tasks in the interests of the people.

There are issues on which the Communist Party can appeal to the Congress as an organisation for joint campaigns, such as the protest against the repression in South Africa, Algeria and other colonial and semi-colonial countries, popularisation of Panch Sheel and world peace and similar other anti-imperialist issues, because on these issues the Communist Party and the Congress have got almost identical stands. The anti-Communist prejudices of Nehru will make this task difficult but the Communist Party has to make unceasing efforts to this end.

In order to succeed, the Communist Party has to shake off all traces of dogmatism, sectarianism and reformism and make a national approach on every issue, learn to represent the best progressive sentiments of the people. We have to seek allies for the working class, however temporary and unstable they may be. We should be able to build up the broadest possible united front against the anti-people policies of the government from issue to issue, while concentrating fire against the Right reaction.

There should be no hesitation in forging such a united front approach. The growing radicalisation of the mass demands that the Communist Party should take the initiative to unleash the forces that can raise the democratic movement to a higher pitch. It should be realised that in the course of the last two years, it is not only Right reaction that has grown stronger, but simultaneously the masses have also grown more assertive and militant. Their urge for unity has grown. But the movement has come to a stage when the basis of unity needs still further broadening.

The initiative must be taken in various ways from issue to issue which may be summed up as follows:

- (i) Develop mass struggles for the achievement of the most urgent and pressing demands of the masses, for food, for higher wages, against eviction, etc. Actively support the demands for developmental requirements of backward regions.

- (ii) Build up a militant movement for radical agrarian reforms.
- (iii) Organise national campaigns and other joint activities in defence of non-alignment, the struggle for colonial liberation, parliamentary democracy and the progressive aspects of the Plan.
- (iv) Vigorous participation in constructive work by overcoming the resistance of bureaucrats and anti-social elements.
- (v) Carry on ideological struggles against all anti-democratic and anti-socialist trends.

While taking the initiative to develop common activities, the Communist Party shall never cease to play its independent role or weaken its independent mobilisation of the masses.

In exposing the anti-people policies of the Congress leadership, we must learn to make a differentiation in our approach towards the democratic sections and Right reactionaries inside the Congress. While our approach to the former should be persuasive, though critical, our attack against the latter shall be incisive.

One of the features of the period is the disruption of Left unity for which the leadership of the PSP is mainly responsible. We have, therefore, to expose the leadership of the PSP which has gone the reactionary way. But the PSP is not to be equated with the Swatantra Party or the Jan Sangh because the rank and file members of the PSP are interested in democracy and socialism, despite their strong anti-Communist prejudices, despite the fact that most of its leaders are associated with extreme reaction. Many members of the PSP belong to trade unions and other mass organisations with whom unity in action is essential.

The Communist Party has always stood for building the unity of all genuine Left elements and has seriously worked for it along with its efforts to build the unity of all democratic forces. Despite the fact that the PSP leadership is seriously disrupting the forces of the Left, there still are certain influential Left parties and groups in some provinces which have often joined common movements together with the Communist Party. The Communist

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Party will never cease to keep them in or win them back for the common people's movement, because wherever they exist, their united front with the Communist Party serve as a powerful lever for unleashing the broad democratic forces.

But the success, in all these tasks, depends upon the strength of the mass base of the Communist Party itself. Therefore, the members of the Communist Party must strengthen their links with the masses, learn from them and give them the political education required for a bigger, broader and stronger democratic movement.

Draft Political Resolution on Current Political Situation*

**Read before the National Council Meeting of the
CPI held in Calcutta on 6-12 May, 1960**

Developments of great significance have taken place since the CPI met two years ago. During this period, we have three meetings of the National Council. The first meeting which was held in October 1958 at Madras took decision on a number of matters. The other two meetings of the National Council – July 1959 at Trivandrum and November 1959 at Meerut – discussed some specific problems (Kerala and India-China relations). The overall political and economic situation, as it has developed since December 1958, could not be discussed nor the tactics of the Party worked out. This is the main task before this meeting of the CEC – a correct appraisal of the situation and the evolving of the tactics of the Party in this situation. The conclusions of the CEC will have to be placed before the next meeting of the National Council.

Relaxation of Tension

During the year 1959 and the first months of 1960 the world situation has undergone a far-reaching transformation. The

This Draft Political Resolution was placed in the National Council Meeting of the CPI held in Calcutta on 6-12 May 1960 with the following NOTE preceding the Draft Political Resolution:

A draft Political Report was placed by the General Secretary at the Secretariat meetings in April 1960. After discussion in the Secretariat, the present draft was prepared by him and presented to the CEC meeting (April). There was general discussion on this report in the April CEC meeting but no decision was taken on it. Hence the document is being circulated for information and reference only. Moreover any modification which the author would have liked to make in the light of the discussion is not either contained in this draft.

However, it was decided by the CEC that instead of presenting any report to the National Council meeting, only a draft Political Resolution on the current political situation should be presented.

essence of that transformation is that at no time since the end of the Second World War has the prospect of ending international tension and of establishing peace been so bright as it is now.

This transformation is not fortuitous. It is a product of a long period of development. It is a product of the profound change that has taken place in the correlation of forces on a world scale.

By the time 1965 is reached, half the industrial production of the world will be accounted for by Socialist countries. The economic, political and military might of the Socialist world has grown tremendously. The launching of the artificial planet and the ICBM, a vivid demonstration of the gigantic technological advance made by the USSR and irrefutable evidence of the tipping of the balance in favour of socialism have forced rethinking among the more sober of the imperialists. This, together with the bold proposals and measures of the USSR Summit Conference, cessation of nuclear tests, unilateral reduction of armed forces - which have convinced even many sceptics about the peaceful intentions of the USSR and been welcomed by peace-loving peoples and several Governments have created a new climate, a climate of peace. They have heightened the moral isolation of warmongers and dealt heavy blows at the policy of brinkmanship. Inside America itself, a profound yearning has grown for putting an end to the cold war.

Talks between the Prime Minister of the USSR and the heads of the Governments of USA, Britain and France, the *de facto* suspension of nuclear tests by USA and Britain, the unanimous resolution on disarmament adopted by the United Nations General Assembly, the beginning of work by the ten-nation disarmament commission and above all, the decision of the leaders of the Governments of the USSR, USA, Britain and France to meet on May 16 at Paris, are symptomatic of the new climate.

This period has also witnessed a mighty upsurge of the freedom struggle in Africa, the winning of political independence by a number of African countries and popular victories in several States of Latin America. In the context of the growing strength of the socialist economic system and of the socialist world market,

these developments have further narrowed the sphere of unrestricted imperialist exploitation Bonds of economic co-operation between socialist States on one hand and the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America on the other have grown stronger

Another event to which very little attention has been paid by us is the economic revival of *other* capitalist countries (especially the countries of Western Europe) and the resultant sharpening of antagonism inside the imperialist camp Having repaired the ravages of war, these countries have expanded and modernised their industries They are able to compete in several fields (including export of capital) where only a few years ago, America reigned supreme The share of US in world capitalist production once above 50 per cent is now approaching 40 per cent The power of America to compel other capitalist countries to toe its line has visibly weakened It is not without significance that it was the British Government that initiated the shift from the position of cold war even before America had started doing so

All these events— the enormous strengthening of the Socialist world and visible demonstration of its strength in economic political as well as military spheres and winning of national independence by several countries and the further disintegration of the colonial systems the sharpening of antagonisms among the imperialists powers have created new favourable conditions At no time during the last 15 years have the forces of socialism national liberation and peace been so strong At no time, the position of imperialists, including American imperialists so much undermined and warmongering so heavily discredited At no time therefore, the possibilities of eliminating the danger of war and of winning national freedom for countries still in bondage so great

Of course it has not been nor could it be a smooth and continuous process free from ups and downs, free from zigzags Though compelled by circumstances beyond their control, to abandon, at least for the time being, the plans of securing world mastery through world war, the imperialists have not yet reconciled themselves to peaceful co-existence Policies of cold war, though suffering heavy defeats still continue to operate The

revival on a new basis of the Baghdad Pact, the US-Japan Agreement, the French atomic test in Sahara, the vast and menacing revival of militarism in West Germany—to mention only a few—show this. Though forced to beat retreat from many areas, the French imperialists still try to drown the Algerian people's movement in blood. No dent has yet been made in the racist dictatorship that holds South Africa in its grip and which recently perpetrated the ghastly massacre that has shocked the conscience of the peoples of the world. Moreover, the imperialists, especially the US imperialists still continue their policy of intervention in the affairs of countries of Asia and Africa. They are still trying to corrupt and win over the most reactionary elements among the ruling classes of those countries by economic aid by intrigues and pressure, by raising the bogey of Communism and by other methods, not hesitating to resort even to assassination of prominent political leaders. What has happened in Pakistan is a stern reminder of the menace that still hangs over the head of many Asian countries.

All this needs to be noted in order that the complex and many-sided aspect of the process that is going on is grasped and complacency does not grow. At the same time it is necessary to stress the indisputable fact that *taken as a whole* the dominant trend in the recent period has been a trend towards lessening of tension towards peaceful co-existence towards national liberation. It is this solid achievement that holds out prospects of even greater victories in future and should give courage and confidence to the people to redouble their efforts.

For India, which has made a notable contribution to the cause of world peace, these developments are certainly a matter of joy. There can be no doubt that further easing of tension will enable India to secure greater help from Socialist States, as well as from others and strengthen her economy. We are therefore, vitally interested in the success of the Summit Conference, in cessation of nuclear tests and in disarmament. We must do everything in our power to achieve these objectives. On these issues, the Government and the people of India are one (slogans on *disarmament*)

Recent periods have also seen improvement of India's relations with Pakistan. There is no doubt that to a considerable extent that is due to the modification of the policy of American imperialism towards India, its resort to other methods after having failed in the tactics of blackmail. Nevertheless, the fact remains that India's relation with Pakistan has improved and this improvement, irrespective of our opinion about the political system in Pakistan, corresponds to the desire as well as national interests of the peoples of the two countries. Our Party which has always advocated fraternal relation and close cooperation between India and Pakistan rejoices in this development.

(Slogans for further improvement of relation with Pakistan stand to be taken in Parliament on Berubari)

But it is profoundly regrettable that precisely in this period of maximum relaxation of international tension there has grown tension between the two countries that gave the world the historic Panch Sheel—the two countries whose friendship constituted the very foundation of Asian unity. Few events in Asia have so gladdened the hearts of imperialists and reactionaries as this deterioration of relation between India and China.

The easing of international tension which has been already referred to as the greatest event in international relations since the end of the Second World War confronts us with the task of transforming this favourable situation into *stable peace*. It also poses certain theoretical and practical questions of immense importance. The most important of these questions is the relation that exists between the relaxation of tension on one hand and the struggle against reaction inside each country on the other.

We must not Comrades, understand this relation in a mechanical way. It is indisputable that relaxation of tension facilitates the struggle against reaction inside each country. It is equally indisputable that the weakening and defeat of reaction everywhere especially in a major country strengthens world peace. In that sense, the two developments are *inter-related*. But it is necessary especially at the present moment when revisionists have stepped up their activities, to guard against the tendency of drawing over-simplified conclusions and to imagine

that relaxation of international tension must necessarily be accompanied by "all-sided advance" everywhere. The fact has to be noted that it is precisely in the period of greatest prestige for world socialism and maximum relaxation of international tension that de Gaulle has strengthened further his personal rule in France, Labour has suffered its heaviest defeat in Britain since the end of war, Nazism has openly raised its ugly head in Germany, the Rightists have won major successes in Ceylon and developments of a most disturbing nature are taking place in Indonesia. Also, as we shall note later there has been, in this very period an intensification of the offensive of the Right in our own country.

At first sight such contradictory developments might not appear "natural". Those who try to ascribe all reactionary events to a single cause (like war-tension) and trace their origin to a single source (like American imperialism) will find it hard to explain them. But there is nothing surprising in these developments. They arise from the *basic character* of imperialism and capitalism. Relaxation of international tension or even transition to peaceful co-existence cannot change that basic character. On the contrary it is quite likely that with the relaxation of tension which can compel the imperialists to reconcile themselves at least temporarily to co-exist with the socialist world—the efforts of the imperialists to influence the ruling classes in capitalist and underdeveloped countries and efforts of the bourgeoisie and landlords to prevent reforms will be *intensified*. New methods will be devised to divide the masses, to spread illusions and even to suppress the popular movement. The success of the struggle in each country for democratic advance for people's well-being, for social progress will depend in the final analysis, on the strength of the popular movement *inside the country*.

Growth of the Mass Movement

What is the position of that movement in India? What are the weaknesses it suffers from? What are the new dangers confronting it? How to overcome those dangers? Such are some of the questions that we have to answer.

Nearly two years ago, at Amritsar, we noted *three* major features of the political situation

We noted that in the period since Palghat mass discontent against the Government had accumulated and mass radicalisation had grown

We noted that although the Congress still wielded very big influence in all States, its hold on the people was weakening. We noted that the growth of the Communist Party and of genuine democratic forces, though considerable, was still lagging far behind the growth of popular discontent and that parties of extreme reaction were utilising the situation to consolidate their own position and to mount offensive against the progressive aspects of the policies of the Government.

All those features of the situation have *continued* and got further *accentuated* during the last two years.

In the period following Amritsar popular dissatisfaction with the policies of the Government especially its economic policies has grown in every part of the country. The attempt to build an independent capitalist economy by methods which we criticised at Palghat has not only meant a slow rate of advance but also inevitably meant imposition of coloss' burdens on the people in various forms—taxes, rising prices, fall in real wages and so on. Forced to resist these burdens, people in many areas have taken to the path of struggle. Some of these struggles acquired vast dimensions and drew into their orbit lakhs of people. The most notable of these struggles were

¹ The Jamshedpur Strike

The UP Food satyagraha

¹ The Punjab anti-betterment levy struggle

¹ The two food struggles in Bengal

The anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar

¹ Government employees' strike in Madhya Pradesh

The strike of Bank employees

(this part needs to be elaborated—some details given of these struggles, what they achieved and so on. Also some of the *main lessons* of the struggles have to be drawn, e.g.

The wide popular support that can be secured if correct issues are chosen and a bold lead given.

—The political impact that even struggles on economic issues can have if they are conducted on a big scale and linked directly with certain policy questions.)

Many of these struggles were led by the Communist Party or by mass organisations affiliated to the AITUC and AIKS. Fought with doggedness and determination, they have, in several cases, won concessions or at least halted the offensive of the ruling classes. They have enhanced the prestige of the Communist Party among the people.

In the context of increasing discontent against the Congress Government and its policies and growing mass radicalisation, it is not surprising that the Communist-led Government of *Kerala* began to exert increasing pull on the people of all States and became the target of attack of reactionaries. In the entire period since Amritsar, Kerala was the focal point of the popular interest.

Efforts to overthrow the Kerala Government by violence were made almost immediately after the Devicolam election which smashed the hopes of defeating the Government constitutionally. That effort made with the backing of several leaders of the Congress High Command failed. Therefore, after a few months a new attempt was made this time spearheaded by forces of communal and caste reaction (leaders of the Catholic Church and Nair Service Society) and with the blessing and hardly-veiled support of the leaders of the Central Government. It was an eloquent demonstration of the length to which those who constantly talk of truth, non-violence and secularism and who condemn the most legitimate and peaceful mass action as "disruptive" would go in order to achieve their ends.

The attack on the Kerala Government was launched not because it had lost mass influence--as was alleged by the leaders of the Congress--but for just the opposite reason. Its crime was that it stood out as a glaring contrast to Congress Governments. By its defence of the interests of the people, it was winning increasing support from among the toiling people of Kerala. Also its measures were having 'dangerous' impact on the people of other States--discrediting the Congress, drawing the people towards the Communist Party, heightening its prestige. Kerala

was accelerating the process of mass radicalisation. In a period of growing discontent, it was becoming a rallying point. Hence it was looked upon by the Congress as a menace.

In the struggle to defend the Kerala Government against the onslaught of the Congress-PSP-Muslim League alliance, we based ourselves on the democratic sentiments of our people—condemning the attack on education, criticising alliance of political parties with forces of communalism and casteism, demanding adherence by the Central Government to the spirit of the Indian Constitution. Ours was a broad democratic appeal which found support even among opponents of the Communist Party and put the Congress including Nehru, politically and morally on the defensive. The "Defend Kerala" campaign of May-July 1959 grew into the biggest all-India campaign conducted by our Party in its entire history. And when the Central Government dismissed our Ministry, protest meetings, strikes, hartals and demonstrations of vast dimension took place all over the country. Seldom since 1947 had the country been so deeply stirred on a political issue.

But soon after this, the political situation got transformed adversely by the India-China dispute. Elections were held in Kerala in this context and with Congress, PSP and Muslim League having forged an electoral alliance relying heavily on the support of the Catholic Church and the Nair Service Society. Despite all this, despite the role played by Ministers of the Central Government in the election campaign and despite the tactics of intimidation and terror resorted to by our opponents, the Communist Party and its allies increased their poll by over 12 lakh -thereby refuting the thesis which had formed the basis for dismissal of the Ministry.

The methods by which the Kerala Government was overthrown and the Congress came back to power have serious portent for the future. A dangerous precedent has been created. The powers of the President were arbitrarily used, at the behest of the Congress Party which rules the Centre against a State Government which tried to serve the interests of the toiling masses -dealing a heavy blow against democratic conventions and against workers and

peasants. Further, the open alliance of the Congress with casteism and communalism cannot but strengthen and give fillip to these obscurantist forces in Kerala as well as outside. History teaches that anti-communism, in the final analysis, serves only reaction.

A number of bye-elections and municipal elections in other States (local elections in Tamilnad, Nowgong, Bhopal, Chandernagore) also show that the trend away from the Congress has, by no means been arrested but continues, though in different degrees in different areas.

Some notable successes, too, have been won in this period, including the bifurcation of the bilingual Bombay State and the formation of the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat.

All this would be denied by none. At the same time, it would be a gross exaggeration to think that the popular forces have made a big headway, that the correlation of forces has changed basically since Amritsar or even that a *major shift* has taken place among the masses in most parts of the country. The struggles, though numerous, were mostly local and economic in character and did not rise to the level where they could bring about a big change in the political position of the masses.

India-China Dispute

A factor which has exerted tremendous *negative* influence on the mass movement, hampered its growth and even weakened it has been the dispute between India and China. This dispute has helped the extreme Right in our political life, confused the middle-of-the-way forces and weakened the link between our Party and its natural allies, especially among the intelligentsia.

For months, this dispute has dominated the Indian scene. For some time, it pushed everything, including Kerala, to the background. It has affected our people as perhaps no other event since the achievement of freedom.

Tibet and the India-China disputes have revealed, as no other incident in recent years, how powerful and well-entrenched those forces are who desire to "modify" our foreign policy, and how wide is the support they enjoy from the monopolist-controlled press. The extreme Right of the Congress, the Swatantra Party, the

PSP and the SP, the Jan Sangh, the Ganatantra Parishad—all joined hand to lead the assault on Nehru's "weak" policy which, it was alleged, had exposed the country to grave dangers. The Thimmayya episode was staged in this very period which, if successful, would have meant the removal of the Defence Minister, Krishna Menon and the intrusion of the military in civil affairs, with dangerous implications for Parliamentary Democracy. Voices were raised for severing of diplomatic relations with China and for "police action" to compel China "to vacate Indian territory." Demand was made for the banning of the Communist Party.

To some extent the tension has eased in recent weeks—especially after the acceptance by Premier Chou En-lai of the invitation to come to Delhi. This meeting will be of crucial importance not merely for future relation between our country and China but for the Indian democratic movement itself. The situation though better remains full of dangerous possibilities.

In view of the menace that has arisen it has become more than ever an urgent and paramount task to unite all the forces who desire to defend the present foreign policy and to settle the dispute with China peacefully. Barring the Communist Party the bulk of these forces are inside the Congress or among independents who support Nehru. It is with them, above all, that we have to unite (experience of conferences for defence of non-alignment held recently in several States and of the Conference in Delhi).

Growth of the Right

Comrades we have stated earlier that despite several big struggles that have been fought no major shift has taken place since Amritsar in the position of the masses in most parts of the country. This, however, is not all. This period has also witnessed the accentuation of certain trends of an ominous character.

(1) Unfolding the offensive of the extreme Right against the progressive content of India's foreign policy against the extension of the Public Sector, against land reforms, the organisation of the Swantantra Party with an avowedly reactionary programme, the strengthening of parties of communal reaction—

Akalis in Punjab, Jan Sangh in UP, merging of Janata Party of Bihar with the Swatantra.

(2) A significant shift of the Indian Government itself to the Right and tightening of the grip of the Right over the Congress organisation.

(3) Repeated betrayal of the masses by the dominant leadership of the PSP; establishment of close contact between the leaders of the PSP and the Rightwing of the Congress; disruption of Left unity in Maharashtra and West Bengal.

All these reactionary developments have been further facilitated by the India-China dispute.

It would not be correct to say that the Right (inside and outside the Congress) has extended its mass base. At the same time, it cannot be denied that the Right has become more active, more blatant, more asserting. Contact between the Right inside the Congress and outside has become closer. The role of the PSP has brought added strength to the Right.

Who are those Rights? What do they stand for?

On these questions tremendous confusion prevails inside the Party. No unified tactics are possible unless this confusion is cleared.

That the Rights are, in the main, political representatives of the big bourgeoisie and landlords is generally accepted in our Party. This alone, however, does not take us very far.

Some comrades may think that the emergence of the Swatantra Party signifies that the Indian bourgeoisie has already split or is about to split into a collaborating and a national section—the collaborating section consisting mainly of the big bourgeoisie, who back the Swatantra Party. The Swatantra Party's attack on the public sector, on planning itself, on any talk of land reforms, on State trading, on the foreign policy of the Government and its demand for a pro-Western orientation may be taken to mean that the collaborationist big bourgeoisie is behind all these reactionary slogans.

If this reading of the situation were correct, then there can be no doubt that we are confronted with a very grave situation. Due to the position that the big bourgeoisie occupies in our economy and

in our political life and due to its control over the press which has become a powerful moulder of public opinion, the danger of a pro-imperialist counter-revolution, leading to the total abandonment of non-alignment, as well as of the path of independent economic development would be imminent and menacing. In such a situation, the only correct line for the Communist Party would be to defend what still exists of the progressive policies and rally round the Nehru Government.

In order, however, to come to the conclusion that the bourgeoisie has split, it is not enough to point to the slogan of Swatantra Party and the speeches of its leaders. The concrete international and internal situation, the position of the Indian bourgeoisie *vis-a-vis* imperialism on the one hand and *vis-a-vis* the Indian people on the other should be shown to be such as would warrant such an analysis.

Several times in the past, the Party had committed mistakes by basing itself on the understanding that the big bourgeoisie had gone over to imperialism.

However since 1951 our analysis has been that the Indian bourgeoisie as a whole, including the big bourgeoisie, is the national bourgeoisie.

At Palghat we characterised the Government of India as "a bourgeois landlord Government in which the bourgeoisie is the leading force. We further stated that "its policies are motivated by the desire to develop India along independent capitalist lines".

In contrast to the period of the First Five-Year Plan, it was noted that the Second Plan marked a significant change. The Government had abandoned the earlier abject dependence on US and British imperialists for capital goods and, even haltingly, the first steps for securing the help of the Soviet Union for basic industries were taken.

There can be no two opinions that during the period since Palghat, the position of the big bourgeoisie has been strengthened. True, the democratic forces have certainly grown but they have not grown to such an extent as to threaten bourgeois rule.

Why then should this big bourgeoisie, which played an important role in the struggle for India's political freedom at a

time when British imperialism was so powerful and in actual military occupation of the country, think of going over to imperialism today when its economic position is far stronger, when imperialism, is far weaker and when the existence of the socialist world and the Socialist world market help India enormously to strengthen her economic and political independence?

Has the big bourgeoisie abandoned its desire to develop along the lines of independent capitalism? There is nothing in the developments of the last few years since Palghat to come to such a conclusion. In other words no important section of the Indian bourgeoisie would like to join the imperialist camp and be content with a backward economy. If some leaders of the Swatantra Party come out against the very idea of planning, this need not be taken to be the view of the big bourgeoisie as such. It is remarkable that the FICCI officially came out in support of a big Third Plan. Actually, the controversy that the Federation is engaged just now is not about planning or the size of the Plan but about the share of the private sector in the proposed bigger Third Plan. And this very controversy is a measure of the aspirations of India's big bourgeoisie along the lines of independent capitalist development.

This does not, however, mean that real dangers *do not* exist. We must realise that within the national bourgeoisie, its *Rightwing* has become stronger. Certain extreme reactionary trends have grown. In the main, the trends are --

(1) A reactionary modification of the present foreign policy a shift towards the Western Powers. A state of permanent hostility towards China and, therefore, disruption of Asian solidarity. Hesitation to support the struggles of the colonial peoples

(2) While adhering to the policy of industrial development, further concessions to big business. Whittling down of the public sector, creation of a "suitable atmosphere" for and conciliatory attitude towards foreign private capital, especially American capital.

(3) Sabotage of agrarian reforms.

(4) Undermining of Parliamentary democracy and suppression of the Communist Party.

More and more, these trends are coming into the open They find expression, though often in a veiled way, in speeches of a number of leaders and in the editorials of several leading newspapers owned by the big monopolists

Comrades, it is in this context of the growing offensive of the Right that the significance of the formation of an open party like the Swatantra has to be grasped Comprising within its ranks a number of big bourgeoisie and big landlord elements, some ex Generals former Maharajahs, American lobby men like Masani and Munshi, as well as disgruntled politicians of various hues the Swatantra Party has nevertheless acquired a certain amount of respectability due to Shri Rajagopalachari and Prof Ranga The Right inside the Congress is emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra The Swatantra finds active and powerful allies among the Right inside the Congress Their links are often quite close and apparent The aim is not the removal of the Congress from power—the Swatantra is quite conscious of its weakness—but to push the Congress *further to the Right*

Striving to build itself up as the main party of the Opposition in the coming general elections so that its capacity to pressurise the Congress may increase still further the Swatantra Party is skilfully utilising the popular discontent against the Government It argues that shortage of foodgrains is due to the killing of incentive' of the landed interests by agrarian reforms that high prices of industrial goods are due to the "inequitous" taxation system Also it plays upon the peasants' fear of cooperatives to discredit the agrarian reforms It thunders against corruption and nepotism with a view to discredit the public sector and planned development It openly assails the foreign policy of the Government of India arguing that this policy has left us without friends' and advocates 'defence' pacts with Pakistan and with countries of South-East Asia threatened by "Chinese expansionism" so that American military aid can be secured on 'honourable terms'

The Swatantra Party is striving to build alliance with parties of communal reaction in several States—with the Akalis in Punjab, with Jan Sangh in UP In some places it also seeks agreement

with the PSP On a number of issues, the Swatantra, the Jan Sangh and the PSP have acted concertedly This unity was strikingly revealed during the Thimmayya episode and the tension between India and China A special target of the campaign of these parties has been Mr Krishna Menon, the Defence Minister The wide publicity given to the utterances of the leaders of the Swatantra Party in the big bourgeois press is meant to project it in the consciousness of the people and build it up as the weapon to pressurise the Congress

All this must be noted We have to lay bare the pretensions of the Swatantra Party, expose its real character and wage a determined *ideological-political* battle to prevent it from capitalising the anti-Government discontent But all this notwithstanding, it would be a serious mistake to *concentrate fire* on the Swatantra Party and its allies, to argue that the "main danger" comes from them, to *exaggerate* their power and influence The main forces of the Right whose class character as well as outlook is essentially the same as that of the Swatantra, still continue to be inside the Congress To forget this would mean to ignore the realities of the Indian situation

The Government's Shift to the Right

The rise of the Swatantra and a certain amount of strengthening of the forces of communal reaction (Punjab and UP) could not have taken place but for the policies of the Congress itself Moreover, if the Congress Governments have shifted to the Right in recent years, that shift – it is necessary to stress, is not primarily due to pressure *from outside* Long before the Swatantra was formed, big business which was once apprehensive of several aspects of the Second Five-Year Plan, had regained confidence for they had seen the contrast between the Government's deeds and words

The primary reason of the shift to the Right lies in the pull of reaction inside the Congress itself – the influence of big business whose wealth and power has steadily increased and of landlords, especially on the State Ministries

This shift to the Right has found concrete manifestation in the Central Government's budgets of the last two years, the virtual abandonment of State-trading and scuttling of agrarian reforms after the brave resolutions adopted at Nagpur, the alliance with Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and with communal and caste forces in Kerala, the arbitrary dismissal of the Kerala Government and in a variety of other ways.

*For industrialisation of the country, the growing reliance is on the profit-motive of the bourgeoisie -both Indian and foreign

*For development of agriculture, the increasing emphasis is on such things as irrigation, manures, better seeds, while quietly dropping all talks of agrarian reforms although facts have shown that in absence of such reforms, the bulk of these facilities get cornered and utilised by the landlords and the upper strata of the peasantry and does not reach the mass of peasants.

For stabilising the rule of the Congress, whose influence though still great, is declining, the increasing dependence is on the power of money, on caste and communal sentiments and even on alliance with avowedly reactionary forces when the "situation" demands it. Even the word Socialism is now uttered far less frequently than before.

Such practices are justified by Congress leaders in the name of "practical politics", on the plea of "pragmatism" and "freedom from dogmas". The net result, however, is the strengthening of the forces of the Right in our economic and political life and further shift of the Government itself to the Right.

Thus, the causes for the shift to the Right are to be found in the developments of the last few years. While attempting to implement the Second Plan the Government met with tremendous difficulties. They could be overcome by a move to the Left, by attacking the position of foreign capital and Indian monopolists, by real land reforms. But the policies of the Government have strengthened precisely these elements, whose grip over the Government as well as the Congress Party has increased. They pressurise the Government to solve the difficulties by laying colossal burdens on the people. The democratic movement grew in stiff opposition to these anti-people policies. The formation of

the Communist Government in Kerala and its activities further strengthened the democratic movement. The challenge that arose then, in however nascent a form it might have been, was to the basic policies of the Congress. This was taking place precisely at a time when the bourgeoisie, in order to get over difficulties, had to think in terms of further burdens on the people. This could be done only by attacking democracy and moving Right. Kerala is just an indication of the extent to which the Congress with the influence of big business and landlords enormously strengthened, would be prepared to go when faced with a serious challenge to its policies.

The shift to the Right, however, has been a complex process, the result of intense push and pull among different sections of the ruling circles as well as between the ruling circles and the people. In relation to the Right, the policy pursued by the Nehru Government is not merely one of conciliation but one of *conciliation and resistance*. Inevitably, therefore, *conflicting and opposing trends* have manifested themselves.

It may be noted, for example, that this very period has witnessed closer friendship than ever between the USSR and India and further growth of economic relation between them. The callous disregard of the verdict of the general elections in Kerala was followed by bowing to the demand for Samyukta Maharashtra. Many more such instances can be cited.

While, therefore, the trend to the Right of the Indian Government is unmistakable, that trend itself must not be understood in too mechanical a way -as a continuous and all sided to the Right. Nor should one ignore the growth of conflicting trends and tendencies.

Results of the Second Plan

The results of the economic policies of the Government have to be examined in this background.

The Second Five-Year Plan has achieved certain important results (iron and steel, cement, engineering, chemicals, etc.). To ignore or even minimise this would be utterly wrong. The industrial base of our economy has become stronger. A large

number of manufactured goods that were formerly imported are now produced inside the country India has been launched on the path of independent (capitalist) development There is every reason to believe that this process will be carried forward by the 3rd Plan (elaborate and give figures)

It is also an important fact that a number of agreements have been made with the USSR and other socialist States which have helped us directly and also enabled us to make deals with capitalist countries on favourable terms (elaborate)

At the same time, the overall picture presented by our economy is far from reassuring A number of contradictions noted by us earlier have sharpened creating a critical situation in several spheres and led to results some of which are definitely disquieting

Thanks to the refusal to carry out agrarian reforms the agrarian basis of our economy on which depend nearly 80 per cent of our people for livelihood and which contributes half of our national income remains weak and even precarious Despite the spending of nearly a thousand crores of rupees for agricultural development the increase in foodgrain production has been meagre resulting in heavy dependence on PL 480 Moreover the prices of foodgrains have risen continuously

The targets of the 2nd Plan which were already modest in terms of needs of the people, have been reduced by nearly 25% Several vital projects have been postponed for the 3rd Plan

Even to meet these lower targets the burden of additional taxation has been double of what was anticipated and practically this entire burden has been placed on the common man (contrast between direct and indirect taxes) Deficit-financing has been resorted to on a heavy scale, resulting in steep rise in prices

Massive concessions have been made to the private sector In the first three years of the Plan the total investment in the public sector industries by the Central Government has been Rs 414 crores of which the three steel plants account for 360 crores Investments by State Governments have been only about 11 crores Yet in the same period, the investments in industries in the *private sector* accounted for 563 crores The

private sector remains in a dominant position and has steadily pushed ahead.

—There has been heavy drawing on our sterling reserves and contracting of foreign loans, far greater than was anticipated.

--While profits have reached dizzy heights, real wages have declined, thanks to the continuous rise in prices.

--National income which was expected to rise by about 25 per cent during the operation of the 2nd Plan has risen by only 10 per cent in three years. In view of the growth of population, the rise in per capita income would be even less.

—Unemployment figures have steadily mounted.

Another feature should be noted. There has been continuous rise in foreign private investment (from 255 crores in 1948 to 508 crores in 1957). The bulk of this represents reinvestment of profits. While the total *quantum* of foreign private capital in relation to the entire capital in this country is not large and Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate, foreign capital continues to occupy important position in several vital sectors of our economy such as coal, as well as sectors where fabulous profits are made such as tea. This means a perennial drain on our resources and hampers the growth of the public sector.

It must be noted that a number of important concessions have been made to foreign private capital. Restrictions in the matter of percentage of equity, capital of foreigners in joint concerns were relaxed. Concessions were given in the matter of taxation. Assurances were given in regard to export of profits and repatriation of capital.

The Industrial Policy Resolution, reserving further expansion of important industries like oil and steel, has been modified. Foreign monopolists have been given the right to prospect oil. An American steel project in partnership with Indian monopolists in the private sector is being considered.

Further, the links that are being forged between Indian big business and their counterparts in imperialist countries creates certain new vested interests, which can exercise dangerous political influence in a reactionary direction. The modification of the *Industrial Policy Resolution* and the persistent wooing of

American private capital by Indian big business and by several Ministers, especially the Finance Minister Morarji Desai enhance this danger.

We say all this, Comrades, not because we want to belittle what has been achieved during the last few years by our people. The devotion, resourcefulness and technical efficiency displayed by our workers and our engineers in building many of the highly complex plants, show that they are as good as any in the world. At the same time, the fact remains that what has been achieved is far less than what could be achieved. When we remember the *four objectives* that were set forth at the time when the Second Plan was formulated, when we remember the *expectations* that the Plan roused, we cannot but admit that the results have been meagre. There has been some strengthening of national economy and some amount of industrial development. But this itself has been of a spasmodic and erratic nature. The biggest sector of national economy, agriculture, remains perilously dependent on monsoon.

While the *main burden* of the development *has been* laid on the mass of the people, the *main fruits* have been garnered by big business and to some extent by the landlords, allied to them. This is the most concrete and tangible meaning of the shift to the Right. The contrast between the wealth of the few and poverty of the many has grown more staggering than ever. In this connection, we may recall what we said at Palghat:

"Due to all this and the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the Government to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions. They retard the sweeping away of the obstacles that stand in the way of India's development. They impose colossal burdens on the people, impoverish them, thus preventing stable and continuous expansion of the internal market."

The enormous concentration of wealth in a few hands, the heavy expenditure by the Government in its schemes and the monopoly of political power enjoyed by the Congress have led to

increasing degeneration of the ruling party, forging of links between big business and landlords on one hand and Congress bosses on the other, and rampant corruption. One of the direct results of this has been that the public sector, so vital for our economic growth, no longer evokes that enthusiasm which it did once.

To suppress the struggles arising from the discontent against these policies, the Congress Governments in all the States have continuously strengthened the repressive apparatus of the State, incurring ever heavier expenditure on the police, and mounting new offensives against popular rights and liberties. Significant in this connection were measures that were taken against the workers of Jamshedpur, against peasants of Punjab and against the food satyagraha in West Bengal.

Comrades, all these are not fortuitous. Nor are they a temporary phenomenon or product of extraneous factors. They arise from certain policies which have been operating—the attempt to build an independent capitalist economy *without* resolute action against the entrenched position of foreign capital, *without* radical agrarian reforms and by *reliance* on the profit-motive of big business—Indian and foreign. While there is little danger of the Plan collapsing because of its inherent contradictions, or of the path of independent capitalist development being given, not only progress will be slow and halting, marked by ups and downs, but also the anti-popular, undemocratic and dangerous features which have already made their appearance, are likely to accentuate in the coming period.

A certain amount of industrial and economic development will undoubtedly take place. At the same time, if the present policies continue, profound contradictions will develop in our economic and political life. The food problem will remain unsolved, unemployment will grow with growth of population; the conditions of life of the vast majority will remain wretched; nor will the Indian bourgeoisie be able to create a substantial stratum of labour aristocracy and prosperous middle-class that grew in Western Europe with the growth of capitalism and gave stability to bourgeois democracy.

In such a situation, with mass discontent growing and with the main challenge to the Congress coming not from Social Democracy nor from an alternative bourgeois party but from the Party of the working class, profoundly anti-democratic trends and tendencies are bound to grow inside the ruling classes belittling of Parliamentary conventions arbitrary use of the powers of the Executive more and more resort to repression indifference and even callousness towards charges of corruption corrupt practices during elections caste appeals, communal alliances intimidation and terror to prevent free and fair elections gradual emasculation of democracy Even trends towards authoritarianism and personal rule may develop with the Communist Party as the main target of attack.

Such developments will have serious implications for our foreign policy, for social progress and welfare of our people implications which we can ignore only at our peril.

There is no ground for panic Nevertheless complacency would be totally unwarranted Ahead of us lies a period acute conflicts and sharp changes in the situation.

What Kind of Unity and For What?

Comrades, it is not surprising that in this highly complex situation, when the Right outside the Congress has launched an offensive against the progressive features of the Government's policies and when simultaneously the tactics of the Government itself are, in many respects, facilitating this offensive and rousing the people against the Congress in such a situation the old question which many of us though had been settled, has been posed anew *What is the main danger? Against whom is the main fight?*

Some comrades have argued that "Right reaction has become the main danger" Others say that the main danger is still from the Congress

What is the reality?

The very posing of the problem "Which is the main danger" is wrong What is called the Extreme Right or Right reaction is represented not merely by the Swatantra or

Jan Sangh but also exists inside the Congress and the Congress Governments. In fact, as already stated, the main forces of the Right are still inside the Congress. Some of the biggest capitalists who are helping to build up the Swatantra, are at the same time, the main financiers of the Congress. In such a situation, to talk of two *separate* dangers (one from Congress and another from Right reaction), to talk of two different struggles (one against Right reaction and another against the Government) is unrealistic and schematic.

Does this mean that the Congress itself is to be equated with Right reaction and the front that has to be built is an anti-Congress front? To this question, Palghat gave a reply in the negative and the correctness of that reply has been vindicated by the entire history of the subsequent events. Today when a section of the extreme Right has formed its own "non-communal party" when a number of those who were in the Congress are leaving it (Akalis) and when in many vital matters what are called Left Parties, are taking a more ~~reactionary~~ stand than the Congress— in such a situation, to equate the Congress with reaction and to strive to build an anti-Congress front would be all the more incorrect.

What then is the position? What should be the tactic? Let us see how we answered the question at Palghat. Stressing the importance of building the "broadest unity" we stated:

This unity in the existing situation has to be a unity of the democratic and patriotic forces in all parties, of all those who are desirous of progress. It has to be directed towards the strengthening and acceleration of the progressive policies of the Government, while combating the anti-people and undemocratic policies and measures which still predominate in the internal sphere, with a view to modify and reverse them. It has to be unity for adoption and implementation of measures and policies which are in the interest of our country and our people. It has to be unity for a move to the Left' (Ibid)

Has anything happened since then to change this basic concept? Can we say that in view of the dangers that have arisen in recent periods the unity that has to be built now is no longer

unity of the type that we visualised, at Palghat —unity for a move to the Left but unity only to defend what has been achieved till now and prevent the triumph of counter-revolution?

We cannot *Firstly* such an understanding would be based on exaggeration of the menace *Secondly*, the reality of the situation is that the two tasks, defence and further advance are so *interrelated* that one cannot be neglected without endangering the other. This is true not merely in relation to the immediate economic issues facing the people, nor even in relation to such policy issues as agrarian reforms and nationalisation alone but also in relation to such a vital problem as defence of democracy.

We have seen that the methods adopted by the Government to industrialise the country are such that the entire burdens of development fall on the masses. We have seen that this leads to resistance of the people. Also the Government encounters tremendous difficulties in fulfilling its plans because of its methods.

In this situation there can be no question of its keeping stationary. Either it has to move forward or backward i.e. it has to move Right or Left.

The question before the democratic movement and the CPI is whether it will unite the democratic forces in the country including those inside the Congress and force a move to the Left or will allow the big bourgeoisie and the landlords who are strongly entrenched in the Congress and Government in moving Government further to the Right.

Several times since the coup in Pakistan we have discussed the danger which democracy faces in India. The menace to democracy does not however, arise merely from the intrigues of militarists and extreme Rightwingers. It arises also from the growing power of big business and its links with Congress Ministers and the strengthening of the bureaucratic apparatus. Further, the menace arises from the frustration and helplessness among masses of people who with the Congress Ministers callous towards their needs and finding that democratic institutions are unable to curb them, unable to check corruption.

prevent profiteering and rising prices, or bring about any improvement in living conditions, grow apathetic, begin to welcome or at least acquiesce in strong-man rule as the only way out.

Let us not think, Comrades, that the defence of democracy is a simple task that can be carried out by mere exposure of the extreme Right and its slogans. In order to rally the masses in defence of democracy, they must be made to feel that democracy is worth defending that through democratic processes and institutions and by popular action, they can better their conditions and changes can be brought about, changes that are in conformity with their needs and desires. Democracy must acquire a dynamic and living content so that the onslaught of reaction against it can be defeated. The task of defence of democracy is inseparably connected with the other tasks—winning concessions for the people through parliamentary and extra-parliamentary action, resistance to reactionary policies and measures, etc.

In other words, precisely because of the developments that have taken place since Palghat and especially since Amritsar, it has become all the more necessary that the basic concept of unity which Palghat formulated is not given up but adhered to, concretised and carried further.

Nothing should be done which dilutes our character as a militant party. It is necessary to stress this all the more because certain pronouncedly *anti-struggle* trends have grown in our Party, trends which if not eliminated, will play havoc. We have to resolutely combat—in words and even more, in deeds the intolerable conditions under which the burden of national development is laid on the poor while the fruits are reaped by the rich. But we are not a party of blind opposition. Nor are we a party of economism. We base ourselves on the sentiments and aspirations which have grown among our people since independence—sentiments and aspirations which, while essentially *democratic* in character, found expression in general support to the slogan of “Socialism”. Today, when the idea of a big 3rd Plan is being put forward but one hears less and less about socialism, it is necessary that, while supporting the idea of a big 3rd Plan, we *re-emphasise* those progressive and democratic

urges and give them flesh and blood so that a big 3rd Plan may become a reality and national development may be rapid, continuous and all-sided. Those urges were:

- Nationalisation of certain key concerns, curbing of monopoly and development of the Public Sector;
- Radical agrarian reforms, land to the tiller, reduction of the burden on the peasantry;
Living wage;
- Serious attention to health, housing and education;
Reduction of disparity of income and a just system of taxation;
Removal of social and economic disabilities from which untouchables and tribals suffer, equality for women;
Civil liberties;
Decentralisation of administration.

That is why people had welcomed the declaration which the Planning Commission, introducing the 2nd Five-Year Plan, made:

"Our Second Five-Year Plan seeks to rebuild rural India, to lay the foundation of industrial progress, and to secure, to the greatest extent feasible, opportunities for the weaker and under-privileged sections of our people and balanced development of the whole country."

That is why also the four objectives of the Plan were welcomed.

- (a) A sizeable increase in national income so as to raise the living in the country;
- (b) Rapid industrialisation, with particular emphasis on basic and heavy industries,
- (c) A large expansion of employment opportunities,
- (d) Reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

These general urges have to be concretised in relation to the 3rd Plan by the CEC and State Committees. The demand for greater power by State Governments and more control over their financial resources should be raised in this context. Also certain problems of education --such as State languages as medium of instruction within a specified period--need be tackled.

The CEC and National Council should evolve *a few* (not many) slogans for *nation-wide* campaign such as—

* Defence of foreign policy and non-alignment;

* Nationalisation of banks;

* Immediate imposition of ceilings; State trading in foodgrains;

* Increased D.A.:

* Tribunal to examine allegations of corruption.

The working out of these slogans and the development of mass campaign on them, this, in essence, would mean continuation and carrying forward of the struggle for *defence of the achievements of the past and for a move to the Left*. In this respect, the formulation made at Palghat retains its full validity even today

Day-to-day struggles, struggles for the defence of the economic interest of the working class, peasantry and the toiling people is a factor of tremendous importance in this task. It is all the more necessary to stress this not merely because of the new burdens that are going to be imposed on the people but also because a tendency to ignore such struggles, to minimise the importance of trade union and kisan sabha work, to look upon them as "mere economic" and even "economism" has grown in many States. Such tendencies have become a serious hindrance in the way of the Party's strengthening its links with the masses

Also sustained, nationwide or even State-wide campaigns and struggles over policies have been rather weak. Wherever they were undertaken, the mass response was big. There can be no doubt that if such campaigns had been undertaken by the *entire Party* and in a big way, the day-to-day struggles themselves would have grown stronger and won more concessions

This failure has had another result. The existing mass following of the Communist Party, acquired through years and decades of devoted work in trade unions and kisan sabhas as well as through numerous struggles, has remained, on the whole, on a *low political level* and has not been transformed into an instrument to intervene politically in the fast developing situation which could bring about a shift among the broader masses. In many places, we have not really educated our following on our policies (except during elections) but only roused their hatred against the

Congress The low political level of our own mass following and the tendency to equate anti-Congressism and even crude economism with radicalism have sometimes meant even masses under our influence falling victim to caste and communal demagogery Today, when the parties of extreme Right are also in the field, trying to utilise the popular discontent this weakness of our own mass following can have dangerous results for the democratic movement, at least in some States (e.g. Punjab)

Our influence has undoubtedly grown But even now it is utterly inadequate With the limited strength that we have got we cannot wage an effective battle for policies We can neither defeat the offensive of the extreme Right nor bring about a movement to the Left nor even defend the masses against the attacks of the Government For all this we need allies

Attitude Towards Other Parties

Before dealing with the *main correction* that has to be made in our practice on the issue of the democratic front it is necessary to examine to what extent the slogan of Left unity is valid today

In its blind anti Communism and finding that all hopes of its becoming 'the alternative' has vanished the PSP leadership has played an increasingly disruptive and treacherous role during the last two years in relation to the Kerala Government in West Bengal in UP and Bihar It has joined hand with the Congress to form a coalition Government in Kerala Its links with the extreme Right in the Congress widened Its role in relation to Tibet and China are well known

As for the SP its attitude towards the CPI has also been one of blind hostility Thanks to the antics of Lohia and internal squabbles, it has been in a state of chronic crisis and disintegration

Disgust and disillusionment with the PSP is widespread and natural So also with the Socialist Party The slogan of Left Unity has lost much of the significance that we attached to it once It is doubtful whether scientifically speaking, these parties can any longer be called Left Despite all this, it would be utterly wrong to equate them with the Jan Sangh and Swatantra and call them parties of reaction It must not be forgotten even today

(and especially today) that a considerable number of Left-minded people who have broken with the Congress but not come over to our position, gravitate towards these parties--especially the PSP. Another factor that must be borne in mind is that in a number of places, these parties enjoy considerable support in the working class—e.g. the Socialist Party in Bombay. An attitude of hostility towards these parties will affect the unity of the working class itself.

Exposure of the ideology and politics of the PSP and SP needs even today be combined with united front approach locally and statewise and also serious efforts to maintain good relations locally. Further, in places like Bengal and Maharashtra, where united front with the PSP is cracking, we should strike our utmost to maintain good relation with as many *other* parties as possible.

The influence of some of these parties is very little. Nevertheless, it is *politically* important to ensure that we are not isolated from all. The psychological effect which our *total* isolation from all other parties produces even on masses sympathetic towards us—should not be underestimated. One question which *even our* friends in many States asked during the “liberation struggled” in Kerala (where our Party is the strongest in the country) was Why is it that everybody is against you? The replies given by us did not satisfy those who raised this question. It is a question which our Kerala comrades must seriously examine.

The question of allies is not an electoral question alone though that too is very important. The offensive of the Right, the shift of the Government itself to the Right and the disruption among the Left caused by PSP are facts. They all know that the CPI alone has consistently fought and will fight these trends. Hence their wrath against the CPI, hence the efforts to isolate the CPI; hence the demand for banning of the CPI. In such a situation, only those can minimise the importance of allies (however weak, however temporary, however vacillating) who are blind to the realities of the situation and the dangers it holds forth - to our class, to our people, to our country.

It is in this context also that the attitude towards DMK, towards Jharkhand and certain other parties need to be re-examined (to be elaborated in speech).

Our Line Towards the Congress

All this is important. But by no means enough. The struggle to defend the achievements of the past, to defend the masses against the new attacks that are being planned, and to bring about a move to the Left is going to be an arduous prolonged and many-sided battle. It would be foredoomed to failure if we have to rely only or even mainly on forces outside the Congress. This is the *major correction* that has to be made in our understanding and practice. The bulk of our allies, real and potential, are to be found inside the Congress, among its supporters or among those who, while not in the Congress, generally follow Nehru. It is among the so-called Nehruites that the largest chunk of democratic-minded people are to be found—people who can and should be with us, for defence of foreign policy, strengthening of State sector, agrarian reforms, reduction of inequality and defence of democracy.

This big political reality we have tended to ignore. This is one of the main reasons for the present weakness of the mass movement. And recognition of this reality must mean correct approach not only towards "Congress masses" but also towards *Congressmen*, towards *Nehru* and even towards the *Congress organisation*. Without this, without taking into account the loyalty of vast number of democrats, no broad unity can be forged nor an effective struggle over policies be waged.

In other words, the formula "unity-struggle-unity" has to be concretely applied in relation to the national bourgeoisie—not merely as a phrase but as a continuous and consistent policy. We cannot pay lip homage to the formula and yet in practice ignore the Congress, the biggest organisation of the national bourgeoisie and Nehru, its most outstanding leader, with a vast following in all classes.

Let us take a concrete example. In the Political Resolution adopted at Amritsar, we said: "All campaigns, struggles and activities have to be so conducted that the broadest unity of the patriotic and democratic forces is forged and mass organisations get built." A perfectly correct statement. Yet, commonsense should have told us that this would remain only a pious sentiment

if we conduct campaigns only on "our" slogans The resolutions on ceiling and State-trading adopted by the Nagpur session of the Congress gave a big opportunity to our Party and kisan sabhas to run a nationwide campaign so that the division between democratic elements inside and outside the Congress— which Palghat characterised as the most important division in the democratic camp— could be narrowed down links with Congressmen forged and mass sanction created for implementation of the decisions of the Congress itself We could have called for united front on this issue and even assured support to the Congress to implement its own decisions We failed to adopt such an approach Even the resolution that was finally adopted by the CFC came to evoke criticism from some comrades as tending to breed 'illusions' And even those who supported it did nothing to build a mass movement

There can be no doubt that if such a movement had been built some practical results could have been secured and *also* the exposure and isolation of the Congress Governments would have been far greater than what it is after their betrayal As it is, they have betrayed the people and gone back on their words yet their position remains secure It is thus that Left opportunism leading to passivity actually helps the Right

With regard to the progressive declarations of the Congress the basic approach on our part has been one of 'exposure' as declarations "not seriously meant" and not one of making use of them for forging unity for evolving common activity

With such an approach not only mass campaigns become difficult but even broad-based mass organisations, especially kisan sabhas, cannot be built

Quite often, subjectivism and wishful thinking have been substituted for a sober political analysis Basing ourselves on a few election results or a big struggle we have sometimes tended to draw sweeping conclusions about the Congress having already lost or almost lost its political following

In our agitation whether oral or in writing the dominant tendency is to address ourselves to those who are *already* under our influence, to rouse those who "sit in the front", to bother little

about those who stand "on the periphery", to fail to take into account their loyalties, their sentiments, their doubts and their hesitations

Assemblies and Parliaments, various local bodies, afford us the opportunity not only to propagate our point of view but also to *build contacts* with Congressmen, with followers of other parties with independents to influence them through our personal behaviour Too little of this opportunity is utilised

Today when in several States, a good number of Congressmen are getting worried because of the activities of the Swatantra and the aid they get from "Swatantrites inside the Congress" the possibility is greater than before of strengthening our relation with Congressmen

In order to make this a possibility it is imperative that the Party mobilises the masses in a big way and moves them on common political issues People inside the Congress will themselves get courage to speak and act if they see a big independent mobilisation on such issues

The question let it be clearly understood is not one of saying Nehru from the danger of Right reaction It is one of defending the foreign policy, the Public Sector democratic institutions which are the achievements of the entire nation and of pushing forward with agrarian reforms and social progress It is one of resisting the attack on the working class and the toiling masses which is going to grow in intensity and volume It is one of raising the people from the slough of despair and helplessness into which they have fallen in many areas, of giving content and direction to the popular discontent, of waging struggle for correct policies on broad scale and of carrying this struggle into the Congress itself It is one of raising the political level of our own mass following In brief it is a question of making a serious effort to overcome the division in the democratic camp, create conditions for joint activity and bring about a situation which will make the shift to the Left of which Palghat spoke, a reality

Will not all these breed illusions? Will not masses think that we have "gone over" to the Congress?

Such apprehensions have little basis in reality. Masses are intelligent enough to judge us by our *deeds*. They are intelligent enough to grasp the distinction between PSP's alliance with Congress to form Coalition Government and our offer of united front on such issues as implementation of the Nagpur decision for ceiling.

That the Congress will have to be fought goes without saying. But that alone cannot determine our attitude towards an organisation in which even today the *bulk* of the democrats are to be found.

If we determinedly resist the ever-mounting offensive on the life of the people, boldly unleash struggles, conduct an all-sided and comprehensive campaign of exposure of the wrong policies and misdeeds of the Government, while simultaneously defending all the progressive achievements of the last 12 years against the attacks of the extreme Right and *combine* all this with sober language and united front approach towards Congressmen, towards Nehru and even towards the Congress organisation, sometimes locally, sometimes on a State basis, sometimes on an all-India plane—depending on the concrete circumstances—then the apprehension that masses would misunderstand us will prove to be unfounded and largely a product of our own imagination.

Some Problems of the Democratic Front

Of great importance also is the attitude to be adopted towards progressive independents men with general sympathies for the Left but not members of any party. Sometimes they are as they are bound to be critical of some of our utterances and deeds. When such things happen, we often tend to attack them almost in the same way as we would attack enemies. A number of such instances can be given.

It must also be remembered that the Swatantra Party is making a determined bid to win over such independent which if it succeeds in doing, will be a big loss to the democratic movement. Sometimes, these independents join another party—not because they agree with the programme but because they desire membership of the Assemblies and Parliament. With other

parties having no hesitation to enrol them as Party members and giving them party tickets and our Party rightly not agreeing to do so, a situation sometimes comes about when they join other parties and even the Congress, just to satisfy their aspirations. In order that we may keep the progressive independents with us, we must in all States, give due weight to this factor.

Many pro-party independents have come to feel, for one reason or another, that we are indifferent towards their political views, that we do not take them seriously, that we only utilise them as long as it serves our purpose and afterwards drop them. The matter should not be brushed aside but concretely examined.

Comrades, that attitude that we have to adopt towards other parties has been discussed here in some detail because during the last one year, the feeling has grown among many comrades that now every other party has gone reactionary. Therefore, everyone of them will have to be fought and that too, in the *same way*, that we have to go-it-alone, that now there is no question of allies and so on. This is a wrong and even dangerous idea. Of course, the question of allies is not only a question of parties or even independents. It is a question of masses. But masses do not exist in the abstract. They have concrete affiliations, they have specific loyalties by ignoring which they cannot be won over nor even forged links with them.

Another question relating to the democratic front is the attitude to be adopted towards the small and medium bourgeoisie. Numerically a large section, having wide contacts with the intelligentsia, they suffer not merely from the competition of the big bourgeoisie, but also from the policies of the Government including fiscal policies. Although many a time we have spoken about supporting their legitimate demands, in practice, barring some speeches in the Parliament and Assemblies, nothing has been done. In disputes between them and their workers, we have often adopted the same attitude as we adopted towards the big monopolists caring little about the state of their industry. The fact is that while defending the interest of workers of this section of the bourgeoisie, we cannot afford to lose the larger political perspective and forget that defence of democracy and

parliamentary institutions as well as struggle against reactionary trends can be carried out effectively only if we do not ignore and even antagonise this section of the bourgeoisie.

In several states this section of the bourgeoisie would also strongly support the slogans of greater power for the States and greater control by them over their finance.

The whole question of the attitude towards the small and medium bourgeoisie an extremely complex question needs to be discussed by the party and by leaders of the TU movement.

Comrades, we have already stated that the period ahead is going to be critical. Not in the sense that the Swatantra Party will overwhelm the Congress. Parliamentry democracy will be in imminent danger of being scrapped, the foreign policy will be abandoned or that the Plan will be given up. But the reactionary trends and tendencies which have already become strong are likely to intensify which may take varied forms. Still heavier concessions to vested interests landlords and big businessmen and measures to create a "suitable atmosphere" for foreign private capital, with all its dangerous consequences, on the plea of 'practical politics'. Heavier burden on the people, more and more resort to iniquitous taxes and deficit-financing. While refusing to curb profits denial of the just demands of workers. Attacks on democratic rights on the line of the West Bengal Black Bill and in other ways. Unabashed and open interference in the administration and even in judicial processes in the interest of the ruling party Gradual emasculation of democracy (a striking example is Andhra, where out of a total 17,000 Panchayats, secret ballot for Presidential election was denied to all except 300 for which it was in existence before the Act was brought into existence). More and more resort to unfair practices, to casteism and communalism, as well as corruption and intimidation to sway election results. Their reactionary trends will be further accentuated by the pressure of reaction from outside. Serious efforts will be made to modify the foreign policy and weaken the public sector. The PSP will be increasingly used to disrupt the mass movement.

But the reactionary drive will not be confined to these things alone. One of its main targets will be the Communist Party.

We have still to become a major force in the greater part of the country. Yet let us not forget that the biggest development in India since the achievement of independence has been the fact that it is the party of the working class and not a party of social democracy or the Right that has emerged as the main opposition to the Congress. Sometimes we do not understand the implications of this fact. But the bourgeoisie and the landlords do. It is not without significance that long before our Central leadership started taking active interest in the problems facing the Kerala Ministry and giving it political guidance, the top leaders of the Congress were active in Kerala.

One form which the drive towards reaction will necessarily take will be efforts to malign and isolate the Communist Party, to dislodge it from its position as the leading party of Opposition in the Parliament and in several State legislatures to work up mass hysteria against it so as to create conditions in which still heavier onslaught on the Party can be made. Attacks on the Communist Party invariably precede a general attack on democracy.

Viewed in this context the task of strengthening the position of forces of democracy in our economic, social and political life and of the problems of the democratic front have been dealt with earlier. But on one point, we must have absolute clarity. There is no short cut to the building of the democratic front. The democratic front and democratic forces in general will remain utterly weak, despite all that we may do, unless the *working class* and the *peasantry* who constitute the overwhelming majority of our population and whose unity forms the granite foundation of the democratic front, get effectively organised and their political level raised.

Therefore the state of these movements and especially, the weakness of the kisan movements, must be thoroughly discussed by the CEC and tactics, main conclusions and slogans incorporated in the Political Report to be placed before the National Council. Otherwise, the entire tactical line of the Party will hang in the air, lack palpability and reality and the Political Report will become nothing more than a string of phrases. The main orientation that the Party has to be given cannot even be understood unless its

implications in terms of task before the working class and peasantry are worked out at least in broad outline.

The Main Thing to be Done at the National Council Meeting

Comrades, in the period that is opening out, we shall be able to play an effective role in shaping events and not just drift or be taken by surprise only if we have.

1. Leading position in the trade union movement *plus* a firm political position in the working class which can only be secured by political activity in the working class and by raising the level of workers to a much higher level.

2. A strong base among the peasantry through struggles to secure relief, through all-sided activity and by building mass kisan sabhas and agricultural worker's association

3. Close links with the middle strata in cities as well as in villages

4. A strong ideologically political united Party

Our slogans, our activities, our approach have to be such as to achieve all these objectives

There is very little material with us to work out these slogans. Nevertheless they must be discussed in the CECU so that as much of it as possible is incorporated in the report. A Political Report without a mass line will not mean much. Some of the questions to be discussed should be

—What are the main slogans on defence of economic conditions of workers and what weaknesses have expressed themselves in relations to our TU work? Why (except in some states) there is hardly any contact between the State Committee and TU front? Why the paucity of cadres for work in TUs even in places where a large number of middle-class intelligentsia are in the Party? Why we are not able to utilise part-time cadres for raising the general cultural level of workers (this has been, I understand, started in Calcutta)? Why the working class under our influence played particularly no part even in such big struggles as the Punjab anti-betterment levy struggle and food satyagraha?

—Why despite many "decisions" the kisan sabha has become virtually defunct? What directive do we give to Party units at all levels to set apart cadres for kisan sabha work?

-What is wrong with our attitude towards the intelligentsia and why there is hardly any recruitment from student and young intellectuals into the party which by causing shortage of cadres is posing serious problems to all mass fronts?

Why we have not been able to increase Party membership in the last two years and why in several states there has even been a decline of registered members despite the Party's growing influence?

What should be *done* about all this?

That is to say the Report without being descriptive must indicate where to make a break and how This should be the main thing to be achieved at the National Council meeting

Wrong Outlook and Practices

Comrades of all tasks that face us the most important undoubtedly, is the task of strengthening the Communist Party and of raising its ideological-political level The Communist Party is, in the final analysis the organiser builder and driving force of the united front

The wrong anti Marxist and even revisionist concepts that have crept into the Party hold back its advance and prevent it from playing its rightful role in the present situation, have to be laid bare at this National Council meeting not with a view to start heresy-hunting in the Party but in order to begin the battle to eliminate the weaknesses that have accumulated This is a stupendous task We thought we had made a beginning at Amritsar But that could not be followed up It has to be done now

The sharpest manifestations of reformism one which we discussed in relation to our attitude towards the Communist-led Government of Kerala at Madras in October 1958 is undoubtedly the fact that the concept of *gradualism* has come to dominate the outlook and practice of the Party The concept that our success in Kerala would be followed by dislodging the Congress from power in West Bengal and Andhra, then would come to turn of other states and thus gradually and smoothly, through a process of quantitative accumulation the conquest of power would be

effected No one has perhaps put it in so many words But our *practice* showed that we came to believe in it

At times, we have tended to act as though we believed that our bourgeoisie reared in Gandhian traditions had some exceptional virtues No wonder therefore that the first struggle to overthrow the Kerala Government by violent means (July 1958) came to us as a surprise Later of course, this mistake was corrected That is why we could put up a stiff resistance during the 'liberation struggle' and develop an all-India campaign

But our attitude towards Kerala in the earlier period was not the only indication of this reformist outlook It has had other manifestations as well

No Communist Party can work without a perspective And if the leadership of the Party does not place before the Party a correct perspective, then a false perspective the product of the dominant bourgeois ideology will inevitably take its place and begin to guide the practical work of Party members This is happening in our Party

The concept of gradual continuous advance free from crisis through electoral successes and by basing ourselves exclusively on the growing discontent against the Congress has meant that we too like other parties have in several areas started looking upon the masses primarily as voters to be approached with political slogans at the time of elections and then enthusiasm to be kept up by "general election a few struggles and campaigns at other times The bulk of the Party in some states remains inactive except during the elections It is a paradoxical phenomenon that in many places, despite the growth of our mass influence our links with them which can be forged only through sustained and continuous work have weakened This reliance on 'general agitation' and occasional campaigns has inevitably meant neglect of mass organisations class organisations of trade unions by Party Committees and especially of kisan sabhas

Anti-struggle tendencies have grown in several States hesitation to conduct struggles when the situation demands it reliance on negotiations and personal influence as a substitute for struggle

Such an understanding and such practices, it is necessary to stress, will be harmful even for elections. As already pointed out, with its growing difficulties, the Congress will resort to all kinds of tactics— alliance with reactionaries, caste affiliations, communal appeal, corrupt practices, intimidation and even violence to maintain its rule. The PSP and extreme reactionary parties like Jan Sangh, Akalis and Swatantra Party will strive to utilise the anti-Congress discontent for their own consolidation and in order to dislodge us from our present position in the Parliament and several Assemblies. In such a situation elections especially where we contest will more and more tend to assume the character of *bitterly fought political battles*, in which success will depend not merely on what is done during the election campaign but primarily on the shift that has been brought about among the people over a *prolonged period* through mass actions and all sided mass activity through consolidation of influence in class organisations, through intense political work, circulation of Party literature and live links of our cadres with the people. It is in Kerala that in all these respects the position of the Party was and still is better than in any other State. It is not fortuitous that it is there that the biggest electoral victories of the party were registered and even the most formidable combination could not destroy us.

Reformist ideas with regard to the ideals that lie ahead have led to mistakes of another type of well a sectarian approach to many problems and towards possible allies. Many comrades while indulging in extreme left phrases take the existing democratic liberties for granted. They refuse to see attacks on democracy to meet which the party of the Working Class needs allies from among the middle strata. The result is failure to take into account the sentiments of this strata abusive phraseology, empty heroics and even tactics that repel vast number of people. In brief, Left opportunism.

We have completely failed to put into practice the slogan that was given at Amritsar turning the face of the Party towards the peasantry. As before the kisan sabhas have continued to decline and in many states have become virtually extinct. Party leaders at

all levels busy themselves with "general political work" but few whole time cadres are allotted for work in the kisan sabha or even when such allotment is made, their wages are not paid

We talk of democratic front but act as though such a front can be built except on the foundation of *working class*—present members of the Party of the working class takes positive steps to organise the peasantry. If this deviation arising from a basically wrong and non-class concept of the democratic front the Party by which the kisan movement develops not all our resolutions and discussions will help to strengthen the democratic movement

Forthcoming General Elections

Comrades while discussing the various issues facing the Party we must also remember that barely two years are left for the third general elections. Very serious efforts will be made this time to dislodge us from our position as the leading Party of opposition in the Parliament

All that has been said earlier should not make us forget that despite heavy obstacles in its totality, the period since the second general elections has been a period of advance by the Party increase in its mass influence practically in every State. Our opponents conscious of this will strive their utmost to prevent us from recording this advance in terms of seats in the Parliament and State Legislatures

Party Committees especially State Committees must right from now work out mass campaigns and activities so as to consolidate the advance that we have secured and also bring about as big a shift as possible in our favour

This has to be combined with the utmost flexibility in the tactics so that we are able to frustrate the attempt to isolate and defeat us. How this has to be done, on *what* to concentrate and *where* to concentrate in each State for the coming two years this is a matter which has to be discussed by each state Committee and between the Central Secretariat and the State Committees

Comrades, the enemies of our Party are expecting and even announcing that this meeting of the C.I.C and of the National Council will "deepen the crisis" in the Communist Party of India

This is not the first time they have made such predictions. Nor will it be the first time they will be disappointed. There can be no doubt that learning from the experiences of the past and on the basis of an objective assessment of the situation, our Party will overcome the difficulties that have arisen and further unify itself and work out a correct policy and take measures to strengthen itself politically and organisationally so that it is able to discharge the tremendous responsibilities confronting it and fulfil the expectations of our people.

Work Report of the Secretariat of the National Council of the C.P.I. from November 1958 to April 1960

**Placed in the National Council Meeting
held in Calcutta, 6-12 May, 1960**

It is more than 1½ years when at the Madras session of the National Council in October, 1958, the Secretariat's work report was placed. Since then many important developments have taken place and the work of the Party Centre has naturally related to many of them. In the present Report, almost all activities of the Secretariat have been touched, some at length, so that the members of the National Council can review the work and offer their views and criticisms.

To the CEC members many of these things are already known. But that is not so in the case of other members of the National Council. Moreover, this session of the National Council is going to consider the organisational set up of the Party Centre.

In view of this, a detailed reporting has become necessary and it is hoped that the Report will give at least some idea of the problems the Party Centre has had to face and is still facing. Some items have, of course, been left out.

Two Major Issues

In the period under review, two issues dominated the country's political scene - Kerala and India-China border dispute. Other issues receded somewhat in the background and the Party was almost wholly preoccupied with these two major developments. The Secretariat has had to face serious problems, political as well as organisational. In addition, the India-China question gave rise to serious differences and ideological conflicts.

As for the Kerala issue, the problem was, first, one of defending our Ministry and mobilising all-India public opinion for this purpose against the Imochana ("liberation") struggle and

in a nationwide solidarity campaign After the Central Intervention, the issue was, of course, the mid-term elections

With the formation of the Communist-led Ministry in Kerala in 1957, a number of important political and practical and political questions arose There were both confusion and lack of clarity as to the political implications of this great development and the line the Party should pursue, especially in the conduct of the Government

From time to time, the Secretariat discussed some of these problems, though not always consistently In the middle of 1958 the General Secretary spent some time in Kerala and the CLC also discussed some of the immediate problems, particularly those arising out of the boat-fate agitation On the basis of the consultations with the Kerala comrades, the General Secretary prepared a comprehensive report which was finalised by the Secretariat

It is on the basis of this report and the discussion on it at the Madras meeting of the National Council, held in October 1958, that the Party came to a unified assessment and understanding of the situation in Kerala A number of tasks were laid down by the National Council Subsequent developments in Kerala were to prove the correctness of the position taken by the National Council at its Madras meeting

The members of the Secretariat and the CLC reported on the decisions of the Madras National Council meeting and this was well received in the entire Party Party ranks were enthused and the campaign in support of the Kerala Government gathered fresh momentum

The Kerala issue again came up before the February, 1959 meeting of the CLC in Delhi and was discussed by the Committee largely on the basis of a note prepared by Comrade A K Gopalan The CLC noted certain shortcomings in the work of the Kerala Government but the discussion could not be conclusive on account of the absence of the Kerala comrades

Again, in the emergent CLC meeting in May, 1959, which was called to discuss the Punjab anti-betterment levy struggle, the Kerala situation which had become rather grave by that time, was

taken up. It was expected that the Kerala comrades would attend this meeting but they could not come. A note came from them. However, the CEC decided that the Central Secretariat should go to Kerala and have a joint meeting with the State Secretariat.

Accordingly the joint meeting of the two Secretariats was held towards the end of May 1959. At this meeting, some corrections to the agitational line with regard to the school closure movement was made in order to make our approach broad-based and mobilise teachers and students not only in Kerala but in other parts of the country in support of the Government. The State Committee was asked to form broad-based committees in defence of education and culture.

In a joint statement of the two Secretariats, it was pointed out that the school closure movement was really an attack on education, culture and the careers of the students. It should be noted here that this aspect was not being stressed earlier with the result that our approach remained somewhat restricted and narrow. This new approach of the joint meeting produced good results in Kerala and outside.

The Secretariat also took some initiative in getting the teachers, students, writers, etc. to move through meetings, signature campaigns and the like. The response from a number of places like Calcutta, Aligarh.....etc., was really encouraging.

The Central Secretariat arranged for a tour of Comrade EMS to Calcutta, Bombay, Madras and other places which also proved very effective. As a result, the school closure movement found itself in great isolation in the country.

During these days, the General Secretary and the Secretariat promptly issued a number of statements through the press, refuting the allegations and charges against the Kerala Government and the Party, including those coming from Prime Minister Nehru. Members of the Secretariat were sent out to the States to participate in local Kerala campaigns. The Party Centre brought out a pamphlet by the General Secretary and Comrade Bhupesh Gupta also wrote a pamphlet in BengaliMembers of the Secretariat reported on the situation in the States (GB meetings, etc.).

The *New Age* weekly took a leading part in building up the campaign by publishing exposure materials, etc.

It should be mentioned that the CEC members in the States were in the forefront of the campaign and rendered great help in organising it in their respective States. But for this direct role of the CEC and National Council members themselves, it would not have been possible for the Party Centre to do all this.

One reason for the success of this campaign was that it was always kept on a very broad plane and our agitation and propaganda contained exposure with persuasion. We spoke in terms of the Constitution, Parliamentary conventions, States autonomy, democracy and this appealed to many non-party people who are democratically-minded. Even within the Congress ranks the direct action and Vimochana struggle was disfavoured by some and there were audible bickerings against the manner in which the Congress High Command and the Central Government got involved into this whole business. The prestige of the Congress High Command suffered considerable decline and the Party succeeded as never before in rallying the broadest sections of the people on a nationwide scale on fundamental issues of the Constitution and democracy. The Congress High Command was on the defensive.

The unprecedented protest demonstrations in August against Central intervention underlined deep and great stirrings among all sections of the democratically minded people throughout the country were to be seen.

However as the situation was deteriorating the Secretariat called a special meeting of the CEC to discuss the Kerala situation which was held in Trivandrum in June end. Prime Minister Nehru had just visited Kerala and made his statement suggesting among other things, mid-term elections.

It was a new manoeuvre of the Congress High Command.

The CEC discussed all this and the tasks before the Government and the Party. The CEC immediately issued a statement laying bare the real character of Nehru's suggestion for mid-term elections in Kerala and called it as "nothing but giving a democratic garb to a discriminatory demand". The Committee

categorically rejected the Prime Minister's contention that our Ministry had lost public support.

After the Congress Parliamentary Board's resolution which came when the CEC was in session, the latter immediately adopted a resolution answering the allegations and suggestions made by the Congress Parliamentary Board.

Both these pronouncements by the Party *Executive* went a long way in exposing the Congress move and mobilising public opinion.

But the CEC was of the view that the situation had come to such a pass that an emergent meeting of the National Council should be called and the Council meeting was held in Trivandrum in mid-July. The Council endorsed the general line pursued by the Central Secretariat and the CEC: but certain important practical questions came up for discussion.

In this connection, it should be stated that over the question odd mid-term elections, there were initially some differences among the Secretariat member and other CEC member. It was felt by some that probably our acceptance of the mid-term elections would put us in a better position to fight it. But these were just exploratory ideas. However, the Central Executive Committee and the National Council very firmly rejected the Congress Parliamentary Board's proposal for mid-term elections and decided that the Government should continue.

This was a momentous decision for the Party and the events that followed were to prove the correctness and solidity of the decision.

The CEC met in Delhi in August to review the post-intervention situation and worked out future line of action. The General Secretary gave an account of the developments since Trivandrum National Council meeting. This meeting broadly laid down the lines of campaign and approach to various elements like the RSP, independents, etc. At that time, the date for elections was not, of course known. The CEC also issued a resolution on Central intervention.

As was apprehended, Central intervention was immediately followed by attacks on our Party comrades and the Party

supporters in Kerala. The CEC discussed this and decided on a number of steps to meet the situation. Accordingly, the issue was taken up in the Parliament and in other ways in public and this, to some extent restrained what otherwise might have developed into a big offensive against the Party.

Between August and November, the Party Centre did not do much by way of giving any lead to the election fund drive for Kerala. The developments in India-China relations came in the way.

It was only after the Meerut National Council meeting that the Fund drive was really posed before the Party and the masses outside Kerala. But even so, collections in most places did not start until the end of December. And here again, it went up in most places due to the lead and initiative of the various local Party units. The drive was, to a great extent, spontaneous, once again demonstrating the great impression the Kerala Government had made on public mind.

In the election campaign, all Secretariat members, except Comrade Ajoy (who was ill) and Comrade M Basavapuniah (who was engaged in the work of the Commission for preparing a Political Report) took part and most of them spent considerable time in Kerala.

After the election results were out, the *Secretariat* immediately issued a public statement which was well received in all circles. The State Committee also issued its statement with similar effects. The Secretariat sent Comrades Gopalan, Vasudevan Nair and Punnoose to Kerala to help Party units in facing attacks, etc.

Here one thing has to be mentioned. The *New Age* weekly which played a great part in keeping the Party and its friends in other States informed of the developments in Kerala, however, went on publishing certain exaggerated and ill-conceived reports about the election campaign. When the results of the elections came, many friends of the Party complained against this kind of reports. Both the Editorial Board and the Secretariat failed to maintain objectivity and balance in this regard.

Now about some shortcomings and failures of the Party Centre. If there was any subject to which the Secretariat gave most of its

time, it was no doubt Kerala, all the same, the Party Centre's handling of this very important subject was not without some omissions and errors.

Although the Secretariat was kept informed of all the important developments, it did not, however, study the problem in an all-sided manner. Much was left to the Kerala comrades themselves and at times they went wrong under the stress of local circumstances and also perhaps in some respects due to incorrect understanding. In the beginning it was almost taken for granted that the Government could carry on in the normal way by doing good things and through strict adherence to the Constitution, etc.

There developed the tendency to under-estimate the opposition and over-estimate our own powers to meet it. On a number of occasions the Secretariat helped to restore the balance. But for such incorrect understanding of the situation and the prospects before the Kerala Government, probably some of the things that were done would not have been done.

The Secretariat had a number of discussions over them. The result of such discussions was that the comrades agreed to make some concessions in the implementation of the Act. But by that time it was too late.

Whereas the Education Act was hurriedly sponsored and pushed, other vital measures like the Agrarian Reforms and Industrial Relations Bills were delayed. In this connection it will be remembered that the Madras National meeting took the decision for getting a draft of this (SL) Bill made with the assistance of Comrade Ramamurthy. But the Secretariat failed to ensure its implementation. As for the Agrarian Bill it was passed barely one-and-a-half months before Central Intervention. The Secretariat stressed that the Agrarian Bill must, at all costs, be passed before the last session of the Assembly dispersed. With this end in view, the Secretariat advised the Legislature Party to expedite the enactment of the Bill by cutting out many amendments. The Secretariat also advised to delay the opening of the schools so that the Government and the Party would not be dragged into a critical situation before the Agrarian Bill was passed.

If the whole question of legislation and work of the Government had been discussed comprehensively and systematically such mistakes and delayed would not have perhaps occurred.

It is now admitted that in fixing priorities for legislative and other measures our Party in Kerala was not always correct. The Central Secretariat must share its own responsibility in the matter.

We all agreed that much depended on how we run the Kerala Government. But actually no effective organisational arrangement was set up to maintain constant touch between the Party Centre and the Kerala comrades. We acted with some vigour when the situation became critical and mostly in respect of pressing issues. About other matters the Secretariat had very little to do. The General Secretary was specially deputed for consultations and guidance to Kerala comrades and Comrade Ramamurthy was asked to visit Kerala as and when necessary to help comrades there. A Sub-Committee consisting of the GS, Comrades Dange and P. Ramamurthy was formed to deal with matters connected with Kerala Government but this committee did not at all function.

On three important issues the Party Centre effectively intervened and these were the Birla Rayon Factory agreement and the Kerala Education Rules. As soon as the Central Secretariat came to know of the Agreement with the Birla it took certain steps to minimise the damage. The Secretariat prevented the sponsoring of the Education Rules. The Secretariat studied these rules and suggested amendments many of which were incorporated. But the State Secretariat had also acted in the matter and openly disapproved of the Rules. The situation was thus saved.

The Secretariat and the CICC also asked the Kerala comrades not to proceed with a certain contemplated fiscal measure.

It is true that at times divergences arose between the comrades in Kerala and the Secretariat. But the Secretariat always received the utmost cooperation and understanding from our Kerala comrades. This has been a great and inspiring experience for the Party Centre. It was through mutual discussions and understanding that we succeeded in resolving many of the differences and came to agreed conclusions. However strongly the comrades

in Kerala may have felt about their own viewpoints, never did they show any sign of rigidity and disregard.

Finally, it has to be noted that despite all its shortcomings, the Party Centre, on the whole, played a very useful role in regard to Kerala. This is more or less acknowledged throughout the Party. The Secretariat and the CEC functioned in this context with common understanding and unitedly.

India-China Issue

If the Secretariat and the Party leadership confronted the challenge in Kerala in a unified manner and with initiative in our hands, this was not so in the case of the other biggest development, viz., the India-China border dispute. The Party as it were was taken by surprise and it found itself in a wholly confusing situation.

The developments started with the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Tibet and the Dalai Lama's escape into this country. The bourgeois press at once took up the event to whip up anti-China campaign and the attitude of the Government, including the numerous utterances of the Prime Minister put fat in the fire. The Party came in for a vicious smear campaign and those who had been isolated over the Kerala issue found it as a god send for them to retrieve their position.

As was to be expected, the reactionary bourgeois press also launched a campaign to divide the Party and disturb its discipline and unity.

In this connection reference should be made to certain statements from the Chinese side where unfortunate expressions such as "Indian expansionism", "Kalimpong as the Commanding Centre", etc. occurred. These things gave a handle to the reactionaries and disruptors to intensify their campaigns, shake many of those who stood for India-China friendship and attack our Party in the Parliament and outside. The first statement of the Secretariat was issued on Tibet on March 31, 1959. The statement was made to meet the situation but was defective in one respect. The result was that this statement itself was exploited by the PSP and others against the Party and it was made even the subject for tabling an adjournment motion. The Secretariat later noted the mistakes in the Statement.

However, the border dispute came to the forefront in August 1959 and an uproar was literally worked up in Parliament and in the bourgeois press. The Secretariat held long discussions and issued its statement on August 31 which was finalised after our Parliamentary Group had endorsed it. The statement urged for peaceful settlement of the dispute, etc. But there was an omission in the Statement in the sense that while stressing the background in which the dispute had arisen, it did not categorically declare that the People's Republic of China was not and never could be an aggressor.

Differences had already arisen within the Secretariat and they began at least in some respects to widen. Same thing happened at other levels of the Party also. It is not necessary to go into them here for the Meerut Council had already considered the various viewpoints.

Coming to the Secretariat, it called an emergent meeting of the CEC in Calcutta where the differences were for the first time discussed by the all-India Executive. The result was the provisional resolution and a delegation to China. The General Secretary who was in the Soviet Union for treatment rushed to India at his own initiative (the Secretariat had addressed him in September not to come when he wanted to know if he should return to India). A number of comrades felt that the resolution was harmful that we should have more or less taken the stand that we took at Meerut at the National Council at the Calcutta meeting itself. The circumstances and the considerations under which the provisional resolution in Calcutta was passed are well known to the members of the National Council.

It was to be admitted that whether before or after the Meerut Council meeting the Secretariat failed to give a proper lead over this issue although the Meerut resolution was an eventful step in meeting the situation.

In a situation like this, any Communist Party would find itself in a difficult position. In so far as the subjective failure of the Party Secretariat is concerned this was mainly due to its ideological weakness and vacillations and heavy pressure of bourgeois nationalism operating upon it. Two extreme trends

stood in sharp contrast —one was the virtual capitulation to the nationalist sentiments and line-up behind the bourgeoisie; the other, dogmatic approach in the name of proletarian internationalism, etc while disregarding the popular sentiment and misgivings. It was, however, the former trend which was dominant. It became a problem in the Secretariat to draw up any statement or produce any writing on India-China border question, even to discuss the issues coolly. These differences continued despite the Meerut National Council resolution, though no longer in so aggravated form.

It will be noted that the Meerut resolution came to be assailed and attacked from two diametrically opposite angles - one from Maharashtra and another from West Bengal. As far as the other Provincial units are concerned, the resolution was welcomed and accepted.

After the Meerut meeting of the National Council, the White Paper on the India-China issue came up for discussion in the Parliament. In this connection, the Secretariat discussed as to what should be our stand. The Meerut resolution did not stop differences within the Secretariat again coming to assert themselves.

Although the Secretariat worked out our stand, vis-a-vis the White Paper, there was some departure from it in our speech in the Lok Sabha. This caused strong resentment in a number of Party units, where as a proposal was made by the Secretary of the Maharashtra Committee (CEC Member) and most of the National Council Members from that unit to take the Lok Sabha speech as elucidation of the Meerut resolution.

Here we must say that some members of the CEC and the National Council, instead of exerting their endeavours in explaining the National Council resolution to the Party ranks in a proper way and thus identifying themselves with it (which is normal Party practice) gave expression to their own views in the lower Party units. This was most unfortunate and is not usually permitted in a Communist Party.

Criticisms have been made against the Party journals for not rising to the occasion and not giving any lead over this important

development. This is a correct criticism. But from what has been said, it will be realised why this laps on the part of the *New Age* weekly occurred. Serious differences within the Party were mainly responsible for this.

The Meerut resolution was meant for nationwide campaign. What, however, actually followed was that except for West Bengal and Punjab, where powerful mass campaigns were launched on the basis of this resolution, in no other States there was anything like a campaign. No doubt some meetings were held in different parts of the country but the whole things was left to the State committees and the Secretariat did not check upon the implementation of the Meerut resolution.

By the beginning of January 1960, the Party's entire attention was, however, riveted on Kerala.

The Secretariat sent Comrades M Basavapunniah and Bhupesh Gupta to attend the Maharashtra Committee meeting and explain the National Council resolution. Later Comrade Basavapunniah also attended the Maharashtra Council meeting. Comrade Bhupesh went to Calcutta and reported on the National Council meeting to three general body meetings, including that of the Calcutta Party members. In this connection, he came across a number of questions expressing disagreements and with certain aspects of the National Council resolution.

Finally, it needs to be mentioned here that it was our Party which gave the slogan for peaceful settlement and negotiations and direct talks between the two Prime Ministers.

This slogan conformed to the desires of overwhelming majority of the people, whatever may be the propaganda by reactionary circles.

Without at all attempting to justify its failures, the Secretariat, however, wishes to stress again that a cautious approach in a situation like this was undoubtedly called for.

Between Calcutta CEC and the Meerut National Council meeting, the Secretariat issued a statement on the Ladakh incident. This prompt public intervention of the Secretariat greatly helped the Party and made it difficult for our adversaries to exploit the incident in a big way against us.

Some criticisms have been made specially from Maharashtra and by others about Comrade B. T. Ranadive's article in the *New Age Monthly* (October 1959). It should be mentioned here that before the delegation went to China, Comrade General Secretary wrote a letter addressed to Comrade Joshi saying that nothing should be published by way of explaining the CEC resolution (Calcutta, September 1959) till the delegation returned from China. The letter was given to a member of the Secretariat of the West Bengal State Council who met our delegation at the airport but it did not reach the Party Centre, probably this article would not have been written. Comrade BTR's article was, however, meant to be a historical treatment of the subject. Whereas *Swadhinata* published it in full, in Maharashtra Party unit it caused very strong resentment.

***Anti-Betterment Levy Struggle in Punjab**

***West Bengal Food Movement**

***Bihar Anti-Tax Increase Struggle**

In the period under review, two very major mass struggles took place—the anti-betterment levy struggle in the Punjab and the food movement in West Bengal.

By all standards, the Punjab struggle was one of the biggest democratic mass actions witnessed there in recent times. The West Bengal food movement, too, was massive in character with mass participation of the peasantry all over the State.

At the beginning, the magnitude and the possibilities of the Punjab struggle were not fully understood at the Party Centre. However, soon the Party Centre came into the picture in two ways. *Firstly*, the Secretariat and the Parliamentary Group sent a number of leading MPs, including Comrade A. K. Gopalan to the struggle areas and this, as the Punjab comrades have said, proved very helpful to the struggle. The issue was raised in the Parliament with a view to drawing the attention of the whole country to the heroic struggle. *Secondly*, certain negotiations with some prominent Congress leaders were undertaken by the

General Secretary in consultation with Comrade Surjeet and the Secretariat

More than once the Secretariat discussed the Punjab struggle and authorised the General Secretary to conduct the negotiations. In this connection he visited the Punjab several times. But the sudden withdrawal of the struggle for which the General Secretary and Comrade N Prasada Rao were responsible, created a serious situation among the masses and within the Party itself. The circumstances in which this withdrawal was effected were discussed at length in the May 1959 meeting.

However the withdrawal and the situation arising out of it were discussed by the Punjab State Council which adopted a resolution. The meeting was also attended by the General Secretary and Comrade BTR. Immediately after the meeting Ajoy reported on the developments in the Punjab to the Secretariat and proposed an emergent meeting of the CEC and this meeting took place in May 1959 in Delhi.

The CEC nailed down the serious mistakes which were committed in effecting the withdrawal and adopted a resolution on the betterment levy struggle which was issued to the press.

This CEC meeting to some extent eased the situation within the Party in the Punjab. It should be mentioned in this connection that the State Committee of the Punjab had adopted a constructive and responsible attitude to the whole question.

The May meeting of the CEC also considered what should be our general attitude towards betterment levy, particularly in view of a proposal of this kind under consideration of our Ministry in Kerala. Divergent opinions were expressed and it was decided to defer the final decision on the basis of a draft to the next meeting of the National Council. This could not, however, be done either at the Trivandrum or Meerut meeting of the National Council. The issue remains to be clinched all the same in view of the Government's policy to raise its resources through such levies on the peasantry.

The Secretariat issued a call for solidarity with the anti-betterment levy struggle. But there was little response in other States. Besides, press statements were issued by the General Secretary and others in order to keep the anti-betterment levy struggle in the forefront on the public mind.

As for West Bengal food movement, which resulted in a loss of about 80 lives through police firings and brutal lathi-charges, the Party Centre's role was two-fold. The General Secretary issued statements in support of the struggle. Moreover, a circular was sent to the State Committees calling upon them to observe 13th September as solidarity with Bengal Day. Here again the response was very poor and no Day was observed.

Of course, the Secretariat once or twice cursorily discussed the West Bengal food movement, but it was left mainly to the Parliamentary Group to render all possible assistance from this end. Comrade Gopalan and some other MPs went to Bengal. Comrade Bhupesh, along with other Left MPs visited the State and discussed the situation with Comrade Jyoti Basu and others who were then u.g. as well as with Dr. B. C. Roy. They also met the detenus in jail. In Delhi, the Parliamentary Group kept in close touch with the new Food Minister S. K. Patil. These efforts were not altogether fruitless, for the detenus and certain other prisoners were released in a few days and many warrants, including those against Comrade Jyoti Basu and other PC leaders were withdrawn due to the intervention of the Central Government.

The West Bengal food movement, it should be noted, had played a big part in focusing the country's attention on the food situation and in this the Communist Group in Parliament used the forum quite effectively. It was in this background that the Food Minister A. P. Jain was forced to quit office.

When such major movements as the above two took place in the States, it is necessary to back them up through solidarity campaign and in other ways on all-India plane. But this can never be done unless the Central leadership discharges its responsibility in a much more effective way than has been the practice recently.

The Punjab struggle was discussed and reviewed both at the State level and by the Central leadership. This was not so in the case of the West Bengal movement. As far as we know the West Bengal State Council has not reviewed the struggle nor has the CEC discussed it. Only at the September meeting of the CEC Comrades Jyoti Basu and Harekrishna Konar made oral report after which a general resolution for the public was adopted.

The situation has come to such a pass that there is no exchange of experience between the State units even when such big struggles take place and for this a great share of responsibility must be borne by the Party Centre. It is no wonder that when such struggles are in progress, other State units remain passive and at times even disinterested. This is something which cannot be permitted to continue in the interest of the entire *democratic movement*.

The Secretariat briefly considered the Report of Comrade Yogindra Sharma about the anti-tax movement in Bihar.

Although it was noted that the Party could not count upon any direct participation by the traders and shopkeepers themselves, the Satyagraha movement would nonetheless receive their support and rouse the middle-classes. On the basis of this assessment, the Secretariat gave its approval to the launching of the Satyagraha and it continued to gather support and popularity till the India-China border dispute came to intervene. The Government and the disruptors of the movement exploited the dispute to direct their attacks against the Communist Party for disruptionist and diversionist ends and they succeeded in no small measure in this tactic.

Comrade Yogindra Sharma reported this aspect at the Calcutta meeting of the CEC. Nevertheless, several thousand people counted imprisonment in the course of the movement.

Comrade Ajoy Ghosh and Dr. Ahmad visited Bihar. Comrade Gopalan toured Bihar for a week, holding meetings etc. in support of the struggle.

Other Issues

A number of other important issues came up before the Secretariat and were dealt with in the following manner:

1. The Tamilnad State Committee referred certain questions of tactic with regard to election of office-bearers in municipal bodies, including the Mayor election in Madras and chairmanship of Coimbatore municipality. The Tamilnad State Committee had adopted a resolution by majority on the Mayoral election in Madras City and the election of the Chairman of Coimbatore municipality. As for the other municipalities, the line of the Tamilnad PC was that our Councillors should support the DMK candidate where it was a straight contest between the DMK and the Congress. In April 1959, the Secretariat considered the resolution and heard Comrade M. R. Venkataraman as well as the dissenting comrades (who comrades had strongly disagreed with the majority view). The Secretariat was opposed to an overall agreement of the kind proposed in the Tamilnad resolution. For, that would have meant committing the Party to the support of the DMK candidate irrespective of their antecedents and qualifications. The question also arose as to whether this would be in accord with the Palghat Resolution.

Taking everything into account as well as the prevalent situation in Tamilnad, the Secretariat, however, decided to endorse the agreement between the Party and the DMK over the Mayoral elections, thus restricting the scope of the agreement, to the specific matters We won the Coimbatore municipal chairmanship and the DMK the mayorship in Madras.

Problems arose also in the Mayoral elections in Delhi. The Brahm Prakash group in the Congress has been working against Mayor Aruna Asaf Ali and the Progressives. The aim of this group was to corner Aruna and other Progressives in Delhi Municipal Corporation. The group represented the rising bourgeoisie in Delhi and was connected with land speculation and so on. Brahm Prakash counted on the assumption that since the Communists would never support the Jan Sangh, the Congress victory was assured. Aruna had her news about the Delhi Congress and she wanted to contest even if it meant conflict with the Congress.

The Delhi PC Secretariat held the same view and also advanced the argument that the victory of the Brahm Prakash group would have bad effect on the trade union movement. As most members of the Central Secretariat, including the General Secretary, were absent, no formal meeting of the Secretariat was possible. But the three Secretariat members present in Delhi were consulted and they all agreed in supporting the stand taken by our Delhi comrades. So it was finally decided that if the Congress did not accept the proposal for rotation of Mayorship by agreement to the four major groups in the municipal corporation viz the Congress, the Jan Sangh, Independents and the Communist Party the proposal which had been agreed to by both the Jan Sangh and Independents our councillors should oppose the Congress candidate and stick to the understanding with the other two groups. This was done and Aruna won with the support of non Congress councillors including the Jan Sangh and in keeping with the agreements our councillors voted for the Jan Sangh for Deputy Mayorship.

This gave rise to some controversy as to whether we should have to an understanding of this sort with the Jan Sangh committing ourselves to support their candidate for Mayorship when their turn comes. However after Aruna's resignation the Delhi comrades decided to get out of the commitments to Jan Sangh which they did. Apart from supporting the Jan Sangh Deputy Mayor the matter came up before the May meeting of the CEC which held that in the peculiar situation of Delhi municipal affairs what was done was correct.

2 There were sharp differences in the Parliamentary Group over Frank Anthony's resolution in the Lok Sabha that English be regarded as a national language and included in the 8th Schedule of the Constitution. Although the majority of the MP comrades were of the view that our group in Parliament should not support such a resolution it was, however, felt that in view of the serious differences, the matter should be decided by the Secretariat. The Secretariat discussed the question and endorsed the majority view directing the Parliamentary Group to oppose the resolution and also the contention that English is a national language. In his

speech, our spokesman carried out the instructions of the Secretariat. There was, however, no voting on the resolution.

3. The Secretariat discussed the situation in Jammu and Kashmir and welcomed the emergence of the Democratic National Conference, as a broad-based democratic organisation. Our Parliamentary Group was asked to take up the demand for the extension of the jurisdiction of the Election Commission and the Supreme Court to Jammu and Kashmir as well as for the withdrawal of the permit system and reorganisation of the High Court in line with High Courts in other parts of India.

Our MPs were also asked to emphasise the issue of civil liberties and democratic rights etc. On the basis of these demands, contacts were made with leading *members of* other parties and the Parliament was also moved from all sides. The result was that step by step the authorities moved in this directions. The permit system was withdrawn, the jurisdiction of the Election Commission has also been extended which is a big gain in the interests of democracy. The High Court is also going to be reorganised.

Friends from Jammu and Kashmir have expressed their appreciation of whatever little initiative the Party has taken in the interests of integration and democracy

But the Secretariat has not given all due attention to the situation in Jammu and Kashmir demands nor has the CEC been able to discuss this matter which is long pending.

4. Sarvodaya people invited us to participate in their camp in Punjab. The matter was referred to the Secretariat which advised the Punjab Committee to send a good letter but not to join the camp

Immediately after the Nagpur Congress Session in January 1959, the Secretariat discussed this. There was general agreement that the extreme Right had not succeeded in its attempt, that the contradictions within the Congress had further sharpened giving rise to new possibilities of developing broad-based mass activities on the basis of the resolution on ceilings, State-trading, public sector, etc. It was broadly discussed whether the Nagpur Session represented any shift but the Secretariat was of the view that no such shift had yet taken place.

Comrade Ajoy was asked to write an article on the basis of the discussions and an article appeared in the New Age Weekly (Republic Day Number). The Secretariat's understanding contained in the article gave rise to certain objections on the part of a few comrades, including CEC members. However, the February meeting of the CEC discussed the issue, as well as the article and adopted its resolution on the Nagpur Session which more or less endorsed the Secretariat stand.

5. Earlier in November 1958, the Secretariat discussed the developments in Pakistan on the basis of a note prepared by the General Secretary. It was decided to call upon the Party to start an explanatory campaign explaining the situation in Pakistan and emphasising the danger arising out of increased military aid to that country. On the basis of the discussions the General Secretary wrote an article in the Weekly. In the following March, the Secretariat issued a circular to the State Committees urging them to do everything possible to hold meeting and demonstrations against the U.S.-Pak Military Pact. Press statement had already been issued but it would appear that practically nothing was done in this respect.

6. In April-May, the Secretariat discussed the communal riots in Bhopal, Bihar and U.P. The situation in Bhopal was taking a serious turn. In pursuance of these discussions a delegation on behalf of the Party and the Communist group in Parliament was sent to Bhopal and it met both the officials and non-officials. Press Conferences were held and public statements were issued.

Finally, the delegation met the Prime Minister and submitted a memorandum on the situation in Bhopal. This intervention by the Party Centre which our Bhopal comrades sought was of help to them in dealing with the situation.

The May meeting of the CEC considered the riots and adopted a resolution.

Border Struggle in Maharashtra

The Madras Session of the National Council discussed at length the border struggle by the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti and the bigger question of the bifurcation of the bilingual

Bombay State. A resolution, too, was adopted, the main points of which were that (1) the Party should not get involved in the Satyagraha struggles across the border in Mysore (Belgaum) and (2) every effort should be made to launch a big mass struggle for the break-up of the bilingual State.

Maharashtra comrades, as will be remembered, strongly opposed the line against the border struggle. Com. Dange was not present at Madras. However, he was also firmly of the opinion that the National Council stand on the border struggle was wrong and hence did not agree with it.

The National Council decided to send a delegation on its behalf consisting of the General Secretary, Comrades Rajeshwar Rao, Gopalan, P. Ramamurthy and B.T. Randive to Maharashtra to explain to them the National Council Resolution. Except Comrade Gopalan all went and met the Maharashtra PEC.

Maharashtra comrades expressed their own views. By that time, the border struggle had already started and our comrades were participating in and even organising it. In view of this, it was agreed by the National Council representatives that the Maharashtra PEC should not completely withdraw from the struggle at this stage but steps should be taken to limit and narrow down the border struggle and thus gradually extricate the Party from it.

The joint meeting of the CEC representatives and Maharashtra PEC stressed the need for mass actions against bifurcation and the border struggle was supposed to be diverted to this.

There is no doubt that the National Council representatives modified the resolution under stress of circumstances. But this was reported to the Secretariat and the CEC and both approved the modification. In the States and among many comrades, this modification and the continuance of the border struggle, however, created confusion and gave rise to objection as well.

But what happened after the joint meeting is that the border struggle and the satyagraha, far from being restricted and wound up, began to widen and intensify. It was our comrades in Maharashtra who became the main organisers, while the other constituents of the Samiti did very little that way. The bigger

movement the political importance of which everybody admitted, did not come and the Congress forestalled it by announcing the break-up.

In the context of this latest development, again, the differences arose between the Gujarat PC and the Maharashtra PC over the Dangs and certain other areas. Not much effort was made to resolve these differences and Com. Dinkar Mehta sent more than one communication to the Centre complaining against the way things were going between the two Provincial units.

Their differences found open expression in the speeches of Com. V. D. Deshpande and Com. Dinkar Mehta respectively over the Bombay Bifurcation Bill in the Bombay Legislative Assembly and the Legislative Council. The measure of flexibility and variation in emphasis would be quite understandable in a situation of this kind, but it was not altogether impossible to avoid such conflicting positions of the comrades concerned if the two units had properly discussed and tried to find a solution.

At its meeting on December 2, 1958, the Secretariat discussed the reports of Com. Dange on the Belgaum struggle and came to the conclusion that it was time to start the struggle against the bilingual itself. Com. Dange was asked to go to Bombay immediately with this object in view, which he did.

The Secretariat availed of the presence of a number of leading comrades from Maharashtra in Delhi in connection with the Samiti demonstration before the Parliament and discussed with them the issue. There again the need for the struggle for break-up of the bilingual was stressed and comrades were asked to divert the border struggle in that direction. But there the matter virtually ended as far as the Secretariat was concerned. It hardly took any steps to effectively intervene for restricting the border struggle, much less getting the comrades there to start a bigger movement in Bombay.

Of course, the Kerala developments and the India-China issue put this particular question somewhat in the shade. Recently, the Secretariat generally decided in favour of a kind of flexible stand by the Gujarat and Maharashtra comrades over the bifurcation bill and allowed for even certain differences being publicly

expressed. But they were asked to stick to the Pataskar formula on border adjustment.

The Secretariat did not discuss the speeches of the two comrades in the Bombay legislature nor did it work out any approach for Parliament; but left to Com. Dange the task of dealing with the Bill there. Within the Parliamentary Group, some comrades, however, expressed their doubts and wanted to discuss, but in view of what had already happened, they were discouraged. Maharashtra comrades dealt with the Bill in both Houses more or less on the lines of the Samiti. Com. Dange, however, stressed the Pataskar formula and tried to maintain a balance.

Com. Dinkar Mehta, however, wrote to the Centre in which he despairingly complained against the stand taken in the Bombay Assembly and in the Lok Sabha. It should be stated here that Com. Dinkar Mehta's stand in the Council was also on the other extreme.

As far as the Karnataka PEC is concerned, they have always differed on the question of the border struggle. It appears that in the Party Organ (*Janashakti*) they have written that the border struggle was not timely and that the Pataskar formula could not be a solution for resolving the border question between Mysore and Maharashtra.

Parliament

On all important issues, like Kerala, Tibet, Thimayya episode, India-China relations, the Secretariat guided the Parliamentary Group and in fact the stand taken in the Parliament was the result of mutual consultations between the two.

In regard to Kerala, the State Committee also rendered great help and but for their co-operation it would not have been possible for the Parliamentary Group or the Centre to raise the issues so effectively in the Parliament.

As for the India-China question, internal Party differences were also reflected within the Parliamentary Group itself. But except for one or two departures, our MP comrades have maintained complete discipline. Our Group in Parliament had to

face a very difficult situation like of which it had never experienced before. The general line of the Group has been to stress negotiations and peaceful settlement and talks between the two Prime Ministers, while concentrating fire on the enemies of such an approach and of India's foreign policy. In this care was taken to see that the opponents of the policy of peace and negotiations did not succeed in building up a common front with those who, however agitated or bitter they may be over the India-China border developments, generally stand for the present foreign policy and a sober approach. This made it necessary for our Group to be extremely cautious in its approach.

Although the PSP Jan Sangh and elements like Masani raised a big noise now and then, they, however, ultimately found themselves pitted against a large number of Congress MPs. In the Congress Parliamentary Party too, their friends were cornered and they suffered a big rebuff when the invitation to the Chinese Premier for talks was announced.

In spite of initial difficulties, our Group did not come out badly in the Parliament over this issue.

During the past few months, there has been a concerted drive for greater foreign private investments in our country. This situation has been matched by our Group through constant exposure of foreign capital and our Group literally kept foreign capital under a barrage of exposure. The exposure in respect of Oil has been particularly effective and its impact is felt not only by the Ministry but also by foreign oil concerns.

Similarly, the questions of land reforms and co-operatives were also taken up by our Group with a view to pinning down the Government to define the steps on the basis of the broad declarations of the Congress Party.

On the Pay Commission's Report, the Communist MPs led the attack on the basis of the discussions between the AIUC Centre and our MPs working on the EU front.

Pondichery Committee of the Party and Com Subbiah referred certain important matters of administration, etc. to the Parliamentary Group and these were taken up in both Houses.

It is our Group which systematically fought for the implementation of the policy of State-trading in food-grains. But it was not succeeded in preventing its virtual sabotage. The Food issue was also kept up by our Group. In all this, many Congressmen sympathised and even lent their voice more or less to the position which we had taken. But for this support and sharing of feelings, Ajit Prasad Jain would not have been forced to resign.

Likewise the Rehabilitation problem, particularly scandals of Dandakaranya were highlighted by our Group in Parliament. And this set the ball rolling. The Rehabilitation Minister is badly shaken.

Our Group persistently exposed the moves of the Dalai Lama and his entourage as well as their dealings in respect of gold and other things. Generally our stand has found support among many Congressmen, though they expressed themselves in their own way. The support to Dalai Lama, of course, comes from the PSP benches, without any effect.

Deshmukh's demand for probe into corruption—the Secretariat attached considerable importance to Deshmukh's demand for probe into the charges of corruption and our Parliamentary Group pursued the matter in both the Houses.

In the recent controversy over the Auditor General's Report regarding defence expenditure, our Group has avoided entanglements with either of the two extreme positions, viz., the fierce attack on the Auditor General disregarding the findings of the Report on the one hand and the Defence of what the Auditor-General has done irrespective of palpable political motivations, behind this business.

While the political manoeuvres have to be exposed, the case of corruption and squandering of public money which is so common in defence services cannot be allowed to be sidetracked either.

This line of approach was adopted by our Parliamentary Group general body with four Secretariat members participating and agreeing.

One of two other MP comrades, however, have some reservations and they seemed to be of the view that we should

more or less take the position of Feroze Gandhi, i.e., blind support to Menon and wholesale denunciation of the Auditor General

There were political discussion in the general body on all important major questions and the stand taken in the Parliament has generally reflected the collective views of the Group

Efforts have been made to utilise the services of Parliamentary Group for the assisting of mass movements as was done in the case of anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab and the West Bengal Food struggle. But with better planning and co-ordination much more can be done in this respect and for sending MPs for propaganda and campaign purpose to the States. Importance of this is not fully grasped by the Parliamentary Group at least when it comes to our MPs going to States other than their own.

Although every Saturday or Sunday, the general body meets and takes necessary decisions the Executive Committee ever hardly functions. It is difficult to get together or even the majority of the seven members present in Delhi at the same time. Besides, the general body itself practically discusses all subjects concerning the Group and its work with the result that the executive meeting is viewed as something unnecessary and redundant. But the failure on this score can hardly be justified for the discussions in the smaller body would be of greater help to the Collective work. In matter of attendance and discipline of the Group, some comrades don't observe them properly.

Huge arrears have accumulated during 1957, 1958 and 1959. While the arrears of 1957 were practically written off, the arrears for the last two years amounted to about Rs. 20,000 (on 1st of January 1960). The Secretariat and the general body took a firm stand this time with regard to arrears of 1958, 1959. This led to the realisation of the arrears from all except two comrades whose names have been published in the New Age Weekly. Com. Nana Patil's name was not published for some special consideration.

It is felt by MP comrades that if the staff to assist the Parliamentary work were a little strengthened, our work would considerably improve. Things are so shaping out in Parliament that without assistance of the Party leadership and study of all matters of public importance and without continuous preparation

all the year round, it is not possible to effectively discharge the responsibilities. In this connection, the self-study of MPs also assumes great urgency.

Parliament is the focal point of all-India national policies, and the best efforts on the part of the Group and the most effective guidance of the Secretariat are what is called for. This has to be developed. Further, it will also be noted that when things go well with our Group in Parliament, the entire Party feels happy and enthused and it helps the movement. And when things go wrong, the Party and the movement equally suffers.

Detailed account of the work are given in the Reviews.

The February meeting of the Secretariat also discussed the question of Rajya Sabha elections. This meeting of the Secretariat was attended by Comrades E.M.S., P. Ramamurthy, M. N. Govindan Nair and Harkishan Singh Surjit on invitation. In view of the fact that since out of 14 of our members, 6 were retiring, and the PSP was making a drive to oust us from the leading position of the Opposition in the Rajya Sabha, the Secretariat took certain decision. It asked the Tamilnad PC to put up Com. Ramamurthy and if necessary to arrive at certain adjustments for his success.

It supported the Jharkhand member Bodra who has been friendly to the Party. The Bihar Party had no candidate of their own. Bodra lost by only one vote and if he had been elected, the PSP candidate who has been returned from Bihar would have been out. (Com. Kedar Das's vote was not utilised and one Jharkhand MLA could not attend because his son had died that day). Great efforts were made in UP to get our candidate through and there we lost by one vote.

The Secretariat also gave some instructions to the Kerala comrades where again we lost by 0.2 votes.

As for West Bengal, the Secretariat opposed the nominee of State Party for Rajya Sabha. The decision that the seat should be held by a Party candidate, taking into account the political drive that is going amongst the Muslim minority by the Congress Party. The Secretariat decided that Com. Abdul Razzak Khan should be recommended. The Secretariat, however, left it to the State

Committee to nominate a better Muslim candidate if they so chose

When the meeting was going on, the Secretariat invited the comrades of the West Bengal Committee to come and attend the meeting for mutual consultations. But nobody came, but some comrade of the Secretariat to go to Calcutta saying that they were not convinced of the Secretariat decision.

Com Ajoy went to Calcutta and explained the stand taken by the Secretariat. But the West Bengal State Executive Committee remained unconvinced as before. They gave their own reasons and pointed out the difficulty in changing their decision. One reason was that S W Calcutta Parliamentary bye-election. However they said that only if a Secretariat mandate was given they would change their candidate and nominate Abdul Razzak Khan.

Com Ajoy brought Com Muzzaffar Ahmad along with him to Delhi and there was further discussions in the Secretariat.

After considering every aspect of the matter the Secretariat decided to stick to its conclusion and decision but did not think it proper to give any mandate. This failure of the Secretariat to enforce its decision has come in for severe criticism by many comrades.

The independent candidate proposed and supported by our Party was elected and he has of course, joined the Group in the Rajya Sabha as an Independent.

Today our Party and the PSP have equal number of members in the Rajya Sabha, i.e. 12 seat.

Com S K Limaye of the Lal Nishan immediately joined the Communist Group.

The Communist Group in Parliament unanimously opposed the stand taken by the West Bengal State unit and took the view that a Party member should be returned. The Group also generally expressed in favour of Abdul Razzak Khan and approved the Central Secretariat decision about the candidate.

Students and Youth

In November 1958, the Secretariat called a meeting of the leading student and youth cadres to discuss the problem facing the youth front. One of the most important issues was the future of the role of the old students organisation where our comrades have been working. These meetings took place in December 1958 and Com. P. C. Joshi represented the Secretariat.

The documents were drawn up, one of the youth and the other on students. Com. Joshi also attended the Udaypur Session.

In January Com. Joshi reported to the Secretariat on the above two meetings. The Secretariat did not make any detailed study of the two documents, particularly the draft on the one on the students. It was further decided that the Secretariat assist the student comrade working at the all-India Centre.

For work among the youth also, the Secretariat similarly decided to help the youth comrade concerned. For a period of four months, i.e. from January to April. This was done in view of the preparation for the Cairo Conference.

A skeleton Youth Centre for Youth work, though very weak has been set up, and all-India youth organisation which has also come into existence mainly as a result of the efforts of the youth centre. Some little progress has been made in building up contacts, etc. This should not, however, be taken to mean that any real break has been made.

As for the student front, the document that was prepared at the December meeting of leading cadres and later approved by the Secretariat gave rise to serious controversy in a number of places as well as all manner of interpretations. Some took it to mean virtual liquidation of the establishment of student organisation in the name of developing unions, etc. The issue was also discussed in one or two States but only the West Bengal Committee gave their considered views through oral report at the CEC meeting.

Further, the entire question came up before the August meeting of the CEC which corrected the line of the Student document and took a firm decision that the old student organisation must continue and be further developed as a mass organisation of the "democratically-minded students". This set at rest the doubts and

speculations about the position of the Party leadership, vis-a-vis the future of the old student organisation

While the CEC discussed this question, it did not have the considered views from most of the States although the Party Centre had circulated in March both the student and youth documents inviting their opinion

The CEC's clear stand about the character of the old student's organisation gave a new spurt to student activity at least in places like West Bengal. The need for an independent Student's organisation like the one we had was particularly underlined by the developments in Kerala and over the India-China issue.

It should be noted here that this organisation put up a good fight and registered great victories in the union elections in West Bengal especially in Calcutta against the combined forces of Congress PSP Forward Bloc and others which dragged the India China border dispute into union elections and did everything to exploit it.

The Party Centre has however practically no connection with the all India Student Centre which carries on more or less in its own way. There has been a serious decline in the recent years in our Party's work among the students and for overcoming this grave shortcoming little has been done by the Centre or the State Committees. Student masses are getting non-political and are falling victims of anti Social influences in many places. Practically no cadres are coming up from the Student front. This again is a serious situation which the Party must face.

As matters stand today it will be unrealistic to expect that the Party Centre can do very much beyond helping the student and youth comrades to work out broad general approach. The brunt of the responsibility for building the youth and the student movement must necessarily rest on the Provincial Committees concerned and the problem as far as the Centre is concerned is really one of getting them to move.

Women

At the Madras National Council meeting a Sub-Committee was set up consisting of Renu Chakravarty Parvati Krishnan

Rosamma Punnoose, Rajrah Begum, Vasudevan Nair and one comrade from Andhra Some members of this Committee met and drafted a note on "Tasks of the Party in Relation to Women " This document was discussed at a meeting of about ten leading women comrades called in June 1959 at Delhi Two Secretariat members Com Bhupesh Gupta and Dr Z A Ahmad attended this meeting The women comrades present generally accepted the recommendations of the note and further put forward certain proposals for immediate implementation by the Secretariat

No action was, however, taken by the Secretariat on any of these recommendations

In October 1959, Com Z A Ahmad was deputed by the Secretariat to help women comrades at the time of the All-India Conference There again some criticism was made of the lack of attention to women's movement by the Party leadership The women's fraction also made some political and organisational proposals for developing work among women

Following this the Party Centre gave temporary financial aid to the women's Committee for the maintenance of one women whole-time, but did not discuss or take any action on the other recommendations made by the women's fraction

Cultural Workers

The cultural front was also placed under the charge of Com Joshi who is supposed to look after the song and drama wing, while Com Sajjad Zaheer has been asked to deal with the writers A meeting of the drama front was held in Delhi and it made certain recommendations to the Party Centre But it has not been possible for the Secretariat to consider, much less take any decision

There is hardly any guidance from the Centre to the comrades working amongst writers and artistes And this has become a major problem today for the entire democratic movement Reactionary elements are busy in building contacts and liaison with writers and artistes

New Age Weekly

In the Secretariat's Work Report to the Madras National Council meeting, certain improvements in New Age Weekly as well as in the functioning of the Editorial Board were noted. Shortcomings were also pointed out and it was proposed that the Editorial Board and the Sectt should discuss at length the problems of the journal and that the latter should give direction to the paper from week to week. It was stated that the general weakness of the functioning of the Editorial Board and the Secretariat had stood in the way of any radical political improvement of our weekly Central organ.

What however happened after the Madras Council meeting is that the political character of the journal began to decline and the functioning of the Editorial Board also started equally deteriorating and now the situation has reached a critical stage when nothing short of radical measures would help. Political differences within the Editorial Board, the style of its work, the failure of the Secretariat to resolve the problems lie at the root of the present sorry State of affairs. There are other factors too including the failure of the Secretari and the CEC members to contribute articles regularly.

By the end of December 1958 a number of criticisms some rather serious had accumulated and most of these related to the writings of the Editor. The Republic Day Editorial (1959) gave rise to strong resentment among a number of CEC members so much so that the February meeting of the CEC adopted a resolution repudiating this editorial as being contrary to the line of the Party. A circular to that effect was sent by *end* to the State Committees.

What is more important, the February meeting of the CEC devoted a whole day to the discussions of the New Age Weekly and the internal problems of the Editorial work.

Ultimately, it was decided as an interim arrangement to reconstitute the Editorial Board with three Secretariat members Coms Joshi, M Basavapunniah and B T Ranadive and three from the editorial staff Comrades Ramdass, Zia and Mohit Sen. It was further decided that in the event of differences arising the

majority view in this Editorial Board of 6 should prevail. This clearly meant certain definite abridgement of the usual functions and authority of the Editor. But the step was taken by the CFC due to political reasons.

The arrangement was, of course, strongly resisted by Com Joshi although he formally submitted to it.

Clashes began to grow inside the Editorial Board. The Notes of the Week came in for severe criticism by all other members of the Editorial Board and also by some members of the Sectt and this column was ultimately abandoned. Majority of members of the Editorial Board found themselves in rather strong disagreement with the outlook and view of the Editor and, of course, with many of his writings.

It is not as if always these comrades differing with the editor were politically right. But more often than not, the stand taken by the majority was found to be more correct and in conformity with the line of the Party and the understanding of the Sectt. In fact, this prevented some of the wrong stuff going to the press. It was not thought necessary for the Sectt as a whole to go into every such issue since there are three members of the Sectt on the Editorial Board. Nevertheless, it was necessary for the Secretariat to intervene to set matters right. The failure of the Sectt to take a clear and firm stand on some matters, including political questions, also contributed to the confusion and deterioration in the internal relation of the Editorial Board.

The three members of the Editorial Board who are not Secretariat members are of the view that it is Com Joshi's attempts to push his views and his organisational methods that are primarily responsible for the situation. Com Joshi, of course, has entirely different things to say. However, it needs to be pointed out that, apart from the failure of the Secretariat political as well as organisational to deal with the New Age Weekly, the conduct of the non-Secretariat Editorial Board members in cutting out portions from Com Joshi's articles without prior reference to him were also improper and wrong (unless this became unavoidable). These comrades have admitted their mistakes.

After the Meerut meeting of the National Council, Comrades B T Ranadive and M Basavapunniah were temporarily relieved from the responsibility in the Weekly as members of the Editorial Board, having been appointed on the Commission on Political Report. Their absence from the Editorial Board meant that whatever Secretariat intervention was possible through them in the matter of conflict between the Editor and other comrades was gone.

Com Joshi is of the view that the Secretariat members on the Editorial Board, far from setting things right did not themselves function properly.

Anyhow Com Joshi and other members of the Secretariat sometimes very strongly differed. These differences naturally had their impact on the editorial work and on other comrades.

Looking at the journal itself it has failed to publish articles and write-ups which the Party needed most in the period under review. One such glaring failure of the paper has been on the India-China issue. But that is largely due to the serious differences within the Party leadership itself.

In November 1958 the Secretariat decided apart from its own members Ajoy, Bhupesh BTR and Z A Ahmad, Com Ramesh also should write regularly to the New Age. Except for Z A Ahmed who was given one article a month others were expected to write at least two articles every month. But none carried out this assignment fully. Comrades Bhupesh, Ajoy and Ahmed did very little. Com Ajoy was of course ill and on leave a good part of the time.

As far as CFC members are concerned, their contribution was practically nil, barring Com EMS.

The write ups and writings from the States have been very inadequate. In fact, most States did not participate in New Age editorial work. The Editorial staff is numerically too weak to cope with the tasks the New Age should discharge.

Before the mid-term elections in Kerala, between 11,500 and 12,000 copies on an average were published, having risen from 8,000 copies just on the eve of the second general elections. After

the mid-term elections in Kerala, the sales began to fall steadily and it is now about 10,000. It should be noted that within a period of six weeks the paper has gone down by 2,000 copies (Calcutta 600, Bombay 200, etc.)

One of the reasons to explain this fall, is, of course, the accumulation of arrears with agents as a result of which a number of defaulting agencies have been cancelled. By all accounts, it would appear that in the States there is little effort on the part of the Party organisations to help the sales of New Age. This may partly be due to the fact that the leaders and functionaries do not find the paper interesting and useful from their point of view but this can hardly be the main reason. In cities like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Delhi—it is through hawkers that New Age circulates, with our Party members and units taking practically no interest in the matter

For some time we registered considerable improvement in the matter of advertisements but during the last few months, very few advertisements have come. It is almost impossible to get advertisements from major advertising concerns and advertising agencies due to political reasons. The Government advertisements are also difficult to get unless there is constant pressure which we try to maintain through our Group in Parliament. So the trend is downward and deficit continues

Now, it should be stated here that the February CEC decision about the Editorial Board did not at all work. Com Joshi has his own strong views as to why the whole thing is in such a mess today

The record of New Age is, however, not just merely one of shortcomings and failures. During this period, the New Age played an important part in the campaign for Kerala, laying bare the truth about the counter-revolutionary rebellion in Tibet, a number of articles and write-ups were published on campaigns and mass struggles in the States like anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab and the West Bengal food movement, etc. Apart from exposure materials, certain articles on political developments and economic matters have received wide attention and have no doubt helped Party comrades and Party journals.

As far as possible, on current developments, New Age has tried to react through editorials, etc.

Regular features have appeared on Parliament and Labour.

New Age (Monthly) & Party Education

One of the important task assigned by the Madras National Council to BTR was the preparation of a syllabus for Party Education. A Committee was appointed by the Council. BTR convened a meeting of the Committee in January 1959. It was attended by Ajay, G Adhikari, Jolly Kaul, Sankarayya and BTR. The Committee sat for a number of days and prepared a synopsis for twelve lessons. BTR, Ajay, Adhikari, Jolly Kaul and Sankarayya were assigned respectively for different lessons to be written in a pamphlet form. Unfortunately, barring Sankarayya none has been able to fulfill his assignment. This is mainly due to the fact that beyond writing a few letters no initiative was taken by the members in charge.

The New Age Monthly is being regularly brought out but without a serious co-operation either from the Secretariat members or the CLC members. Articles and subjects are previously assigned to comrades but very rarely the assignments are fulfilled. Bhowani Sen, Prasad Rao, Damodaran, Gurucharan Patnaik have written a few articles for the Monthly in the past few months. Secretariat members have written very rarely. It is very difficult to secure articles from CLC members, consequently the level of the Monthly could not be improved.

To be worthy of being considered as a theoretical organ of the Party, the Monthly requires the co-operation of all leading comrades of the CLC, who can improve it by constantly writing for the magazine and discussing its contents. Unfortunately, the CLC has not yet found time to discuss the Monthly and has not been able to give its guidance to the Editorial Board.

The Circulation of the Monthly is very poor. During 1959 4,000-4,500 copies used to be printed. Now it is 3,500 from January this year. This fall is on account of the cancellation of some defaulting agencies whose arrears accumulated. A number

of printed copies, however, remains unsold. There is no arrangement for organising sales.

The Secretariat discussed the press and the publication. The situation called for a particular approach in regard to press and reorganisation. Comrade Dange was put in sole charge with all authority and power.

Peace, etc.—Oral Report.

Urdu Journal

Madras National Council took a decision to bring out Urdu and Hindi weeklies and a call for raising Rs. 20,000 for this purpose was given.

After the Council meeting, the Secretariat finalised the plans for bringing out the Urdu organ but dropped the proposals for a Central Hindi organ for the present. Com. Zaheer was entrusted with the task of raising the fund and he visited Calcutta, Hyderabad, Bombay and other places in this connection. Except for the Calcutta DC and some units in Punjab, very little was collected by Party units for the journal in the States.

The paper *Awami Daur* started coming out from the first week of December 1959 and the lack of funds and certain other technical difficulties have been responsible for this delay.

On the staff there are three comrades on the editorial side, including the editor and 2 on the managerial side

The paper has been well received and its circulation is an indication of this. Starting with 2,000 copies for the first issue, in two months its circulation doubled; now it is 4,000. In Punjab, West Bengal, Bombay, Delhi and U.P., the circulation is over 300. Compared to the possibilities even in these places, the circulation is, of course, very weak, but most of all it is so in U.P.

It was decided that the paper should be somewhat broad-based. Some criticism are coming in from two opposite ends— one saying that the journal is tending to become a literary journal; the other viewpoint is that it is becoming much too political. Therefore, the question of the character of the paper has to be correctly settled. This issue, has never been discussed by the Secretariat so far and no attention is paid to this aspect.

At the Secretariat meeting on November 17, 1958, a plan for its work in the following six months was drawn up which included (1) Party Education, (2) Pamphlets, (3) Journals, (4) Document on Revisionism and dogmatism, (5) Participation of the Secretariat members in Provincial Conferences (6) Calling of certain all-India TU fraction meetings

Some of these items are dealt with separately in the Report So here mention need be made only about pamphlets

All Secretariat members except Com Gopalan were given assignments for writing pamphlets —one pamphlet each and the subjects were also fixed All except Com Ajoy have failed to carry out their assignments

Failure to bring out topical pamphlets which the entire Party and the mass movement are realy hungering for is one of the most pitiable failures of the Secretariat and the Party Centre

In this connection reference should be made to the fact that Com BIR, N Prasada Rao and Bhupesh Gupta were assigned the preparation of draft outline for the Third Plan But this has not been done

The resolution Some aspects the Agrarian Question reviewed the work on the agrarian front and said that so long as the agricultural workers are not actively brought into the movement it would remain weak and called upon the Party units to organise the agricultural labourers into their own independent organisation whenever necessary and register them under the Trade Union Act This organisational task had been unanimously accepted and hence it was hoped that work on the agricultural labour front would be taken up seriously in States where they do not exist previously and that organisation built But very little work in this aspect had been done and except in Punjab Andhra Pradesh Tamilnad and Kerala, where these organisation exist for a long time, no attempts have been made in other States to organise agricultural labourers Thus the resolution remained only on paper, so far as this task is concerned

After that resolution was adopted in the Madras meeting of the National Council, the Party Centre had never reviewed the progress nor created any mechanism to implement that decision

As a result there is no guidance to the above four provinces where the movement exists and there is not even co-ordination or even exchange of experiences on this front.

Several big organisational problems are arising which require immediate attention of the Party as a whole. Allocation of cadre, collection of fund, building the organisation as an independent mass organisation are always there. Besides, certain other serious problems are arising in those States where the work on agricultural labour front is seriously taken up. There is danger that cadre coming from the kisans line up behind the kisans and those coming from agricultural labour class falling behind their own class whenever friction or clashes occur between these two classes. This lining up behind their own classes is causing in some areas serious disruption of the agricultural labour movement as well as the Party.

Also, the question of cadre is assuming greater importance when the organisation is seriously taken up. The movement and the organisation cannot be carried on by the cadre coming from agricultural labour class alone nor the entire Party orientates towards the task of building this movement if cadre coming from other classes also take up that work.

These and such other important political-organisational tasks can be discharged when the Centres at the all-India and Provincial levels seriously take them up and tackle.

Kisan Centre

The resolution entitled "Some Aspects of the Agrarian Question" passed at the Madras Session of the National Council evaluated the post-independence developments in the agrarian field with particular reference to changes in land relations brought about by Congress legislation. For several years, this question was being casually discussed inside the Party and various wrong and lopsided ideas and evaluations held the field. It was, however, being felt generally that the highest Party Committee should take up the issue seriously and evolve a firm and unified understanding which could serve as basis for working out correct tactics on the peasant front. The Madras resolution

which was unanimously adopted was a big step forward in that direction

Unfortunately, the understanding of this resolution could not be enriched and carried forward by the Party in the subsequent months. The National Council expected that the State Executive Committee would discuss the resolution and suggest amendments and changes in the light of which the National Council could review it, if necessary, in a subsequent session. This, however, did not take place. With the exception of West Bengal, no State Executive Committee communicated any opinion in regard to this resolution to the Party Centre. All State Executives were notified twice, once immediately after the Madras Session and again before Meerut to the effect that they should discuss the resolution and send their opinions to the Centre, but there was no response whatsoever. There is no information as to which State Committees have actually discussed the resolution.

A few months after the Madras Council meeting, the Secretariat considered certain criticisms to the effect that the resolution tended to exaggerate the growth of capitalist relation in Indian agriculture. It was found that the strength of feudal and semi feudal survivals which continue to depress agricultural production and maintain the present backward set up of our agrarian economy had been under-estimated. It was felt that wrong tactics may be worked out on the basis of the understanding of the resolution. So the Sectt decided to re-examine some of the formulations of the resolution. Com Ajoy prepared a note for this purpose.

Com Ajoy's note was discussed neither by the Sectt nor by the Central Executive Committee. It was, however, expected that the Kisan Sub Committee appointed by the National Council in Madras would consider it and make its recommendations before the Council met in Meerut. But this Sub-Committee could not meet on the eve of Meerut because by that time the problem of India-China border dispute had come to occupy the centre of the stage, relegating everything else into the background.

After the Meerut Session, the CEC appointed another sub-committee consisting of Comrades Bhowani Sen, Z. A. Ahmad

and Prasada Rao to re-examine the Madras resolution in the light of whatever criticism had been received and to recommend to the CEC the amendments it deemed necessary.

This Committee, as a whole could not meet because one of its members, Com. Prasada Rao went abroad immediately after Meerut and was not available. However, two members of the Sub-Committee, Com. Bhowani Sen and / A. Ahmad met several times in Delhi and re-examined the resolution on the basis of which a note was prepared by Com. Bhowani Sen and submitted to the Central Secretariat. This note has not yet been discussed by the Secretariat or the CEC.

The draft resolution on 'The Party and Peasant Organisations' which was placed before the National Council in Madras was as per decision of the Council circulated among all State Executive Committees for opinion and suggestions. It is not known as to how many State Committees have discussed this draft.

After the Mayavaram Kisan Conference Com. Bhowani Sen took charge of the all India Kisan Centre in Delhi. It was decided that he should stay for at least ten days in a month in Delhi and devote the rest of his time to touring in other States, which he has done. Com. Gopalan and Ahmad have also been going out from time to time for addressing kisan rallies and conferences. But it is true that the tour programmes of leading kisan sabha comrades at the Centre have not been properly organised due partly to the persistence of the traditional pattern of spontaneous functioning and partly to their preoccupation with other jobs not directly connected with kisan sabha work.

The functioning of the all-India Kisan Sabha office has not registered any marked improvement in this period. The office still remains isolated from the main currents of the Kisan movement. Hardly any reports are received from the States and correspondence with the lower kisan units is few and far between. The only relieving feature is the republication of the all-India Bulletin, two numbers of which have already come out and the third one is under preparation. Unfortunately, the Provincial Kisan Committees have so far shown very little interest in the sale

of the bulletin or the utilisation of the information material contained therein.

The idea of drawing some of our Parliament Members into the work of developing an efficient all-India Kisan Centre has also not materialised due to various reasons.

The all-India Kisan Centre in Delhi can make useful contributions to the movement if it devotes itself properly to the work of bringing out campaign pamphlets on outstanding kisan issues of an all-India nature and preparing information documents, study course etc., which can be used for educating the kisan cadres in the States. This however, necessitates an adequate number of whole time cadres having the capacity to undertake such work more funds and more live contacts with the States. With the present extremely limited resources of the all India Kisan Centre both in whole time cadres and in funds this task cannot be undertaken seriously.

Trade Union Front

The TU front is a well organised all India mass front in the Party. Here a number of important questions of an all-India nature and of mass action arose from time to time and these had a great bearing on the national politics as a whole.

The glaring defect of the work of the Secretariat in this respect has been that the whole thing has been left to Com Dange. Except on one or two occasions the Secretariat had no opportunity to discuss the problems of the working class movement or the trade union front. Neither has Com Dange submitted a report nor has the Secretariat seriously insisted on having it.

No wonder that sometimes the Secretariat members have come to know some of the major decisions of the TU centre after they have been taken. On more than one occasion the comrades working in important industries and unions have complained that they do not get any collective guidance from the Secretariat and the CEC. The latest illustration of this has been over the Second Pay Commission Report, which neither the Secretariat nor the CEC had discussed.

In this period, some steps have been taken at the Party-end to discuss important issues and give guidance to various sectors in the trade union front. But the Secretariat as a collective body is little aware of what goes on at the trade union centre or how Com Dange is handling the matters. One can understand what it means when the all-India leadership of the Party of the working class remains so aloof from the living problems of the class, its movement, its political and organisational state of affairs.

The Madras Council meeting appointed a TU Sub-Committee of Comrades S A Dange, Indrajit Gupta, Balachandria Menon, Jagannath Sarkar and P Ramamurthy or M Kalyanasundaram.

A meeting of this committee was convened in Calcutta where it met on 9,10,11 December 1958. Com Ajoy Ghosh General Secretary, attended the meeting.

Along with the meeting of the sub-committee representatives from the Iron & Steel and Mining areas of the Bihar, Bengal and Orissa areas were invited and an enlarged meeting with the TU Sub-Committee was held for two days. At this meeting Com P Ramamurthy or Kalyanasundaram or Balachandria Menon were unable to attend. Instead Com Ranen Sen was requested to be present at the sub committee meeting. The enlarged meeting was attended by 25 of comrades.

The meeting appointed sub-committees for iron and steel, coal and engineering and after taking reports, worked out concrete slogans for the movement. This was the only meeting of the National TU Sub Committee convened as such for specific work.

Though Party members in various trade groups have been meeting from time to time, in almost all trades and industries, the National TU Committee as such did not meet again separately in a formal way. Its members met as a committee at Trivandrum and at Meerut, when the Council met at these places.

The attention of the Secretariat was drawn by Com SAD to the "non-functioning" nature of this committee. In his note to the Sectt. dated 5th December 1959, raising the matter in connection with the Pay Commission, he said:

"The All-India Sub-Committee of the National Council on TU matters is practically a non-functioning body. It once met in Calcutta to discuss the problem of iron and steel and coal.

"Thereafter, at Trivandrum meeting of the National Council, it met along with the AIKS group to discuss problems of unions of agricultural labour.

"Nothing was done to follow it up.

"At Meerut, there was a proposal to discuss some problems. But nothing could be done in the atmosphere there

"Thus, it is very plain that, that committee is not able to carry out its tasks. By the very nature of it, it cannot be a functioning body unless it can function as something like a Central Secretariat of the TU wing. Even then I am doubtful

'As I am the convenor of that Committee, I am *putting* this matter before you. It is no use my being either a convenor or trying to function a body which by its very nature cannot"

Though the sub-committee as such could not meet regularly it does not mean that Party units in various industries and trades did not function. In fact, it is well-known¹¹ that trade group meetings in almost every sector have been having formal meetings and organised discussions, consultations and decisions on all important matters affecting the trade unions movement. Com Dange has been present in all these meetings and guiding their work.

It would be a very long list of dates, places and industries if we were to mention all the meetings of Party members and leading Party functionaries and trade union workers of the Party who have participated in these meetings. No important decision of any kind in any TU sector was taken without the participation of Com. SAD and in many of the meetings, some of the other members of the TU Sub-Committee also were present. Com. Ramamurthy and Com. Ranen Sen assisted in the P&T workers' questions; Com. Indrajit Gupta and Com. J. Sarkar in iron and steel; Coms. Ramamurthy and Kalyanasundaram along with C. Rajeshwar Rao handled the railway problem on the SIR and so on.

It would not be out of place to mention some of the trade group meetings that were called, at which important decisions regarding the tactical approach and line of work were taken. It is not possible to list all of them but some outstanding once are mentioned below:

Port & Dock: (Calcutta) On December 12, 1958 and latest on February 24, 1960 with in between consultations in Bombay and Delhi when the Port and Dock Federation met. Guidance on the dock strike was given from Bombay.

Engineering: Constant consultations with all important centres, particularly Calcutta, Bombay, Bangalore took place at various periods. The founding of the Engineering Federation was a result of meetings which took place in Delhi on April 22, 1959. The latest meeting took place in Delhi on February 17, 1960.

Iron & Steel: The work of the Jamshedpur Mazdoor Union, the strike of May 12, the work of Defence of the Jamshedpur Conspiracy Case, the work at Assansol – all this was guided from the Centre by SAD. The latest consultation meeting was held in Assansol on March 22, 1960. Work at other iron and steel centres is taken in hand.

Mining: Comrades on the mining front have done excellent work and have put in great efforts and obtained good results. There has been constant consultation on this sector. Latest was on March 23, 1960 at Assansol.

Banks: Com. SAD attended the full-fledged all-India fraction meeting of the Banks in Delhi on November 18 and 19, 1959 and important policy decisions were taken. Constant consultations with Coms. Prabhat Kar and Parwana, as also other comrades in Calcutta and Bombay are held. The latest were in Bombay and Calcutta at the time of the State Bank Strike. Com. SAD was present at both places.

L.I.C.: Comrades on this front took advice from SAD at the time of the main agreement last year. The latest consultation was in Bombay in March 1960.

Major Transport There have been several meetings of the concerned comrades. Decisions on organisation and functioning of Party members were taken. But the problem in this sector according to the report of Com SAD, defies solution. Particularly several meetings on the question of the unity on the SR, between the two unions, both run by our comrades, has been a tough problem. Com SAD reports that since his last meeting with them at Guntur, he has given up handling their case and has left it to the two PCs of Tamilnad and Andhra to resolve it as they like. There is a volume of decisions and correspondence on this. Com SAD held meetings with the comrades concerned several times at Guntur, Delhi and Trivandrum, Bangalore etc. The latest was February 17 1960 and March 11, 1960.

Textiles Several consultations with comrades from all areas. Latest meeting in Lonavala on April 14-15 1960 to decide on the line of action on the Wage Board.

Sugar Com SAD started paying attention to this front from the Lucknow meeting of comrades working in sugar areas. He had consultation with the UPPC on this on December 4 1959. Latest consultation was held in Mansurpur (U.P.) on December 18 1959 and in Poona on April 28 1960.

Delhi I U A special consultation with PMs in Delhi IUs with PC members of Delhi was held on December 3 and 4 1958.

Bombay Textiles and engineering unions in Bombay and the functioning of Party members and the Bombay Committee have received detailed consultations with Com S A Dange.

Oil & Petroleum Work in Bombay has been looked into.

Plantations Tea plantation comrades in West Bengal, Assam, Tamilnad and Kerala have had meetings and consultations with Com SAD on all matters concerning that front except on the strike in Kerala when SAD was ill and in Moscow.

AITUC PMs in the AITUC Sectt and Central Office held regular meetings and consultations regarding their work in IUs and the Party.

For a more detailed and concrete idea of all this in its objective picture can be had from the organisational report of the AITUC and the work of its centre which is available

Notes of meetings and work mentioned above with names of comrades participating are on record

As regards the growth of our work on this front, our strength in the mass TU movement and the working class, a separate report would be necessary. Its evaluation is known to all

Central Office Branch

Immediately after the Madras Council meeting, (31.10.1958) the Secretariat discussed the question of reorganisation of the PHQ and Com M Basavpunniah was asked to make his proposals on the basis of the list of Party members functioning directly under the Centre

Com Basavpunniah consulted various comrades and made his report and proposals. Accordingly a Branch was set up in July 1959. Now it consists of 58 members who work in offices under direct guidance of the Sectt and it has a branch committee of 7 comrades

The Branch engaged in general political discussion and activity and is responsible for problems of general discipline. In addition there are Party groups, formed on the basis of work which are in direct relationship with the Sectt member concerned

The Branch has usually held meetings once a week. These meetings have been for the purpose of hearing reports of leaders, for Party education and political discussions. We have had three rounds of political discussions-Kerala, India-China relations and present political situation

The Branch also participated in such mass activities as are organised by the Delhi Committee e.g. demonstrations and meetings. It independently organised a Kerala Fund collection campaign which yielded Rs. 6,000

The Branch activity got off to a good start and was quite marked at the time of general political campaigns, e.g. Kerala. But there is a noticeable stagnation at the moment and a general drop in morale of the comrades

While political activity is somewhat satisfactory, very little has been done to improve the actual work and to solve the problems of livelihood and relations between comrades working in different offices. Further, contact with any live mass movement is practically nil.

The Secretariat member-in-charge (M Basavapuniah) has been of help whenever problems have been taken to him. He has also been readily available for consultations. The Party leaders have also taken a number of general body meetings.

What is lacking is a general check-up of the work comrades are doing. There is lack of guidance to this work and its advance in a planned manner. It is this and the general lack of functioning by the Secretariat that helped the growth of frustration and cynicism among the comrades.

One of the main problems facing the Party Centre is precisely the building up of Central cadres through constant guidance and education by the Party leadership. This is hardly done and things are still allowed to drift.

Among some of the comrades there is lack of discipline and seriousness expected of comrades working at the Party Centre. This shortcoming cannot be overcome except by vigorous efforts and setting example by the leaders themselves.

Contacts With The States

The Party Centres relations with the State units have not only not improved during this period but have deteriorated. Singular exception is, of course, Kerala.

The Centre's close relations with Kerala have proved beneficial not only to the State Committee and the Sectt but to the Party as a whole. But it has to be stated that much of this positive development was due to the exigencies of the situation.

The point is to be mentioned because now that our Party is no longer in the Government and we do not face a situation of that type, the contacts and relations that we have been able to build up might again begin to slacken and we may revert to the old position.

With Delhi, Punjab, Tamilnad, Rajasthan, Maharashtra, Bihar, Orissa, Assam and West Bengal, varying degrees of contacts have been there on specific issues and of a spasmodic nature. Members of the Sectt. have visited these places in connection with certain definite assignments but generally not for studying the problems there and together with the leadership in the State. Comrades Dange and Gopalan and Ahmad have visited a number of places mostly in connection with the work of the respective mass fronts. Com. M. Basavpunniah has been attending most of the PEC and Council meetings in Andhra. The point that must be stressed here is this that those visits to the States have not been a part of any carefully worked-out plan of the Party Centre.

The Secretariat members between them attended most of the Provincial Conferences this time and the General Secretary covered the largest number of them.

Ajoy: Andhra, Bihar, West Bengal, Madhya Pradesh, U.P., Tamilnad, Kerala Special Conference.

Dange: Maharashtra

M. Basavpunniah: Andhra, Rajasthan.

B. T. Ranadive: Punjab, Tamilnad.

Ahmad: U.P.

P. C. Joshi:

A. K. Gopalan: Kerala.

Bhupesh Gupta: West Bengal, Orissa, Assam

Com. *P. Ramamurthy* was sent by the Secretariat to attend the Kerala Conference.

But no written report was submitted by any member who attended these conferences nor did the Secretariat otherwise discuss these conferences. The documents of the Conferences that came to the Party Centre were not discussed either.

These conferences gave a variety of experience, posed many urgent questions and problems from which the Sectt. could have drawn valuable lessons for itself and for the entire Party. The relationship between the Centre and the State units have come to such a pass that hardly any reports come from the latter and even correspondence is becoming scarce. Almost in every case when

the Secretariat sent a circular asking for opinions of Provincial units there was no reply, e.g.

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|-------------------|--|
| October 29, 1958 | · CEC Draft to the State Committees asking for opinion--No Reply. |
| November 27, 1958 | · State Committees asked to give opinion about Election Commission proposal for marking system— <i>Reply Only From West Bengal And Orissa Committees</i> |
| December 15, 1958 | · Circular to PCs and DCs—Questionnaire about Women cadres— <i>No Reply</i> |
| March 6, 1959 | Documents of the leading student and youth cadres' meeting— <i>No Reply</i> |
| March 24, 1959 | · Circular about document on the Party and Peasant Question— <i>No Reply</i> |

This would show the pattern that is sadly developing. Calls given through press and circulars urging Party units to hold mass meeting and demonstrations, etc are generally not acted upon even when issues are burning ones. The latest example is the complete indifference to the call of the SCII and the CFC to organise demonstrations on South Africa, an issue which is stirring the entire world. But this is not accidental. Earlier the Party Centre's calls in connection with US-Pak Pact and West Bengal food movement and anti-betterment levy struggle had been equally ignored.

It is doubtful if the State units seriously considered these circulars sent to them or calls for mass actions given. When such public appeals and calls to the Party by the Party Centre on behalf of the National Council go unheeded, it cannot but lower the prestige of the Party in the eyes of the masses and demoralise its members and friends, this is exactly what is happening.

The Party members in a certain State were asked by the February 1959 CEC meeting to complete their conference and take certain decisions within two months, but nothing had been done nor does the Secretariat know what is happening there.

Obviously in a situation like this if we increasingly get isolated from the ranks of the Party and the people, their thoughts and worries exercise their minds Political and organisational capacities of the Secretariat are bound to suffer as has been the case with the present Secretariat

On the other hand, the ideas of federalism and localism have begun to creep in and corrode the internal life of the Party Broader perspectives are getting dimmed and localist and federalist concepts which are alien to the fundamental principles of Party organisation have started manifesting themselves in different forms

Responsibility for this, of course, must in the main be traced to the work of the Secretariat and the State Party organisations The activities of the Centre need to be such that the entire Party feels their impact and find them inspiring and useful

The position is far from this today The upshot of all this is the continuous decline over recent months of the Party Centre's prestige in the provinces and this has gone on encouraging centrifugal and even disruptive tendencies It is no surprise that a majority of the Party units should have failed even to pay the Centre's share in membership dues

In this connection, it ought to be mentioned that the CEC members, too show little concern to develop the relations between the Centre and the States It is for then to ensure the implementation of the decisions of the National Council CEC and Party Centre in their respective States keep the latter informed and equipped But hardly anything of the sort is done, CEC members function as Provincial leaders, forgetting that they are a vital part of the all-India leadership and that the leadership of the Council and the CEC can never be effective without their initiative and utmost co-operation with the Party Centre

What is even more disturbing is that in certain cases, the CEC and National Council members have themselves taken the position before lower units and even before the ranks contrary to the line of the Party, carrying differences in the highest leadership to the ranks below Such things are not usually seen in the Communist Parties except when they are in a very bad shape.

these practices cannot but undermine the very foundations of Party organisation. Other considerations apart, it constitutes an example before the Party ranks, which is bad from every point of view. It is contrary to our own Party Constitution which, however, provides such differences being taken only in exceptional circumstances and through proper Party procedure and form.

To stem this trend, the Secretariat has done very little. On the contrary, some of its own acts of political vacillation and indiscipline have rather contributed to its growth. When comrades are called upon to observe Party forms, they point out to what is happening in the Secretariat. One can, therefore, easily understand the seriousness of the whole thing. It is patent enough that unless the Party Centre discharges at least its minimum political and organisational responsibilities which were laid down in the Amritsar Organisational Resolution, its relationship cannot much improve. But this would require not only very serious exertions on the part of the Secretariat but also utmost co-operation of CEC members functioning in the States.

Deeper and closer contacts between the Secretariat and the Provincial Executive Committees and joint discussions between at least some Sectt members and Provincial Sectts, if not the Provincial Committees, on most urgent political and organisational questions should receive the topmost priority. Circulars, letters and occasional discussions when some pressing issues force themselves on the Party Centre are not going to take us very far.

Secretariat

The situation within the Secretariat and its style of work should be somewhat evident from what has been stated earlier in this report. But the situation is really far worse and has now reached a stage with which the highest body of the Party—the National Council—must come to grips at all costs. Interest of the Party and the mass movement most urgently demand this.

According to our new Constitution the Sectt is supposed to 'carry the current work of the CEC when the latter is not in session' and it is not supposed to assume the functions of a Polit-Bureau whose place is now meant to be taken by the CEC. One of

the most compelling reasons why this arrangement was made in the Party set up was that no small leading body of comrades, functioning at the Centre, could be entrusted with the political and organisational responsibilities of leading the Party in conditions such as ours. Hence came the bigger body of the CEC drawn from all major units and major fronts of Party activity to assume the role of the Political Bureau. In reality, what has happened is that in many respects, the Secretariat itself has been called upon to function as the PB, while the CEC has only been some sort of a reviewing authority.

However, the Secretariat did not take decisions in certain important matters such as arising out of Kerala and India-China dispute but referred them to the CEC sometimes even calling emergent meetings.

It is not as if the Sectt. was consciously usurping the powers and authority of the CEC. Rather it is the circumstances and events that pushed the Sectt. into the spheres that should ordinarily belong to the CEC. Nevertheless, much more than "routine work" has become its functions and it has had to take a number of important political decisions.

It should be mentioned here that it is also difficult to ensure regular meetings of the CEC every two months. But events move fast, decisions cannot wait.

While the Secretariat's responsibilities have in fact thus increased, giving rise to added expectations, its functioning has, however, considerably deteriorated, particularly during the last few months or so. Despite all they have been doing, the Sectt. and the team of other comrades working directly can hardly be regarded as what is understood in Communist Party organisation as Party Centre.

Some sort of loose form and structure are no doubt but it is badly lacking in requisite attributes and qualities that go to make a Party Centre.

There was a decision that the Secretariat should meet every week and this has not been implemented, though many meetings of the Sectt. have been held.

It is not essentially a question of some formal meetings to keep

up the number, for, quite a good number of meetings have been held. If the Secretariat was engaged in serious collective study of the political and economic events the country, in discussing various organisational problems and the issues of mass movements, in preparing pamphlets and political articles, in reviewing the Party journals and checking up implementation of the decisions of the National Council and the CEC, in developing correspondence with the provincial units the need for regular well-planned Sectt. meetings at least once in every week would have been felt. It would not be wrong to say that the pattern more and more became one of calling meetings as and when issues arose. So irregularity and slackness in this respect has grown not essentially because Sectt. members do not like meetings but because of the approach and style of work of the Sectt.

It has also been a problem to get the Sectt. members together all at a time in Delhi. Very few Sectt. meetings have been attended by all. Comrades Ajoy, B.T. Ranadive, P.C. Joshi, M. Basavpunniah and Bhupesh have been generally available for these meetings. Coms. Z.A. Ahmad, and A.K. Gopalan a little less and com. Dange perhaps the least of all. These three comrades, especially Coms. Dange and Gopalan have been mostly out of Delhi in connection with their respective mass work. It is Coms. P.C. Joshi and B.T. Ranadive who have been in regular attendance at the Party Office and keep regular hours. Com. Bhupesh functions at the Parliamentary Office and so is Gopalan when he is in Delhi. Com. Dange functions from the AITUC Centre. Com. Basavpunniah has been going frequently, though not regularly, to the Central Office but of late he was busy with the Commission work. After Amritsar Congress, Com. Ajoy started going to the Central Office for a few hours daily and that was an improvement. But later he could not keep this up due to his illness and bad conditions of health.

This would show that there is no ready opportunity even for brief daily consultation among the majority of the Sectt. members. This available do not take place now and then; but that cannot obviously be regarded as a substitute for proper collective consultations in the Sectt. So meetings become the only occasion

when the Sectt members present in Delhi meet all together and discuss things as a collective body But except in some cases, generally these meetings are not properly thought or prepared for, perhaps on many items that is not necessary either The agenda is named by one or more comrades and decisions are taken It is only when major political issues are taken up that some preparation is made beforehand usually by Com Ajov himself

In the functioning of the Secretariat, the written notes, reports etc, are scarce with the result that the discussions tend to become perfunctory and no proper records are kept for future reference or for follow on The, scrappy minutes often containing only decisions, are, however, kept It was decided that only the decisions should be recorded and not who says what Issues and problems of mass fronts and mass movements are scarcely discussed in the Secretariat It is rather left to the individual comrades concerned Neither the Secretariat asks for report nor do the Sectt members concerned take any initiative in bringing up such issues or submitting them Only significant exception has been the anti-betterment levy struggle when at different stages the Secretariat discussed the question in all its aspects

The other extreme example is the recent AIUC meeting which was held in Delhi Com Dange made a comprehensive report assessing the economic situation on the national and international plane, but neither he raised it in the Secretariat before going to the Council nor did the Secretariat ask him to do so A number of comrades who came to attend the Council meeting expressed their surprise at this when they came to know it

The Secretariat in this period issued a number of statements on political events a list of which is enclosed Generally these statements have been made either after formal Sectt meetings or in some cases through mutual informal consultations The statements would show that the Sectt has tried to react to almost all major political events Only two statements issued by the Secretariat have come in for criticism from some comrades one is on the Ladakh incident and the other is on Eisenhower's visit

No Central leadership can win confidence and secure authority without ideological initiative and effort on its part especially

when reaction is on the offensive on the ideological front and Party members and militants most impatiently look forward to the leadership for guidance and lead. But the Secretariat has deplorably failed in this respect. The Communist Parties all over the world have seriously taken up ideological question after the Moscow Conference and many of them are still discussing them. But we only passed a resolution endorsing the 12-Party Declaration at Amritsar. The Madras National Council meeting directed the Party Centre to prepare a document on revisionism and dogmatism.

Later, it was decided in the Secretariat and the CEC that at least a separate section on the subject should be included in the Political Report. Anyhow, the clear direction was that a report of this kind must be prepared. But the Secretariat is not in a position to present any document on this subject. In fact, except for the last series of Secretariat meetings in March in connection with the preparation of April CEC meetings and the documents for this National Council meetings, the Secretariat never found time to discuss the question. So is the case with the CEC.

While the 12-Party Declaration pinned down revisionism as the main danger and many other fraternal Parties took a similar view, our Party leadership has as yet to say which is the main danger of revisionism or dogmatism and sectarianism.

The responsibility for all this must be borne entirely by the CEC and the Secretariat especially the Secretariat.

Ideas alien to fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and serious deviation are allowed to prevail in the leaderships of our Party let alone ranks. Only in some cases, they are taken note of and dealt with when they publicly compromise positions of the Party. There is no much collective effort on the part of the Secretariat to ideologically equip itself, much less remould and educate the Party ranks and fight challenges to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

From the attitude of the Secretariat, it would seem as if there is no pressure of bourgeois nationalism and revisionism on our Party, as if our Party is so strong and impervious to these pressures that the leadership need not bother. Yet the reality is that

at every level of the Party, including the highest leadership, alien ideas and practices are penetrating and accumulating day after day. Units and comrades who want to see this trend combated and eliminated, feel frustrated and many of them have now almost given up all hopes. The intellectuals who are usually drawn close to the Party through the Party's superior ideological activity remain uninspired and unattracted.

Thus Party units and Party ranks have been left without any leadership in the ideological sphere.

The Party Centre needs at least some vital departments such as economic, political and organisational, manned by able and absolutely reliable comrades. At the moment, there is no department directly in the Party Centre, barring perhaps the Parliamentary section where some barest minimum work is done as if in a department to assist the Party's work in Parliament. The Information Bureau is weak and we have no department to study economic matters, though such study is most essential for assessing and studying the situation as for general agitation and propaganda purposes.

Unless an adequate number of competent comrades is drawn into the different aspects of work of the Party Centre and organised on the basis of departments, the Party Centre's work cannot register much progress. Nor can it cope with the tasks.

The Secretariat has so far done very little to develop these features of the Party Centre. As a result, the quality of the leading member's work at the Centre and its role as a whole greatly suffered.

Inner-Sectt. situation has considerably worsened in the last few months, particularly since the deterioration in Sino-Indian relations. Serious differences exist and these now relate not only to the questions of tactics but even of fundamentals. There are differences over the assessment of the country's political and economic situation, on questions of reorientation and even the general tactical line. Conflicting views are so strongly held that it is no longer possible to resolve them within this Secretariat. In fact, they are neither properly formulated and soberly discussed in the Sectt.

The CEC too is sharply divided so much so that some CEC members, including at least one Sectt. member, find it necessary to sponsor an alternative resolution. Moreover, the CEC draft resolution is opposed by 2 Sectt. members, the General Secretary and M. Basavpunniah remaining neutral. This would show where things have drifted.

In this background of political differences within the Sectt., of style of its functioning, the fraternal relations amongst at least some Sectt. members have been strained and the team spirit has been badly impaired.

Loose talks or lack of regard for Party discipline and Party norms have already made their contribution, damaging the prestige of the Sectt and the Party Centre and even the CEC in the eyes of the Party ranks. Now the leakages have made the entire Party justly indignant and the prestige of the all-India leadership has gone down very badly. Moreover, these have damaged the relations within the Secretariat. The Party Centre has not been able to prevent these leakages.

In the context of the functioning of the Sectt and the Party Centre, the General Secretary occupies a pivotal position. He is not just one of the Secretaries. He enjoys the maximum Party authority. In the eyes of the public, he is the most authoritative spokesman of the Party and the people look upon him more than anybody else as the leader of the Party.

It is his function to coordinate the work of the Sectt as a whole, keep under constant study and review political and organisational issues, correspond on important matters with the Executive Committee and National Council members, as well as with State units and the check up on the implementation of the decisions of the CEC and the National Council. For discharge of these responsibilities, it is essential not only to display the utmost political maturity and alertness, one must delve into details and visits the States and meet Party units there.

As far as the political aspect of the General Secretary's role is concerned, Comrak Ajoy Ghosh has no doubt made a considerable measure of contribution in working out the Party's line as well as its stand-points on current development.

Unfortunately, however, due mainly to his illness and general bad health, the General Secretary has not been in a position to discharge much of the other responsibilities, particularly the organisational responsibilities. In fact, for the last 8 months or so, the General Secretary has been mostly out of commission. Even so, he played a leading part in the political preparations for the Meerut Council meeting and he has also played a similar leading part within the Sectt. and CEC in preparing for the current session of the National Council.

But on both occasions, serious differences as has already been noted, arose within the Secretariat and the CEC.

From the point of view of organisation generally and functioning of the Secretariat team, the General Secretary has not been able to do much. But for this, the style of work and the attitude of other Sectt. members are also partly responsible. However, the fact of the matter is that the Sectt. has had to get on without the pivot assuming its full functions.

One member of the Sectt. has acted as the Convenor during the General Secretary's leave but without even the minimum authority that is required, to move a team or to take even minor decisions. It is because of this difficulty that the February meeting of the Sectt. decided to recommend to the National Council the appointment of an Acting General Secretary when the General Secretary has to go on long leave. The Party Constitution does not provide for it.

Of the Secretariat members, the General Secretary enjoys greatest measure of prestige and when this becomes inoperative due to illness and other reasons, things naturally become difficult.

It may be asked: Why the members of the Sectt. did not make up some of the deficiencies. Firstly, this question has not been seriously discussed within the Sectt. nor has the division of responsibility been adjusted to meet this difficulty.

Secondly, narrow departmentalism has also come in the way. Secretariat members remain bogged in their respective branches of activity without much worry as to how Secretariat as a whole is getting on.

Statement of Meeting of Representatives of the Communists and Workers' Parties

Moscow, November 1960

Representatives of the communist and workers' parties have discussed at this meeting urgent problems of the present international situation and of the further struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The meeting has shown unity of views among the participants on the issues discussed. The communist and workers' parties have unanimously reaffirmed their allegiance to the Declaration and Peace Manifesto adopted in 1957. These programme documents of creative Marxism-Leninism determined the fundamental positions of the international communist movement on the more important issues of our time and contributed in great measure towards uniting the efforts of the communist and workers' parties in the struggle to achieve common goals. They remain the banner and guide to action for the whole of the international communist movement.

The course of events in the past three years has demonstrated the correctness of the analysis of the international situation and the outlook for world development as given in the Declaration and Peace Manifesto, and the great scientific force and effective role of creative Marxism-Leninism.

The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national liberation-movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena.

Nevertheless, imperialism, which is intent on maintaining its positions, sabotages, disarmament, seeks to prolong the cold war and aggravate it to the utmost, and persists in preparing a new world war. Thus situation demands ever closer joint efforts and resolute actions on the part of the socialist countries, the international working class, the national anti-imperialist movement, all peace-loving countries and all peace champions to prevent war and assure a peaceful life for people. It demands the further consolidation of all revolutionary forces in the fight against imperialism, for national independence, and for socialism.

I

MAIN CONTENT OF OUR EPOCH

Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The strength and invincibility of socialism have been demonstrated in recent decades in titanic battles between the new and old worlds. Attempts by the imperialists and their shock force—fascism—to check the course of historical development by force of arms ended in failure. Imperialism proved powerless to stop the socialist revolution in Europe and Asia. Socialism became a world system. The imperialists tried to hamper the economic progress of the socialist countries, but their schemes were foiled. The imperialists did all in their power to preserve the system of colonial slavery, but that system is falling apart. As the

world socialist system grows stronger, the international situation changes more and more in favour of the peoples fighting for independence, democracy and social progress.

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The course of social development proves right Lenin's prediction that the countries of victorious socialism would influence the development of world revolution chiefly by their economic construction. Socialism has made unprecedented constructive progress in production, science and technology and in the establishment of a new, free community of people, in which their material and spiritual requirements are increasingly satisfied. The time is not far off when socialism's share of world production will be greater than that of capitalism. Capitalism will be defeated in the decisive sphere of human endeavour, the sphere of material production.

The consolidation and development of the socialist system exert an ever-increasing influence on the struggle of the peoples in the capitalist countries. By the force of its example, the world socialist system is revolutionising the thinking of the working people in the capitalist countries; it is inspiring them to fight against capitalism, and is greatly facilitating that fight. In the capitalist countries the forces fighting for peace and national independence and for the triumph of democracy and the victory of socialism are gaining in numbers and strength.

The world capitalist system is going through an intense process of disintegration and decay. Its contradictions have accelerated the development of monopoly capitalism into state-monopoly capitalism. By tightening the monopolies' grip on the life of the nation, state-monopoly capitalism closely combines the power of the monopolies with that of the state with the aim of saving the capitalist system and increasing the profits of the imperialist bourgeoisie to the utmost by exploiting the working class and plundering large sections of the population.

But no matter what methods it resorts to the monopoly bourgeoisie cannot rescue capitalism. The interests of a handful of monopolies are in irreconcilable contradiction to the interests of the entire nation. The class and national antagonisms, and the internal and external contradictions of capitalist society, have sharpened greatly. Attempts to prop the decayed pillars of capitalism by militarism are aggravating these contradictions still further.

Never has the conflict between the productive forces and relations of production in the capitalist countries been so acute. Capitalism impedes more and more the use of the achievements of modern science and technology in the interests of social progress. It turns the discoveries of human genius against mankind itself by converting them into formidable means of destructive warfare.

The instability of capitalist economy is growing. Although production in some capitalist countries is increasing to some degree or other, the contradictions of capitalism are becoming more acute on a national as well as international scale. Some capitalist countries are faced with the threat of new economic upheavals while still grappling with the consequences of the recent economic crisis. The anarchical nature of capitalist production is becoming more marked. Capitalist concentration is assuming unprecedented dimensions, and monopoly profits and superprofits are growing. Monopoly capital has greatly intensified the exploitation of the working class in new forms, above all, through intensification of labour. Automation and "rationalisation" under capitalism bring the working people further calamities. Only by a stubborn struggle has the working class in some countries succeeded in winning a number of its pressing demands. In many capitalist countries, however, the standard of life is still below pre-war. Despite the promises made by the bourgeoisie, full employment was provided only in some of the capitalist countries, and only temporarily. The domination of the monopolies is causing increasing harm to the interests of the broad peasant masses and large sections of the small and middle bourgeoisie. In the capitalist countries, including some of

the more developed, economically underdeveloped areas still exist where the poverty of the masses is appalling, and which, moreover, continue to expand.

These facts once again refute the lies which bourgeois ideologists and revisionists spread to the effect that modern capitalism has become "people's capitalism", that it has established a so-called "welfare state" capable of overcoming the anarchy of production and economic crises and assuring well-being for all working people.

The uneven course of development of capitalism is continuously changing the balance of forces between the imperialist countries. The narrower the sphere of imperialist domination, the stronger the antagonisms between the imperialist powers. The problem of markets has become more acute than ever. The new inter-state organisations which are established under the slogan of "integration" actually lead to increased antagonisms and struggle between the imperialist countries. They are new forms of division of the world capitalist market among the biggest capitalist combines, of penetration by stronger imperialist states of the economy of their weaker partners.

The decay of capitalism is particularly marked in the United States of America, the chief imperialist country of today. The US monopoly capital is clearly unable to use all the productive forces at its command. The richest of the developed capitalist countries of the world—the United States of America—has become a land of especially big chronic unemployment. Increasing undercapacity operation in industry has become permanent in that country. Despite the enormous increase in military appropriations, which is achieved at the expense of the standard of life of the working people, the rate of growth of production has been declining in the post-war years and has been barely above the growth of population. Overproduction crises have become more frequent. The most developed capitalist country has become a country of the most distorted, militarised economy. More than any other capitalist country, the United States drains Asia, and especially Latin America, of their riches, holding up their progress. The US capitalist penetration into Africa is increasing. *The US imperialism has become the biggest international exploiter.*

The US imperialists seek to bring many states under their control, by resorting chiefly to the policy of military blocs and economic "aid". They violate the sovereignty of developed capitalist countries as well. The dominant monopoly bourgeoisie in the more developed capitalist countries, which has allied itself with US imperialism, sacrifices the sovereignty of their countries, hoping with support from the US imperialists to crush the revolutionary liberation forces, deprive the working people of democratic freedoms and impede the struggle of the masses for social progress. The US imperialism involves those countries in the arms race, in a policy of preparing a new war of aggression and carrying on subversive activities against socialist and neutral countries.

The pillars of the capitalist system have become so decayed that the ruling imperialist bourgeoisie in many countries can no longer resist on its own the forces of democracy and progress which are gaining in scope and strength. The imperialists form military-political alliances under US leadership to fight in common against the socialist camp and to strangle the national-liberation, working class and socialist movements. *International developments in recent years have furnished many new proofs of the fact that US imperialism is the chief bulwark of world reaction and an international gendarme, that it has become an enemy of the peoples of the whole world.*

The system of military blocs set up by the United States is being weakened both by the struggle going on between their members and as a result of the struggle which the people are waging for the abolition of these blocs. The US imperialists seek to strengthen aggressive blocs—which causes increased resistance on the part of the people. The United States remains the main economic, financial and military force of modern imperialism, although its share in capitalist economy is diminishing. The British and French imperialists are making stubborn efforts to uphold their positions. The monopolies of West Germany and Japan, which have recovered their might and which are closely linked with the US monopolies, are stepping up expansion. The West-German monopolies, in pursuing their imperialist policy, seek more and more to exploit the underdeveloped countries.

The peoples are rising with growing determination to fight imperialism. A great struggle is getting under way between the forces of labour and capital, of democracy and reaction, of freedom and colonialism. The victory of the popular revolution in Cuba has become a splendid example for the peoples of Latin America. An anti-colonial movement for freedom and national independence is expanding irresistibly in Africa. The anti-imperialist national uprising in Iraq has been crowned with success. A powerful movement of the people against the Japanese-US military alliance for peace, democracy and national independence, is under way in Japan. Vigorous actions by the masses in Italy in defence of democracy show the militant resolve of the working people. The struggle for democracy, against the reactionary regime of personal power, is gathering momentum in France. There have been big working class strikes in the USA, Argentina, Uruguay, Chile, India, Britain, Canada, Belgium and other capitalist countries. The actions of the Negro people in the United States for their fundamental rights are assuming a mass character. There is a growing desire to unite the national forces against the fascist dictatorships in Spain and Portugal and the democratic movement is gaining strength in Greece. Military regimes have been overthrown in Colombia and Venezuela, a blow has been dealt to frankly pro-American puppet governments in South Korea and Turkey. A national democratic movement, directed against the US imperialists and their lackeys, is developing in South Vietnam and Laos. The Indonesian people are doing away with the economic positions the imperialists still retain in that country, particularly the positions held by the Dutch colonialists. The mass movement in defence of peace is gaining ground in all continents. All this is graphic evidence that the tide of anti-imperialist national liberation, anti-war and class struggles is rising ever higher.

A new stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism. This is shown by the triumph of socialism in a large group of European and Asian countries embracing one third of mankind, the powerful growth of the forces fighting for socialism throughout the world and the steady weakening of the imperialists' positions in the economic competition with socialism, the tremendous new upsurge of the national-liberation

struggle and the mounting disintegration of the colonial system; the growing instability of the entire world economic system of capitalism; the sharpening contradictions of capitalism resulting from the growth of state-monopoly capitalism and militarism, the increasing contradictions between monopolies and the interests of the nation as a whole, the curtailment of bourgeois democracy and the tendency to adopt autocratic and fascist methods of government; and a profound crisis in bourgeois politics and ideology. This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive actions, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism.

All the revolutionary forces are rallying against imperialist oppression and exploitation. The peoples who are building socialism and communism, the revolutionary movement of the working class in the capitalist countries, the national-liberation struggle of the oppressed peoples and the general democratic movement—these great forces of our time are merging into one powerful current that undermines and destroys the world imperialist system. The central factors of our days are the international working class and its chief creation, the world socialist system. They are an earnest of victory in the struggle for peace, democracy, national liberation, socialism and human progress.

II

NEW STAGE IN DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM

A new stage has begun in the development of the world socialist system. The Soviet Union is successfully carrying on the full-scale construction of a communist society. Other countries of the

socialist camp are successfully laying the foundations of socialism, and some of them have already entered the period of construction of a developed socialist society.

The socialist system as a whole has scored decisive victories. These victories signify the triumph of Marxism-Leninism; they show clearly to all the peoples who are under the domination of capital that a society based on this doctrine opens up immense opportunities for the fullest development of economy and culture, for the provision of a high standard of living and a peaceful and happy life for people.

The Soviet people, successfully carrying out the Seven-Year Economic Development Plan, are rapidly building up a material and technical basis for communism. Soviet science has ushered in what is virtually a new era in the development of world civilisation; it has initiated the exploration of outer space, furnishing impressive evidence of the economic and technical might of the socialist camp. The Soviet Union is the first country in history to be blazing a trail to communism for all mankind. It is the most striking example and most powerful bulwark for the peoples of the world in their struggle for peace, democratic freedoms, national independence and social progress.

The people's revolution in China dealt a crushing blow at the positions of imperialism in Asia and contributed in great measure to the balance of the world forces changing in favour of socialism. By giving a further powerful impetus to the national-liberation movement, it exerted tremendous influence on the peoples, especially those of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

The people's democratic republics of Albania, Bulgaria, Hungary, the German Democratic Republic, the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, China, the Korean Democratic People's Republic, Mongolia, Poland, Rumania and the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, which, together with the great Soviet Union, form the mighty socialist camp, have within a historically short period made remarkable progress in socialist construction.

People's government in these countries has proved its unshakable solidity. Socialist relations of production predominate in the national economy; the exploitation of man by man has been

or is being successfully abolished for ever. The success of the policy of socialist industrialisation has led to a great economic upsurge in the socialist countries, which are developing their economy much faster than the capitalist countries. All these countries have established a developed industry; agrarian in the past, they have become, or are becoming, industrial-agrarian countries.

In recent years all the people's democracies have solved, or have been successfully solving, the most difficult problem of socialist construction, that of transferring the peasantry, on a voluntary basis, from the road of small private farming to the road of large-scale cooperative farming on socialist lines. Lenin's co-operative plan has proved its great vitality both for countries where the peasants' attachment to private land ownership was a long-standing tradition and for countries that have recently put an end to feudal relations. The fraternal alliance of workers and peasants, which is led by the working class, and the maintenance and consolidation of which is, as Lenin taught, a supreme principle of the dictatorship of the proletariat, has grown stronger. In the course of socialist construction this alliance of two classes of working people, which constitutes the political foundation of the socialist system, develops continuously, and further strengthens people's rule under the leadership of the working class and promotes the socialist re-organisation of agriculture in accordance with the Leninist principle of voluntary co-operation of the peasantry.

Historic changes have taken place in the social structure of society. The classes of landlords and capitalists no longer exist in the people's democracies. The working class has become the main force of society: its ranks are growing; its political consciousness and maturity have increased. Socialism has delivered the peasantry from age-long poverty and has made it an active force in social progress. A new, socialist intelligentsia, flesh of the working people, is arising. All citizens have free access to knowledge and culture. Socialism has thus created not only political but material conditions for the cultural development of society, for the all-round and complete development of the gifts and abilities of man. The standard of life of the people is improving steadily, thanks to economic progress.

An unbreakable alliance of the working people of all nationalities has formed and has been consolidated in multinational socialist states. The triumph of Marxist-Leninist national policy in the socialist countries, genuine equality of nationalities, and their economic and cultural progress serve as an inspiring example for the peoples fighting against national oppression.

In the people's democracies, socialist ideology has achieved notable successes in its struggle against bourgeois ideology. It is a long struggle that will go on until the complete emancipation of the minds of people from the survivals of bourgeois ideology.

The moral and political unity of society, which for the first time in history, has come into existence and firmly established itself in the Soviet Union, is growing now in the other socialist countries as well. This makes it possible to use the creative energy of free workers most effectively for promoting the growth of the productive forces and the prosperity of socialist society.

Socialist society is improving steadily and becoming more and more mature, day after day it gives rise to a communist attitude to labour and other elements of the future communist society. The methods of socialist economic management and economic planning are steadily improving. Socialist democracy continues to develop; the masses are playing an increasing role in directing economic and cultural development; certain functions of the state are being gradually transferred to public organisations.

Today the restoration of capitalism has been made socially and economically impossible not only in the Soviet Union, but in the other socialist countries as well. The combined forces of the socialist camp reliably safeguard every socialist country against encroachments by imperialist reaction. Thus the rallying of the socialist states in one camp and the growing unity and steadily increasing strength of this camp ensure complete victory for socialism within the entire system.

Thanks to the heroic effort of the working class and the peasantry and to the tremendous work of the communist and workers' parties, most favourable objective opportunities have

been provided in the past three years for the further rapid development of the productive forces, for gaining the maximum time and achieving victory for the socialist countries in peaceful economic competition with capitalism. The Marxist-Leninist parties heading the socialist countries consider it their duty to make proper use of these opportunities.

Having achieved major victories and withstood serious tests, the communist parties have gained ample and varied experience in directing socialist construction. The socialist countries and the socialist camp as a whole owe their achievements to the proper application of the general objective laws governing socialist construction, with due regard to the historical peculiarities of each country and to the interests of the entire socialist system; they owe them to the efforts of the peoples of those countries, to their close fraternal co-operation and mutual internationalist assistance, and above all, to the fraternal, internationalist assistance from the Soviet Union.

The experience of development of the socialist countries is added evidence that mutual assistance and support, and utilisation of all the advantages of unity and solidarity among the countries of the socialist camp, are a primary international condition for their achievements and successes. Imperialist, renegade and revisionist hopes of a split within the socialist camp are built on sand and doomed to failure. All the socialist countries cherish the unity of the socialist camp like the apple of their eye.

The world economic system of socialism is united by common socialist relations of production and is developing in accordance with the economic laws of socialism. Its successful development requires consistent application, in socialist construction, of the law of planned, proportionate development; encouragement of the creative initiative of the people; continuous improvement of the system of international division of labour through the coordination of national economic plans, specialisation and cooperation in production within the world socialist system on the basis of voluntary participation, mutual benefit and vigorous improvement of the scientific and technical standard. It requires study of collective experience; extended cooperation and

fraternal mutual assistance; gradual elimination, along these lines, of historical differences in the levels of economic development, and the provision of a material basis for a more or less simultaneous transition of all the peoples of the socialist system to communism.

Socialist construction in the various countries is a source of collective experience for the socialist camp as a whole. A thorough study of this experience by the fraternal parties, and its proper utilisation and elaboration with due regard to specific conditions and national peculiarities are an immutable law of the development of every socialist country.

In developing industrial and agricultural production in their countries at a high rate in keeping with the possibilities they have, the communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries consider it their internationalist duty to make full use of all the advantages of the socialist system and the internal resources of every country to carry out, by joint effort and as speedily as possible, the historic task of surpassing the world capitalist system in overall industrial and agricultural production and then outstrip the economically most developed capitalist countries in per capita output and in the standard of living. To carry out this task, it is necessary steadily to improve political and economic work, continuously to improve the methods of economic management and to run the socialist economy along scientific lines. This calls for higher productivity of labour to be achieved through continuous technical progress, economic planning, strict observance of the Leninist principle of providing material incentives and moral stimuli to work for the good of society by heightening the political consciousness of the people, and for control over the measure of labour and consumption.

To provide a material basis for the transition of the socialist countries to communism, it is indispensable to achieve a high level of production through the use of the latest techniques, electrification of the national economy, and mechanisation and automation of production, without which it is impossible to provide the abundance of consumer goods required by a communist society. On this basis it is necessary to develop communist social relations, vigorously promote the political consciousness of the people and educate the members of the new communist society.

The socialist camp is a social, economic and political community of free and sovereign peoples united by the close bonds of international socialist solidarity, by common interests and objectives, and following the path of socialism and communism. It is an inviolable law of the mutual relations between socialist countries strictly to adhere to the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. Every country in the socialist camp is ensured genuinely equal rights and independence. Guided by the principles of complete equality, mutual advantage and comradely mutual assistance, the socialist states improve their all-round economic, political and cultural cooperation, which meets both the interests of each socialist country and those of the socialist camp as a whole.

One of the greatest achievements of the world socialist system is the practical confirmation of the Marxist-Leninist thesis that national antagonisms diminish with the decline of class antagonisms. In contrast to the laws of the capitalist system, which is characterised by antagonistic contradictions between the classes, nations and states leading to armed conflicts, there are no objective causes in the nature of the socialist system for contradictions and conflicts between the peoples and states belonging to it. Its development leads to greater unity among the states and nations and of the consolidation of all the forms of cooperation between them. Under socialism, the development of national economy, culture and statehood goes hand in hand with the strengthening and development of the entire world socialist system, and with an ever greater consolidation of the unity of nations. The interests of the socialist system as a whole and national interests are harmoniously combined. It is on this basis that the moral and political unity of all the peoples of the great socialist community has arisen and has been growing. Fraternal friendship and mutual assistance of peoples, born of the socialist system, have superseded the political isolation and national egoism typical of capitalism.

The common interests of the peoples of the socialist countries and the interests of peace and socialism demand the proper combination of the principles of socialist internationalism and

socialist patriotism in politics. Every communist party which has become the ruling party in the state bears historical responsibility for the destinies of both its country and the entire socialist camp.

The Declaration of 1957 points out quite correctly that undue emphasis on the role of national peculiarities and departure from the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism regarding the socialist revolution and socialist construction prejudice the common cause of socialism. The Declaration also states quite correctly that Marxism-Leninism demands creative application of the general principles of socialist revolution and socialist construction depending on the specific historical conditions in the country concerned, and does not permit of a mechanical copying of the policies and tactics of the communist parties of other countries. Disregard of national peculiarities may lead to the party of the proletariat being isolated from reality, from the masses, and may injure the socialist cause.

Manifestations of nationalism and national narrow-mindedness do not disappear automatically with the establishment of the socialist system. If fraternal relations and friendship between the socialist countries are to be strengthened, it is necessary that the communist and workers' parties pursue a Marxist-Leninist international policy, that all working people be educated in a spirit of internationalism and patriotism, and that a resolute struggle be waged to eliminate the survival of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

The communist and workers' parties tirelessly educate the working people in the spirit of socialist internationalism and intolerance of all manifestations of nationalism and chauvinism. Solid unity of the communist and workers' parties and of the peoples of the socialist countries, and their loyalty to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine are the main source of the strength and invincibility of each socialist country and the socialist camp as a whole.

In blazing a trail to communism, the peoples of the socialist countries are creating a prototype of a new society for all mankind. The working people of the capitalist world are following the constructive effort of the builders of socialism and

communism with keen interest. This makes the Marxist-Leninist parties and the peoples of the socialist countries accountable to the international working class movement for the successful building of socialism and communism.

The communist and workers' parties see it as their task indefatigably to strengthen the great socialist community of nations, whose international role and influence on the course of world events are growing from year to year.

The time has come when the socialist states have, by forming a world system, become an international force exerting a powerful influence on world development. There are now real opportunities of solving cardinal problems of modern times in a new way, in the interests of peace, democracy and socialism.

III

ON STRUGGLE FOR PEACE AND PEACEFUL COEXISTENCE

The problem of war and peace is the most burning problem of our time.

War is a constant companion of capitalism. The system of exploitation of man by man and the system of extermination of man by man are two aspects of the capitalist system. Imperialism has already inflicted two devastating world wars on mankind and now threatens to plunge it into an even more terrible catastrophe. Monstrous means of mass annihilation and destruction have been developed which, if used in a new war, can cause unheard-of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centres of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war would bring death and suffering to hundreds of millions of people, among them people in countries not involved in it. Imperialism spells grave danger to the whole of mankind.

The peoples must now be more vigilant than ever. As long as imperialism exists there will be soil for wars of aggression.

The peoples of all countries know that the danger of a new world war still persists. US imperialism is the main force of aggression and war. Its policy embodies the ideology of militant reaction. The US imperialists, together with the imperialists of Britain, France and West Germany, have drawn many countries into NATO, CENTO, SEATO and other military blocs under the guise of combating the "communist menace". It has enmeshed the so-called "free world", that is, capitalist countries which depend on them, in a network of military bases spearheaded first and foremost against the socialist countries. The existence of these blocks and bases endangers universal peace and security and not only encroaches upon the sovereignty but also impels the very life of those countries which put their territory at the disposal of the US militarists.

The imperialist forces of the USA, Britain and France have made a criminal deal with West-German imperialism. In West Germany militarism has been revived and the restoration is being pushed ahead of a vast regular army under the command of Hitler generals which the US imperialists are equipping with nuclear and rocket weapons and other modern means of mass annihilation, a fact which draws emphatic protests from the peace-loving peoples. Military bases are being provided for this aggressive army in France and other West-European countries. The threat to peace and the security of the European nations from West German imperialism is increasing. The West-German revenge-seekers openly declare their intention to revise the borders established after the World War II. Like the Hitler clique in its day, the West-German militarists are preparing war against the socialist and other countries of Europe, and strive to effect their own aggressive plans. West Berlin has been transformed into a seat of international provocation. The Bonn State has become the chief enemy of peaceful coexistence, disarmament and relaxation of tension in Europe.

The aggressive plans of the West-German imperialists must be opposed by the united might of all the peace-loving countries and nations of Europe. An especially big part in the struggle against the aggressive designs of the West-German militarists is played by

the German Democratic Republic. The meeting regards it as the duty of all the countries of the socialist camp and of all the peace-loving peoples to defend the German Democratic Republic—the outpost of socialism in Western Europe and the true expression of the peace aspirations of the German nation.

The US imperialists are also busy reviving the hotbed of war in the Far East. Trampling upon the national independence of the Japanese people and contrary to their will, they have, in collusion with the Japanese reactionary ruling circles, imposed upon Japan a new military treaty which pursues aggressive aims against the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic and other peace-loving countries. The US invaders have occupied the island of Taiwan, which belongs to the Chinese People's Republic, and South Korea and are interfering more and more in the affairs of South Vietnam; they have turned them into hotbeds of dangerous military provocations and gambles. Threatening Cuba with aggression and interfering in the affairs of the peoples of Latin America, Africa and the Middle East, the US imperialists strive to create new seats of war in different parts of the world. They use such forms of regional alliance as, for example, the Organisation of American States, to retain their economic and political control and to involve the peoples of Latin America in the realisation of their schemes.

The US imperialists have set up a huge war machinery and refuse to allow its reduction. The imperialists frustrate all constructive disarmament proposals by the Soviet Union and other peaceful countries. The arms race is going on. Stockpiles of nuclear weapons are becoming dangerously large. Defying protests from their own people and the peoples of other countries, particularly in the African continent, the French ruling circles are testing and manufacturing atomic weapons. The US militarists are preparing to resume disastrous atomic tests; military provocations that threaten serious international conflicts continue.

The US ruling circles have wrecked the Paris meeting of the heads of government of the four great powers by their policy of provocations and aggressive acts, and have set out to increase international tension and aggravate the cold war. The war menace has grown.

The imperialist provocations against peace have aroused the indignation and resistance of the peoples. The US imperialism has exposed itself still more and its influence in the world has sustained fresh and telling blows.

The aggressive nature of imperialism has not changed. But real forces have appeared that are capable of foiling its plans of aggression. War is not fatally inevitable. Had the imperialists been able to do what they wanted, they would already have plunged mankind into the abyss of the calamities and horrors of a new world war. But the time is past when the imperialists could decide at will whether there should or should not be war. More than once in the past years the imperialists have brought mankind to the brink of world catastrophe by starting local wars. The resolute stand of the Soviet Union, of the other socialist states and of all the peaceful forces put an end to the Anglo-Franco-Israeli intervention in Egypt and averted a military invasion of Syria, Iraq and some other countries by the imperialists. The heroic people of Algeria continue their valiant battle for independence and freedom. The people of the Congo and Laos are resisting the criminal acts of the imperialists with increasing firmness. Experience shows that it is possible to combat effectively the local wars started by the imperialists, and to stamp out successfully the hotbeds of such wars.

The time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed. World war can be prevented by the joint effort of the world socialist camp, the international working class, the national-liberation movement, all the countries opposing war and all peace-loving forces.

The development of international relations in our day is determined by the struggle of the two social systems—the struggle of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy against the forces of imperialism, reaction and aggression—a struggle in which the superiority of the forces of socialism, peace and democracy is becoming increasingly obvious.

For the first time in history, war is opposed by great and organised forces—the mighty Soviet Union, which now leads the world in the decisive branches of science and technology.

the entire socialist camp, which has placed its great material and political might at the service of peace; a growing number of peace-loving countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, which have a vital interest in preserving peace; the international working class and its organisations, above all the communist parties; the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonies and dependent countries; the world peace movement; and the neutral countries which want no share in the imperialist policy of war and advocate peaceful co-existence. The policy of peaceful coexistence is also favoured by a definite section of the bourgeoisie of the developed capitalist countries, which takes a sober view of the relationship of forces and of the dire consequences of a modern war. The broadest possible united front of peace supporters, fighters against the imperialist policy of aggression and war inspired by US imperialism, is essential to preserve world peace. Concerted and vigorous actions of all the forces of peace can safeguard the peace and prevent a new war.

The democratic and peace forces today have no task more pressing than that of safeguarding humanity against a global thermo-nuclear disaster. The unprecedented destructive power of modern means of warfare demands that the main actions of the anti-war and peace-loving forces be directed towards preventing war. The struggle against war cannot be put off until war breaks out, for then it may prove too late for many areas of the globe and for their population to combat it. *The struggle against the threat of a new war must be waged now and not when atom and hydrogen bombs begin to fall, and it must gain in strength from day to day. The important thing is to curb the aggressors in good time, to prevent war, and not to let it break out.*

To fight for peace today means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of the imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on the intrigues and manoeuvres of the war mongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organise the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace, and promote co-operation with all countries which have no interest in new wars. In the countries where the imperialists have established war

bases, it is necessary to step up the struggle for their abolition, which is an important factor for fortifying national independence, defending sovereignty and preventing war

The struggle of the peoples against the militarisation of their countries should be combined with the struggle against the capitalist monopolies connected with the US imperialists. Today as never before, it is important to fight perseveringly in all countries to make the peace movement thrive and extend to towns and villages, factories and offices.

The peace movement is the broadest movement of our time involving people of diverse political and religious creeds of diverse classes of society who are all united by the noble urge to prevent new wars and to secure enduring peace.

Further consolidation of the world socialist system will be of prime importance in preserving durable peace. So long as there is no disarmament the socialist countries must maintain their defence potential at an adequate level.

In the opinion of communists the tasks which must be accomplished first of all if peace is to be safeguarded are to stop the arms race ban nuclear weapons, then tests and production dismantle foreign war bases and withdraw foreign troops from other countries disband military blocs, conclude a peace treaty with Germany turn West Berlin into a de-militarised free city thwart the aggressive designs of the West-German revisionists, and prevent the revival of Japanese militarism.

History has placed a great responsibility for warding off a new world war first and foremost on the international working class. The imperialists plot and join forces to start a thermo-nuclear war. The international working class must close its ranks to save mankind from the disaster of a new war. *No political, religious or other differences should be an obstacle to all the forces of the working class uniting against the war danger. The hour has struck to counter the forces of war by the mighty will and joint action of all the contingents and organisations of the world proletariat to unite its forces to avert world war and safeguard peace.*

The communist parties regard the fight for peace as their prime task. They call on the working class, trade unions, co-operatives,

women's and youth leagues and organisations, on all working people, irrespective of their political and religious convictions, firmly to repulse by mass struggles all acts of aggression on the part of the imperialists.

But should the imperialist maniacs start war, the peoples will sweep capitalism out of existence and bury it.

The foreign policy of the socialist countries rests on the firm foundation of the Leninist principle of peaceful coexistence and economic competition between the socialist and capitalist countries. In conditions of peace, the socialist system increasingly reveals its advantages over the capitalist system in all fields of economy, culture, science and technology. The near future will bring the forces of peace and socialism new successes. The USSR will become the leading industrial power of the world. China will become a mighty industrial state. The socialist system will be turning out more than half the world industrial product. The peace zone will expand. The working class movement in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement in the colonies and dependencies will achieve new victories. The disintegration of the colonial system will become completed. The superiority of the forces of socialism and peace will be absolute. *In these conditions a real possibility will have arisen to exclude world war from the life of society even before socialism achieves complete victory on earth, with capitalism still existing in a part of the world. The victory of socialism all over the world will completely remove the social and national causes of all wars.*

Communists of all the world uphold peaceful coexistence unanimously and consistently, and battle resolutely for the prevention of war. Communists must work untiringly among the masses to prevent underestimation of the possibility of averting a world war, underestimation of the possibility of peaceful coexistence and, at the same time, under-estimation of the danger of war.

In a world divided into two systems, the only correct and reasonable principle of international relations is the principle of peaceful coexistence of states with different social systems advanced by Lenin and further elaborated in the Moscow

Declaration and the Peace Manifesto of 1957, in the decisions of the 20th and 21st congresses of the CPSU, and in the documents of other communist and workers' parties.

The five principles jointly advanced by the Chinese People's Republic and the Republic of India, and the propositions adopted at the Bandung Conference accord with the interests of peace and the peace-loving peoples.

Peaceful coexistence of countries with different systems or destructive war—this is the alternative today. There is no other choice. Communists emphatically reject the US doctrine of "cold war" and "brinkmanship", for it is a policy leading to thermo-nuclear catastrophe. By upholding the principle of peaceful co-existence, communists fight for the complete cessation of the cold war, disbandment of military blocs, and dismantling of military bases, for general and complete disarmament under international control, the settlement of international disputes through negotiation, respect for the equality of states and their territorial integrity, independence and sovereignty, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, extensive development of trade, cultural and scientific ties between nations.

The policy of peaceful co-existence meets the basic interests of all peoples, of all who want no new cruel wars and seek durable peace. This policy strengthens the positions of socialism, enhances the prestige of international influence of the socialist countries and promotes the prestige and influence of the communist parties in the capitalist countries. Peace is a loyal ally of socialism, for time is working for socialism against capitalism.

The policy of peaceful co-existence is a policy of mobilising the masses and launching vigorous action against the enemies of peace. Peaceful co-existence of states does not imply renunciation of the class struggle as the revisionists claim. The co-existence of states with different social systems is a form of class struggle between socialism and capitalism. In conditions of peaceful coexistence favourable opportunities are provided for the development of the class struggle in the capitalist countries and the national-liberation movement of the peoples of the colonial and dependent countries. In their turn, the successes of the

revolutionary class and national-liberation struggle promote peaceful co-existence. Communists consider it their duty to fortify the faith of the people in the possibility of furthering peaceful co-existence, their determination to prevent world war. They will do their utmost for the people to weaken imperialism and limit its sphere of action by an active struggle for peace, democracy and national liberation.

Peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems does not mean conciliation of the socialist and bourgeois ideologies. On the contrary, it implies intensification of the struggle of the working class, of all the communist parties, for the triumph of socialist ideas. But ideological and political disputes between states must not be settled through war.

The meeting considers that the implementation of the programme for general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union would be of historic importance for the destinies of mankind. To realise this programme means to eliminate the very possibility of waging wars between countries. It is not easy to realise owing to the stubborn resistance of the imperialists. Hence, it is essential to wage an active and determined struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces with the aim of carrying this programme into practice. It is necessary to wage this struggle on an increasing scale and to strive perseveringly to achieve tangible results—the banning of the testing and manufacturing of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs and war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments, all of which should pave the way to general disarmament. Through an active, determined struggle by the socialist and other peace-loving countries, by the international working class and the broad masses in all countries, it is possible to isolate the aggressive circles, foil the arms race and war preparations, and force the imperialists into an agreement on general disarmament.

The arms race is not a war-deterrant, nor does it make for a high degree of employment and well-being of the population. It leads to war. Only a handful of monopolies and war-speculators are interested in the arms race. In the capitalist countries, the people constantly demand that military expenditure be reduced and the

funds thus released be used to improve the living conditions of the masses. In each country, it is necessary to promote a broad mass movement for the use of the funds and resources to be realised through disarmament for the needs of civilian production, housing, health, public education, social security, scientific research, etc. Disarmament has now become a fighting slogan of the masses, a pressing historical necessity. By an active and resolute struggle the imperialists must be made to meet this demand of the peoples.

The communist and workers' parties of the socialist countries will go on consistently pursuing the policy of peaceful co-existence of states with different social systems and doing their utmost to spare the peoples the horrors and calamities of a new war. They will display the greatest vigilance towards imperialism, vigorously strengthen the might and defensive capacity of the entire socialist camp and take every step to safeguard the security of the peoples and preserve peace.

Communists regard it as their historical mission not only to abolish exploitation and poverty on a world scale and rule out for all time the possibility of any kind of war in the life of human society, but also to deliver mankind from the nightmare of a new world war already in our time. The communist parties will devote all their strength and energy to this great historical mission.

IV

VICTORIES OF NATIONAL-LIBERATION MOVEMENT

National-liberation revolutions have triumphed in vast areas of the world. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in the fifteen post-war years. The victory of the Cuban revolution has powerfully stimulated the struggle of the Latin American peoples for complete national independence. A new historical period has set in in the life of mankind: the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America that have won their freedom have begun to take an active part in world politics.

The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent. The breakdown of the system of colonial slavery under the impact of the national-liberation movement is a development ranking second in historic importance only to the formation of the world socialist system.

The Great October Socialist Revolution aroused the East and drew the colonial peoples into the common current of the worldwide revolutionary movement. This development was greatly facilitated by the Soviet Union's victory in the World War II, the establishment of people's democracy in a number of European and Asian countries, the triumph of the socialist revolution in China, and the formation of the world socialist system. The forces of world socialism contributed decisively to the struggle of the colonial and dependent peoples for liberation from imperialist oppression. The socialist system has become a reliable shield for the independent national development of the peoples who have won freedom. The national-liberation movement receives powerful support from the international working class movement.

The face of Asia has changed radically. The colonial order is collapsing in Africa. A front of active struggle against imperialism has opened in Latin America. Hundreds of millions of people in Asia, Africa and other parts of the world have won their independence in hard-fought battles with imperialism. Communists have always recognised the progressive, revolutionary significance of national-liberation wars; they are the most active champions of national independence. The existence of the world socialist system and the weakening of the positions of imperialism have provided the oppressed peoples with new opportunities of winning independence.

The peoples of the colonial countries win their independence both through armed struggle and by non-military methods, depending on the specific conditions in the country concerned. They secure durable victory through a powerful national-liberation movement. The colonial powers never bestow freedom on the colonial peoples and never leave of their own free will the countries they are exploiting.

The United States is the mainstay of colonialism today. The imperialists headed by the USA, make desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation of the peoples of the former colonies by new methods and in new forms. The monopolies try to retain their hold on the levers of economic control and political influence in Asian, African and Latin American countries. These efforts are aimed at preserving their positions in the economy of the countries which have gained freedom, and at capturing new positions under the guise of economic "aid", drawing them into military blocs, implanting military dictatorships and setting up war-bases there. The imperialists endeavour to emasculate and undermine the national sovereignty of the newly-free countries to mis-represent the principle of self-determination of nations to impose new forms of colonial domination under the spurious slogan of inter dependence, to put their puppets in power in these countries and bribe a section of the bourgeoisie. They resort to the poisoned weapon of national strife to undermine the young states that are not yet strong enough. They make ample use of aggressive military blocs and bilateral aggressive military alliances to achieve these ends. The imperialist accomplices are the most reactionary sections of the local exploiting classes.

The urgent tasks of national re-birth facing the countries that have shaken off the colonial yoke cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nation united in a single national-democratic front. The national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and do unite in the countries which have won their freedom are the consolidation of political independence, the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of imperialist economic domination, the restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy, the creation and development of a national industry, improvement of the living standard, the democratisation of social life, the pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy and the development of economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

The working class, which has played an outstanding role in the fight for national liberation, demands the complete and consistent accomplishment of the tasks of the national, and imperialist, democratic revolution, and resists reactionary attempt to check social progress.

The solution of the peasant problem, which directly affects the interests of the vast majority of the population, is of the utmost importance to these countries. Without radical agrarian reforms it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism which fetter the development of the productive forces in agriculture and industry. The creation and extention of a democratic basis of the state sector in the national economy, particularly in industry, a sector independent from foreign monopolies and gradually becoming a determining factor in the country's economy, is of great importance in these countries.

The alliance of the working class and the peasantry is the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress. This alliance is called upon to be the basis of a broad national front. The extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in the liberation struggle also depends to no small degree upon its strength and stability. A big role can be played by the national-patriotic forces, by all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence against imperialism.

In present conditions, the national bourgeoisie of the colonial and dependent countries unconnected with imperialist circles is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal tasks of anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution, and therefore retains the capacity of participating in the revolutionary struggle against imperialism and feudalism. In that sense it is progressive. But it is unstable; though progressive, it is inclined to compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Owing to its dual nature, the extent to which the national bourgeoisie participates in revolution differs from country to country. This depends on concrete conditions, on changes in the relationship of class forces, on the sharpness of the

contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the people, and on the depth of the contradictions between imperialism, feudalism and the national bourgeoisie

After winning political independence the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of re-inforcing national independence. Different classes and parties offer different solutions. Which course of development to choose is the internal affair of the peoples themselves. As social contradictions grow, the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism. The people however begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non capitalist development. Only thus can the peoples free themselves from exploitation poverty and hunger. The working class and the broad peasant masses are to play the leading part in solving this basic social problem.

In the present historical situation favourable domestic and international conditions arise in many countries for the establishment of an independent national democracy that is a state which consistently upholds : political and economic independence fights against imperialism and its military blocs against military bases on its territory a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital, a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government, a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press assembly, demonstrations, establishment of political parties and social organisations) the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes and for participation in shaping government policy. The formation and consolidation of national democracies enables the countries concerned to make rapid social progress and play an active part in the people's struggle for peace, against the aggressive policies of the imperialist camp for the complete abolition of colonial rule.

The communist parties are working actively for a consistent completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution, for the establishment of national democracies for a

radical improvement in the living standard of the people. They support those actions of national governments leading to the consolidation of the gains achieved and undermining the imperialists' positions. At the same time they firmly oppose anti-democratic, anti-popular acts and those measures of the ruling circles which endanger national independence. Communists expose attempts by the reactionary sections of the bourgeoisie to represent its selfish, narrow class interests as those of the entire nation; they expose the demagogic use by bourgeois politicians of socialist slogans for the same purpose, they work for a genuine democratisation of social life and rally all the progressive forces to combat despotic regimes or to curb tendencies towards setting up such regimes.

The aims of the communists accord with the supreme interests of the nation. The reactionaries' effort to break up the national front under the slogan of "anti-communism" and isolate the communists, the foremost contingent of the liberation movement, weakens the national movement; it is contrary to the national interests of the people and is fraught with the loss of national gains.

The socialist countries are true and sincere friends of the peoples fighting for liberation and of those who have thrown off the imperialist yoke. While rejecting on principle any interference in the internal affairs of young national states, they consider it their internationalist duty to help the peoples in strengthening their independence. They help and support these countries generously in achieving progress, creating a national industry, developing and consolidating the national economy and training national personnel, and co-operate with them in the struggle for world peace, against imperialist aggression.

The class-conscious workers of the colonial powers, who realised that "no nation can be free if it oppresses other nations", fought consistently for the self-determination of the nations oppressed by the imperialists. Now that these nations are taking the path of national independence, it is the internationalist duty of the workers and all democratic forces in the industrially developed capitalist countries to assist them vigorously in their

struggle against the imperialists, for national independence, for its consolidation, and to assist them in effectively solving the problems of their economic and cultural re-birth. In so doing, they defend the interests of the popular masses in their own countries.

The entire course of the world history of recent decades prompts the complete and final abolition of the colonial system in all its forms and manifestations. All the peoples still languishing in colonial bondage must be given every support in winning their national independence. All forms of colonial oppression must be abolished. The abolition of colonialism will also be of great importance to easing international tension and consolidating universal peace. This meeting expresses solidarity with all the peoples of Asia, Africa, Latin America and Oceania who are carrying on a heroic struggle against imperialism. The meeting hails the peoples of the young states of Africa who have achieved political independence—an important step towards complete emancipation. The meeting extends heartfelt regards and support to the heroic Algerian people fighting for freedom and national independence and demands an immediate cessation of the aggressive war against Algeria. It wrathfully condemns the inhuman system of racial persecution and tyranny in the Union of South Africa (apartheid) and urges democrats throughout the world to actively support the peoples of South Africa in their struggle for freedom and equality. The meeting demands non-interference in the sovereign rights of the peoples of Cuba, the Congo and all the other countries that have won their freedom.

All the socialist countries and the international working class and communist movement see it as their duty to render the fullest moral and material assistance to the peoples fighting to free themselves from imperialist and colonial tyranny.

V

NEW OPPORTUNITIES IN THE NEW PERIOD

The new balance of world forces offers the communist and workers' parties new opportunities of carrying out the historic tasks they face in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

The communist parties determine the prospects and tasks of revolution in keeping with the concrete historical and social conditions obtaining in their respective countries and with due regard for the international situation. They are waging a selfless struggle, doing everything already in present conditions, without waiting until socialism triumphs, to defend the interests of the working class and the people, improve their living conditions and extend the democratic rights and freedoms of the people. Knowing that the brunt of the struggle for the liberation of its people from capitalist oppression rests upon it, the working class and its revolutionary vanguard will with increasing energy press forward its offensive against the domination of oppressors and exploiters in every field of political, economic and ideological activity in each country. In the process of this struggle the masses are prepared and conditions arise for decisive battles for the overthrow of capitalism, for the victory of socialist revolution.

The main blow in present conditions is directed with growing force at the capitalist monopolies, which are chiefly responsible for the arms race and which constitute the bulwark of reaction and aggression, at the whole system of state monopoly capitalism which defends their interests.

In some non-European developed capitalist countries which are under the political, economic and military domination of US imperialism, the working class and the people direct the main blow against US imperialist domination and also against monopoly capital and other domestic reactionary forces that betray the interests of the nation. In the course of this struggle all the democratic, patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of a revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the tasks of socialist revolution.

The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along the line. The exploitation of working people is gaining in intensity, so is the process in which the broad peasant masses are being ruined. At the same time, the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban

bourgeoisie are growing more acute. The oppression of the big monopolies is becoming increasingly heavier for all sections of the nation. As a result, the contradiction between the handful of monopoly capitalists and all sections of the people is now growing more pronounced, along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeois society - that between labour and capital.

The monopolies seek to abolish or cut down to a bare minimum, the democratic rights of the masses. The reign of open fascist terror continues in some countries. In a number of countries, fascism is expanding in new forms: dictatorial methods of government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices that have been stripped of democratic content and reduced to pure form. Many democratic organisations are outlawed and are compelled to go underground; thousands of fighters for the working class cause and champions of peace are in prison.

On behalf of all the communists of the world, this meeting expresses proletarian solidarity with the courageous sons and daughters of the working class and the fighters for democracy languishing behind prison bars in the USA, Spain, Portugal, Japan, West Germany, Greece, Iran, Pakistan, the United Arab Republic, Jordan, Iraq, Argentina, Paraguay, the Dominican Republic, Mexico, the Union of South Africa, the Sudan and other countries. The meeting urges launching a powerful worldwide campaign to secure the release of these champions of peace, national independence and democracy.

The working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie are vitally interested in the abolition of monopoly domination. Hence there are favourable conditions for rallying these forces.

Communists hold that this unity is quite feasible on the basis of the struggle for peace, national independence, the protection and extension of democracy, nationalisation of the key branches of economy and democratisation of their management, the use of the entire economy for peaceful purposes in order to satisfy the needs of the population, implementation of radical agrarian reforms,

improvement of the living conditions of the working people, protection of the interests of the peasantry and the petty and middle urban bourgeoisie against the tyranny of the monopolies.

These measures would be an important step along the path of social progress and would meet the interests of the majority of the nation. All these measures are democratic by nature. They do not eliminate the exploitation of man by man. But if realised, they would limit the power of the monopolies, enhance the prestige and political weight of the working class in the country's affairs, help to isolate the most reactionary forces and facilitate the unification of all the progressive forces. As they participate in the fight for democratic reforms, large sections of the population come to realise the necessity of unity of action with the working class and become more active politically. It is the prime duty of the working class and its communist vanguard to head the economic and political struggle of the masses for democratic reforms, for the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success.

Communists advocate general democratisation of the economic and social scene and of all the administrative, political and cultural organisations and institutions.

Communists regard the struggle for democracy as a component of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with the masses, increase their political consciousness and help them understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realise the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist parties completely apart from the reformists, who consider reforms within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution. Marxist-Leninists are firmly convinced that the peoples in the capitalist countries will in the course of their daily struggle ultimately come to understand that socialism alone is a real way out for them.

Now that more sections of the population are joining in an active class-struggle, it is of the utmost importance that communists should extend their work in trade unions and co-operatives, among the peasantry, the youth, the women, in

sports organisations and the unorganised sections of the population There are new opportunities now to draw the younger generation into the struggle for peace and democracy, and for the great ideals of communism Lenin's great behest—to go deeper into the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses in order to lead them—must become a major task for every communist party

The restoration of unity in the trade union movement in countries where it is split as well as on the international scale, is essential for heightening the role of the working class in political life and for the successful defence of its interests The working people may belong to different trade unions but they have common interests Whenever different trade union associations fought in common in the greatest class battles of recent years they usually succeeded precisely because of their unity in having the demands of the working people met The communist parties believe that there are real prerequisites for reestablishing trade union unity and will work perseveringly to bring it about In those countries where no trade union democracy exists in practice the struggle for trade-union unity calls for continuous efforts aimed at achieving trade union independence and recognition and observance of the trade union rights of all working people without political and any other discrimination

It is also essential to peace and social progress that the national and international unity of all the other mass democratic movements be restored Unity among the mass organisations may be achieved through joint action in the struggle for peace national independence, the preservation and extension of democratic rights the improvement of living conditions and the extension of the working people's social rights

The decisive role in the struggle of the popular masses of capitalist countries for the accomplishment of their tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry which represents the main motive force of social revolution

The split in the ranks of the working class which the ruling classes—the rightwing social-democratic leadership and

reactionary trade union leaders are interested to maintain on a national and international scale, remains the principal obstacle to the accomplishment of the goals of the working class. Communists work resolutely to eliminate this split.

The imperialists and reactionaries in various countries resort along with means of suppression, to means of deception and bribery in order to split and disrupt the solidarity of the working class. The events of the last few years have again confirmed that this split undermines the positions of the working class and is advantageous only to imperialist reaction.

Some rightwing social-democratic leaders have openly adopted imperialist views, defend the capitalist system and split the working class. Owing to their hostility to communism and their fear of the mounting influence of socialism in world affairs they are capitulating to the reactionary, conservative forces. In some countries the rightwing leadership has succeeded in making the social-democratic parties adopt programmes in which they openly disowned Marxism, the class struggle and the traditional socialist slogans. Thereby they have again done a service of the bourgeoisie. Resistance to this policy of the rightwing leaders is mounting in the social-democratic parties. The opposition also embraces a section of the social-democratic party functionaries. The forces favouring joint action by the working class and other working people in the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress are growing.

Communists will continue to criticise the ideological positions and rightwing opportunist practices of the social-democrats, they will continue activities aimed at inducing the social-democratic masses to adopt positions of consistent class struggle against capitalism, for the triumph of socialism. Communists are firmly convinced that the ideological differences obtaining between themselves and the social democrats must not hinder exchanges of opinion on the pressing problems of the working class movement and the joint struggle, especially against the war danger.

Communists regard social-democrats among the working people as their class-brothers. They often work together in trade

unions and other organisations, and fight jointly for the interests of the working class and the people as a whole.

The vital interests of the working class movement demand that the communist and social-democratic parties take joint action on a national and international scale to bring about the immediate prohibition of the manufacture, testing and use of nuclear weapons, the establishment of atom-free zones, general and complete disarmament under international control, the abolition of military bases on foreign soil and the withdrawal of foreign troops to assist the national-liberation movement of the peoples of colonial and dependent countries, to safeguard national sovereignty, promote democracy and resist the fascist menace, improve the living standards of the working people, secure a shorter working week without wage cuts, etc. Millions of social-democrats and some social-democratic parties have already in some form or another come out in favour of solving these problems. It is safe to say that on *overcoming the split in its ranks, on achieving unity of action of all its contingents, the working class of many capitalist countries could deliver a staggering blow to the policy of the ruling circles in the capitalist countries and make them stop preparing a new war, repel the offensive of monopoly capital and have its daily vital and democratic demands met.* Both in the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of working people, the extension and preservation of their democratic rights, the achievement and defence of national independence, for peace among nations, and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism, the communist parties advocate cooperation with the socialist parties. Communists have the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism, a doctrine that is consistent, scientifically substantiated and borne out by life, and rich international experience in socialist construction. They are prepared to hold discussions with social-democrats for they are certain that this is the best way to compare views, ideas and experience with the aim of removing deep-rooted prejudices and the split among the working people, and of establishing co-operation.

The imperialist reactionaries, who seek to arouse distrust for the communist movement and its ideology continue to intimidate

the masses by alleging that communists need wars between states to overthrow the capitalist system and establish a socialist system. The communist parties emphatically reject this slander. The fact that both world wars, which were started by the imperialists, ended in socialist revolutions by no means implies that the way to social revolution goes necessarily through world war, especially now that there exists a powerful world system of socialism. Marxists-Leninists have never considered that the way to social revolution lies through wars between states.

The choice of social system is the inalienable right of the people of each country. Socialist revolution is not an item of import and cannot be imposed from without. It is the result of the internal development of the country concerned, of the utmost sharpening of social contradictions in it. *The communist parties, which guide themselves by the Marxist-Leninist doctrine, have always been against the export of revolution. At the same time they fight resolutely against imperialist export of counter-revolution. They consider it their internationalist duty to call on the peoples of all countries to unite, to rally all their internal forces, to act vigorously and, relying on the might of the world socialist system, to prevent or firmly resist imperialist interference in the affairs of any people who have risen in revolution.*

The Marxist-Leninist parties head the struggle of the working class, the masses of working people for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat in one form or another. The forms and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organisation and maturity of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes. Whatever form of dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy, a transition from formal, bourgeois democracy to genuine democracy, to democracy for working people.

The communist parties reaffirm the propositions put forward by the Declaration of 1957 with regard to the forms of transition of different countries from capitalism to socialism.

The Declaration points out that the working class and its vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution by peaceful means. This would accord with the interests of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of the country.

Today in a number of capitalist countries the working class, headed by its vanguard, has the opportunity, given a united working class and popular front or other workable forms of agreement and political co-operation between the different parties and public organisations, to unite a majority of the people, win state power without civil war and ensure the transfer of the basic means of production to the hands of the people. Relying on the majority of the people and resolutely rebuffing the opportunist elements incapable of relinquishing the policy of compromise with the capitalists and landlords, the working class can defeat the reactionary antipopular forces, secure a firm majority in parliament, transform parliament from an instrument serving the class interests of the bourgeoisie into an instrument serving the working people, launch an extra-parliamentary mass struggle, smash the resistance of the reactionary forces and create the necessary conditions for peaceful realisation of the socialist revolution. All this will be possible only by broad and ceaseless development of the class struggle of the workers, peasant masses and the urban middle strata against big monopoly capital, against reaction, for profound social reforms, for peace and socialism.

In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind. Leninism teaches, and experience confirms, that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily. In this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism.

The actual possibility of one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historical conditions.

In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the communist parties, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for communist ideas.

Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations.

To effectively defend the interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class-consciousness and to show all people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experiences of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, general well-being and a high

standard of living, freedom from fear of economic crises, a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole, freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual, all-round spiritual development of man, the fullest development of talent, unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the capitalist countries.

VI

UNITY AND CONSOLIDATION OF WORLD COMMUNIST MOVEMENT

The world communist movement has become the most influential political force of our time, a most important factor in social progress. As it fights bitterly against imperialist reaction, for the interests of the working class and all working people, for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism, the communist movement is making steady headway, is becoming consolidated and steeled.

There are now communist parties active in 87 countries of the world. Their total membership exceeds 36,000,000. This is a signal victory for Marxism-Leninism and a tremendous achievement of the working class. Like-minded Marxists are rallying in the countries which have shaken off colonial tyranny and taken the path of independent development. Communist parties consider it their international duty to promote friendship and solidarity between the working class of their countries and the working class movement of the countries which have won their freedom in the common struggle against imperialism.

The growth of the communist parties and their organisational consolidation, the victories of the communist parties in a number of countries in the struggle against deviations, elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the greater

influence of the world communist movement open new prospects for the successful accomplishment of the tasks facing the communist parties

Marxist-Leninist parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism, they consider that they must cherish party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organisational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading party bodies in the life of the party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of communists, vigorously to promote the activity of communists, and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks

The communist parties have ideologically defeated the revisionists in their ranks who sought to divert them from the Marxist-Leninist path. Each communist party and the international communist movement as a whole have become still stronger, ideologically and organisationally, in the struggle against revisionism, right-wing-opportunism

The communist parties have unanimously condemned the Yugoslav variety of international opportunism, a variety of modern revisionist "theories" in concentrated form. After betraying Marxism-Leninism, which they termed obsolete, the leaders of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia opposed their anti-Leninist revisionist programme to the Declaration of 1957 they set the LCY against the international communist movement as a whole, severed their country from the socialist camp, made it dependent on so-called "aid" from US and other imperialists, and thereby exposed the Yugoslav people to the danger of losing the revolutionary gains achieved through a heroic struggle. The Yugoslav revisionists carry on subversive work against the socialist camp and the world communist movement. Under the pretext of an extra-bloc policy, they engage in activities

which prejudice the unity of all peace-loving forces and countries. Further exposure of the leaders of Yugoslav revisionists and active struggle to safeguard the communist movement and the working class movement from the anti-Leninist ideas of the Yugoslav revisionists remains an essential task of the Marxist-Leninist parties.

The practical struggles of the working class and the entire course of social development have furnished a brilliant new proof of the great all conquering power and vitality of Marxism-Leninism and have thoroughly refuted all modern revisionist theories.

The further development of the communist and working class movement calls as stated in the Moscow Declaration of 1957 for continuing a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism which remains the main danger, and against dogmatism and sectarianism.

Revisionism right wing opportunism, which mirrors the bourgeois ideology in theory and practice distorts Marxism-Leninism emasculates its revolutionary essence and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class, disarms and demobilises the workers, the masses of the working people in their struggle against oppression by imperialists and exploiters, for peace, democracy and national liberation for the triumph of socialism.

Dogmatism and sectarianism in theory and practice can also become the main danger at some stage of development of individual parties unless combated unrelentingly. They rob revolutionary parties of the ability to develop Marxism-Leninism through scientific analysis and apply it creatively according to the specific conditions they isolate communists from the broad masses of the working people, doom them to passive expectation or leftist, adventurist actions in the revolutionary struggle, prevent them from making a timely and correct estimate of the changing situation and of new experience, using all opportunities to bring about the victory of the working class and all democratic forces in the struggle against imperialism, reaction and war danger and thereby prevent the peoples from achieving victory in their just struggle.

At a time when imperialist reaction is joining forces to fight communism it is particularly imperative vigorously to consolidate the world communist movement Unity and solidarity re-double the strength of our movement and provide a reliable guarantee that the great cause of communism will make victorious progress and all enemy attacks will be effectively repelled.

Communists throughout the world are united by the great doctrine of Marxism-Leninism and by a joint struggle for its realisation The interests of the communist movement require solidarity in adherence by every communist party to the estimates and conclusions concerning the common tasks in the struggle against imperialism, for peace, democracy and socialism, jointly reached by the fraternal parties at their meetings

The interests of the struggle for the working class cause demands ever closer unity of the ranks of each communist party and of the great army of communists of all countries, they demand of them unity of will and action It is the supreme internationalist duty of every Marxist-Leninist party to work continuously for greater unity in the world communist movement

A resolute defence of the unity of the world communist movement on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and the prevention of any actions which may undermine that unity are a necessary condition for victory in the struggle for national independence, democracy and peace, for the successful accomplishment of the tasks of the socialist revolution and of the building of socialism and communism Violation of these principles would impair the forces of communism

All the Marxist-Leninist parties are independent and have equal rights, they shape their policies according to the specific conditions in their respective countries and in keeping with Marxist-Leninist principles, and support each other The success of the working class cause in any country is unthinkable without the internationalist solidarity of all Marxist-Leninist parties Every party is responsible to the working class, to the working people of its country, to the international working class and communist movement as a whole

The communist and workers' parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems, to exchange experience, acquaint themselves with each other's views and positions, work out common views through consultations and co-ordinate joint actions in the struggle for common goals.

Whenever a party wants to clear up questions relating to the activities of another fraternal party its leadership approaches the leadership of the party concerned if necessary they hold meetings and consultations.

The experience and results of the meetings of representatives of the communist parties held in recent years, particularly the results of the major meetings— that of November 1957 and this meeting— show that in present day conditions such meetings are an effective form of exchanging views and experience enriching Marxist Leninist theory by collective effort and elaborating a common attitude in the struggle for common objectives.

The communist and workers' parties unanimously declare that the Communist Party of the Soviet Union has been and remains, the universally recognised vanguard of the world communist movement being the most experienced and steeled contingent of the international movement. The experience which the CPSU has gained in the struggle for the victory of the working class in socialist construction and in the fullscale construction of communism is of fundamental significance for the whole of the world communist movement. The example of the CPSU and its fraternal solidarity inspire all the communist parties in their struggle for peace and socialism and represent the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice. The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are not only of great importance for the CPSU and communist construction in the USSR but have initiated a new stage in the world communist movement, and have promoted its development on the basis of Marxism Leninism.

All communist and workers' parties contribute to the development of the great theory of Marxist Leninism. Mutual assistance and support in relations between all the fraternal Marxist-Leninist parties embody the revolutionary principles of proletarian internationalism applied in practice.

Ideological issues are of especial significance today. The exploiting class tries to counteract the achievements of socialism by exerting ever greater ideological pressure on the masses as it seeks to keep them in spiritual bondage to bourgeois ideology. Communists regard it as their task to launch a determined offensive on the ideological front, to work for the emancipation of the masses from the spiritual bondage of all types and forms of bourgeois ideology, including the pernicious influence of reformism, to disseminate among the masses progressive ideas making for social advancement, the ideas of democratic freedom, the ideology of scientific socialism.

Historical experience shows that the survivals of capitalism in the minds of people persist over a long period even after the establishment of a socialist system. This demands extensive work by the party on the communist education of the masses and a better Marxist-Leninist training and steeling of party and government cadres.

Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international communist, working class and liberation movements have achieved great historic successes, and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the communist and workers' parties can be effectively accomplished.

The meeting sees the further consolidation of the communist parties on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, of proletarian internationalism, as a primary condition for the unification of all working class, democratic and progressive forces, as a guarantee of new victories in the great struggle waged by the world communist and working class movement for a happy future for the whole of mankind, for the triumph of the cause of peace and socialism.

Speech By Ajoy Ghosh at the Conference of Communists and Workers' Parties

Dear Comrades

Allow me on behalf of the delegation of the Communist Party of India to convey to all Communist and Workers' Parties whose representatives have come here, our warm and fraternal greetings.

This conference of ours is in many respects a unique meeting. Gathered in this hall are the representatives of practically all the Marxist-Leninist Parties of the world—leaders of that vast army which marches in the van of humanity towards the cherished goal of universal peace, socialism and communism. This conference is taking place at a time when our movement has acquired unprecedented sweep and momentum; at a time when the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism have become the most decisive force in the world arena. All the more necessary it is therefore for all of us to be conscious of the tremendous responsibility that rests on us.

We are faced with differences on certain issues that have arisen inside the world communist movement. To resolve these differences, to restore complete unity of views and action on the basis of a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the situation and correct formulation of tasks, to re-establish close fraternal relations which to some extent, have been damaged by recent events, constitute vital responsibilities for our conference. On the fulfilment of these responsibilities will depend in a great measure the future of our movement.

A good basis for such unity—has already been laid down, in the opinion of our delegation, in the document prepared by the

Drafting Commission. It is a Marxist-Leninist document of great theoretical and practical importance. Basing itself on the principles of the 1957 Moscow Declaration and developing them further, in the light of new events and experience, this document, gives a concrete appraisal of the world situation and of the tasks facing the international working class and Communist Parties. With the main propositions of the draft—the character and main trend of our epoch, the possibility of averting war and achieving disarmament, the dynamic significance of the policy of peaceful coexistence, the rapid disintegration of the colonial system and the emergence of sovereign states, the specific tasks of Communists of the newly-independent countries in the struggle for national democracy, the reactionary features of present-day imperialism and monopoly capitalism, the question of transition of socialism—the imperative need of simultaneous struggle against revisionism which remains the main danger and against dogmatism, the paramount importance of unity in the world communist movement—with all those propositions of the Draft we express full and complete agreement. We also endorse wholeheartedly the illuminating speech made by Comrade N. S. Khrushchev in which he gave a brilliant analysis of the world situation and elaborated many of the propositions of the Draft.

Profound and far-reaching changes have taken place in the world arena in recent years. The Draft Declaration brings out in a convincing way the significance of these changes.

Ever since its formation, the Soviet Union has been exerting great influence on world events. However, till the period when the Second World War began, the course of world history was determined mainly by imperialists. That situation has changed. Although imperialism still holds many millions of people in bondage and commands a powerful military force capable of doing serious damage—it has ceased to be the decisive force. New forces have appeared—forces that are increasingly determining the course of world history.

This is seen strikingly in the contrast between the events before the Second World War and the events of the recent period.

Right from 1931, when in defiance of world public opinion Japan seized Manchuria, the fascist offensive against the freedom-loving peoples gathered momentum. The invasion of China, the conquest of Abyssinia, the forcible occupation of Austria, Sudetenland and, later, the whole of Czechoslovakia, the triumph of fascism in Spain, the subjugation of Albania all those followed inexorably, sometimes through local wars sometimes through threat of war. Mankind stood appalled but could not halt the process. The decisive force then was imperialism, and the biggest of the imperialist powers Britain, France and USA wanted to strengthen Hitler, Mussolini and fascist Japan as a weapon against the USSR. The outcome was the Second World War.

This is not how events have proceeded in recent years. The victory of the anti-fascist forces led by the USSR and the glorious Red Army brought in its wake the liberation of a number of countries of Europe and Asia. The working class assumed power in several countries and new socialist states came into existence. National liberation struggles gathered momentum and won a number of victories. The struggle of the working people in capitalist countries attained new heights. The great revolution of the Chinese people dealt of shattering blow against the position of imperialism in Asia and brought about historic changes in the balance of forces. Aided by Chinese volunteers the heroic Korean people hurled back the American interventionists who wanted to subjugate the whole of Korea. French imperialist adventures in Vietnam ended in fiasco. Anglo-French intervention in Egypt suffered ignominious defeat thanks to resolute warning from the Soviet Union. Threat of intervention in Iraq did not materialise. Gallant Cuba rose successful revolt against American imperialists and their henchmen. Despite certain local setbacks that the people have suffered, the period since the end of the Second World War taken as a whole, has been a period of unprecedented triumph for the forces of peace and independence, democracy and socialism.

This is due, first and foremost, to the fact that there exists today a powerful socialist system, embracing one-third of humanity a

system that is daily becoming stronger –economically, politically and militarily. It follows, therefore, that in order to achieve further successes, the paramount need is to strengthen the unity of the socialist system. In this context, unity between the USSR and the Chinese People's Republic, between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and Communist Party of China, between the peoples of the USSR and of the Chinese People's Republic is naturally of fundamental importance. The divergences that have appeared can and must be resolved. We refuse to take a pessimistic view in this respect.

We fail to understand why there should be any divergence on the issue of war and peace and on peaceful coexistence. The series of victories that have been won against the instigators of a new world war, against those who launched or threatened aggression against freedom-loving countries give, in our opinion, ample ground for confidence that the aggressors can be halted, that peace can be preserved.

By fighting for disarmament and by resolutely upholding the cause of peace, the socialist countries, with the USSR at their head, are continuously isolating the imperialists and winning the moral leadership of the people of the world. By hundreds of millions of people who are not Communists and who even oppose communism, the USSR is looked upon as a consistent champion of peace. We maintain that this is one of the most effective ways of struggle against imperialism. It helps us to win the support of vast sections of humanity, including the majority of people in the imperialist countries themselves.

We do not think it necessary to elaborate this point. The concrete and practical results of the policy of peace pursued by the Soviet Union and socialist countries demonstrate this. The inspiring role of the delegation of the USSR, headed by Comrade N S Khrushchov, at the recent 15th session of the United Nations is yet another example. All this should set at rest controversy on this issue.

The forces of world socialism have not merely played the decisive role in frustrating the drive of imperialists towards war; they have also enormously helped the struggle of the colonial and

dependent peoples for national liberation Of great importance in this connection, as the Draft Declaration points out, was the People's Democratic Revolution of China which helped to change the correlation of forces on world scale and had powerful impact on the peoples of the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America

This great role of China in accelerating the process of disintegration of the world colonial system and in giving a powerful impetus to the national liberation movement is universally acknowledged On a world plane, the Soviet Union has been delivering blow after blow against imperialism, whose worldwide collapse is unthinkable without the gigantic role of the CPSU and the Soviet Union It baffles and pains us when it is suggested that the Soviet Union has been half-hearted in its support to the freedom struggle of the colonial peoples and that it embellishes and appeases imperialism It is a totally baseless allegation

The peoples of Asia and Africa, both those who have won political independence and are striving to defend and strengthen it and those who are still struggling to be free have always found in the Soviet Union an unfailing friend and a reliable ally The entire record of the Soviet Union proves this conclusively Hence the deep love entertained by the oppressed peoples for the Soviet Union

Comrades the victories of the national liberation movement in recent years have been phenomenal in scope and significance Hundreds of millions of people who the arrogant imperialists thought were destined to remain for ever, hewers of wood and drawers of water, have awakened to a new life A storm has been sweeping over Asia and Africa ever since the end of the Second World War Mighty empires have collapsed In 1945, the total membership of the United Nations was fifty-one of which only 15 States belonged to Asia and Africa By the end of 1960 of the total membership of 99 in the UNO, the Afro Asian States will number 50

In many of these countries, imperialists still retain very strong positions But it is equally true that many of these countries, even though capitalist regimes prevail there, have already ceased to be

under imperialist control. They oppose colonialism, they stand for peace, they are striving for economic independence. One of the most important of these countries is the Republic of India – a country of 400 million people, which together with the People's Republic of China was the author of the historic Panch Sheel.

We, Indian Communists, have never entertained illusions about the Indian national bourgeoisie. The National Congress, the ruling party in India, looks upon our Party as its chief enemy. The leaders of the ruling party, including Nehru, never miss an opportunity to malign and attack our Party. Radical agrarian reforms are an urgent necessity for the rebuilding of our economy. Our Party is fighting determinedly against feudal and semi-feudal survivals and for genuine agrarian reforms. Our Party is the single biggest political force in the working class and it has been leading many a struggle of the working people against the bourgeoisie – both foreign and Indian – and for a better life and democratic rights.

It is through such struggles and mass movements that our Party has become a big political force, next only to the Congress, the ruling party of India. In the last general elections it polled 12 million votes – double the votes it had polled in the previous general elections – and formed the government in Kerala, one of the constituent States of the Republic of India. This Government was, however, forcibly dissolved after 28 months – 32 months before its normal term – by the Central Government precisely because they were afraid of the influence that Kerala was exerting on the people all over the country.

While waging a determined struggle against its anti-people and anti-democratic policies, we nevertheless realise that the Indian Government, led by Nehru, constitutes a very significant force for world peace, despite its vacillations. We are also conscious of the big influence that India exerts over many countries of Asia and Africa. That is why we strive our utmost to strengthen the independent and peace-loving policy of the Indian Government. We support every single move of the Indian Government that strengthens peace and weakens imperialism while at the same time, criticising its vacillations. We constantly press for closer co-operation between India and the countries of the socialist world.

Our Party considers it a task of great importance to keep India on the rails of peace and nonalignment and to further strengthen this policy through mass activity on the broadest scale.

In the struggle to uphold peace and isolate the instigators of a new world war, the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa can play a great role. The Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist world have been fully conscious of this fact. The significance of the emergence of the peace zone which includes these countries was emphasised in the Moscow Declaration of 1957. Here I would like to mention about the disinterested aid given by the socialist countries and, above all, by the USSR to India and the other newly-independent countries. This aid has immensely helped India to build basic industries like the Bhilai Steel Plant. We attach great importance to such economic aid from socialist countries. It helps the development of the economy of the countries of Asia and Africa and enables them to resist imperialist pressure as well as overcome economic dependence on imperialism. It has thus a profoundly anti-imperialist content. It helps the progressive forces in the economic and political life of the countries concerned, thus creating new opportunities for the advance of democracy. Such economic aid strengthens the bond of friendship between the newly-independent countries and the socialist world and stimulates co-operation in the struggle for world peace. This has been our experience in India.

We have already said that China, together with India, put forward the historic Panch Sheel. The Bandung Conference was such a resounding success primarily because the two great countries of Asia acted unitedly there. We must also mention the fact that for no country in the world there has been in India such warm sentiments of friendship as for the People's Republic of China. We have always held and still hold the Communist Party of China and its leaders in great respect for their titanic achievements, for their contribution in the sphere of theory and practice, which have meant so much to the people of the whole world, especially the peoples of Asia and Africa, for the valuable advice and assistance they have given to our Party on many occasions.

It is all the more painful for us therefore, to point out to the Chinese comrades that some of the positions taken by them today are not in conformity with what they themselves preached and practised in the past.

They say they consider as fully correct the articles published by them on the occasion of the 90th anniversary of Lenin. But we cannot understand why those articles, except where they quote from the Moscow Declaration, make practically no reference to the role of the newly-independent countries of Asia and Africa. While repeatedly speaking about the disintegration of the imperialist system, the articles scrupulously avoid mentioning one of the chief features of this phenomenon— viz. the formation of many sovereign states which, though not socialist, are pursuing independent and peace loving policies. The omission of this fact undoubtedly leaves a big gap in the appraisal of present-day world situation.

We fully believe that comrades stand for peaceful coexistence. But the policy of peaceful coexistence demands a sustained and continuous struggle to isolate the most bellicose elements among the imperialists and to win over all possible allies. In particular it demands that the socialist states must make constant efforts to draw the newly-independent and nonaligned countries closer to the socialist camp, forge bonds of friendship with them, in the common task of opposition to colonialism and defence of peace. Imperialists are striving to disrupt the peace zone. The socialist states must do everything in their power to prevent this.

In our opinion, in recent periods, the Communist Party of China has underestimated the importance of this task and in relation to India, they have not acted in a way so as to strengthen the peace zone. On the contrary their attitude has weakened the peace zone. Moreover in relation to our Party, the attitude of the Communist Party of China for some time has not been one in keeping with the principles that should guide fraternal relations between parties.

We should not have referred to these matters at this conference. But the speech of Comrade Teng Hsiao-ping has left us with no alternative.

Our Party fully recognises and has repeatedly stated that the first breach in India-China friendship was caused by the attitude

and action of Indian reactionaries and the Indian Government. This was in April-May 1959 at the time of the Tibetan counter-revolutionary uprising. Apprehensive of the probable impact on the Indian masses of far-reaching reforms in Tibet, the big bourgeois controlled Indian press, reactionary parties in India, the socialists and even leaders of the ruling Congress Party launched a vicious campaign, alleging that China had turned imperialist and was oppressing the Tibetan 'nation'. Nehru himself called the uprising a 'national revolt'. The Dalai Lama was helped to escape to India where his statement denouncing China was officially distributed to the press by a representative of the Indian Government and given wide publicity.

Our Party, inside the Parliament, in its press, and among the mass of people conducted a vigorous propaganda, exposing the Indian reactionaries, sharply criticising Nehru, upholding India-China friendship and demanding that the anti-China campaign should cease. We characterised this campaign as gross interference in the internal affairs of China, disruptive of Asian solidarity and undertaken with the object of changing our foreign policy in a reactionary direction. We vigorously defended the action of the Chinese Government and the reforms introduced in Tibet. The Chinese comrades know that in those days when every effort was being made in India to whip up hatred against China, ours was the only organised force which resolutely opposed the campaign and defended China. In this, we were supported by many progressives in other parties, as well as non-party people.

The anti-China campaign conducted in India roused the just anger of the Chinese people. The Chinese press and Chinese leaders sharply criticised the Indian Government, as they had every right to do. However, they made certain utterances which in our opinion were unwise and wrong. They stated that Kalimpong, an Indian town on the Tibetan border, was the 'commanding centre' of the rebels. They declared that 'Indian expansionists' were using the Dalai Lama 'as hostage' to blackmail China, and compel her to renounce her sovereignty over Tibet. They alleged that the Dalai Lama was making his statements in India 'under duress'.

In a letter written to the Chinese comrades on 3 May 1959 and again on 5 May, our Party, while extending full support to the general political stand taken by the Chinese comrades, expressed the view that these statements were inadvisable and even incorrect and were helping the reactionaries in India. While we did not utter a single word in public which would, in any way, show the slightest divergence between our views and those of the Chinese comrades, we told them in our letters that it was impossible to make anyone in India believe that the Dalai Lama had made his statements in India 'under duress' or that he was being held as a hostage. It was not a fact. We also pointed out to the Chinese comrades that their loose use of the term 'Indian expansionism' was alienating even those who were friendly towards China. We requested them that if they really believed that Kalimpong was the 'commanding centre' of the rebels, then facts should be supplied to us so that we could expose it before our own people or they themselves should make the facts known.

We also wrote to the Chinese comrades that even though Nehru had made a number of anti-China statements, a distinction should be made between him and those Indian reactionaries who were striving to change India's basic foreign policy. We suggested that our Party in India should give the slogan that Nehru and Chou En-lai should meet in order to restore good relations between the two countries, pointing out that this slogan would find support among vast number of our people.

All that we received in answer to these two long letters was a short and curt reply. We were told that our suggestion about a meeting of the two Prime Ministers was not proper. As for our questions and suggestions about the use of the terms 'Dalai Lama under duress', 'Indian expansionism' and 'Kalimpong—the commanding centre of rebels'—no reply whatsoever was given. We were asked to study the article 'The Revolution in Tibet and Nehru's Philosophy' which had appeared in *People's Daily* and which allegedly answered all the questions—but the fact was that the article though good and useful and clarified many issues, did not answer the specific questions that we had raised.

It was certainly not the kind of reply that we expected from a fraternal party concerning issues which vitally concerned us our movement and the friendship between our two countries in a critical situation which demanded mutual consultation and full mutual understanding.

The uproar caused by the Tibetan events did not last long. Moreover it did not affect the vast mass of people. Despite their utmost efforts reactionaries did not succeed in creating hostility against China among the mass of peoples in those days.

Shortly after this and frightened by the effect which the policies and measures of the Communist-led Government of Kerala were having over the whole country the Indian bourgeoisie launched an all-out attack on the Kerala Government. In alliance with dark forces of religious fanaticism the Congress which always speaks of non violence and constitutionalism promoted a violent struggle against a legally constituted Government merely because it was a Government led by the Communist Party which was trying to carry out certain urgently needed reforms. Seizing the opportunity created by the disturbances that followed the Central Government dismissed the Government of Kerala.

These events roused the whole country against the ruling Congress Party and the Nehru Government as no single event had done since the achievement of freedom. The demonstrations organised by us in defence of Kerala against the counter-revolutionary onslaught on it and against the action of the Central Government were participated in by millions of people all over the country. Even many bourgeois circles and bourgeois newspapers were critical of the Congress and of Nehru. At no time was the resentment against the Congress and even against Nehru so great. To a vast number of people including those who had always supported him, Nehru's attitude towards Kerala appeared to be morally and politically indefensible.

Such comrades was the situation in India in the beginning of August 1959. The bourgeoisie had overthrown the Kerala Government but theirs had been a pyrrhic victory. They had lost far more than they had gained. We had gained far more than we had lost.

Soon after this, there started appearing in the Indian press reports of ill-treatment of Indian nationals in Tibet, of border incidents between India and China and of divergence between the Indian and Chinese Governments over the boundary between the two countries. We were deeply worried by this development. It was clear to us that further deterioration of India-China relations would have serious repercussions on our democratic movement. In a detailed letter sent to the Chinese Communist Party on 20 August 1959 which narrated the main features of the political situation in India we told the Chinese comrades that we anticipated a big reactionary offensive. And we stated, 'in this, one of the main weapons they want to use is the relation that has developed between India and China in recent months'. We added in the same letter, 'the campaign against China which is steadily gathering strength is a campaign against India's foreign policy, India-China friendship, and also against the Communist Party of India. Continuation and accentuation of the present differences would gravely endanger India's foreign policy, help the rightwing to take India towards America and would also help the drive against the Communist Party of India. I would, therefore, like to know what can and should be done to resolve these differences. This has become an urgent matter both in the interest of our foreign policy and of defence of democracy inside our country'.

No reply was given by the Chinese comrades to this urgent letter.

Again, on 3 September 1959 after reading in Indian newspapers about certain border incidents which had been discussed in the Indian Parliament and at the urgent request of the Central Secretariat of our Party, I sent a letter to the Chinese comrades from Moscow in which I wrote:

I would earnestly request you that some steps be taken for negotiations and exchange of views between the Chinese People's Republic and the Government of India. Any delay would assist the very forces that seek to create hostility against China and pull India towards the Anglo-American camp. Such a development would do grievous damage to the cause of peace and Afro-Asian solidarity. Further, it would facilitate rightwing offensive against progressives in the

Congress, against democracy and against our Party under the signboard of 'national security' and 'national interest'

Once again the Chinese comrades neither replied to our letters nor paid any heed to our request. They did not think it necessary to even inform us what the facts were, what their point of view was regarding the allegations that were being made in India and to which we had drawn their attention in our letters.

In each one of our communications to the Chinese comrades we put heavy responsibility on Indian ruling circles and reactionary elements for the situation that was developing between the two countries. We knew and stated that many of the bourgeois leaders wanted to create hostility against China. But that, in our opinion, was all the greater reason why China, a socialist country, should act in such a way as to help us to rally the mass of the Indian people in defence of India-China friendship.

It may also be mentioned that right from August, 1958 correspondence had been going on between the Governments of India and China expressing divergent views on the border between the two countries. We were told nothing about the correspondence by the Chinese comrades, although it was a matter deeply concerning us. Further, between 23 June and 28 August 1959 no less than eight notes were exchanged between the Governments of India and China accusing each other of border violation. About this too we were told nothing.

A border clash took place at Longju towards the end of August 1959. Tension mounted after this in India. And in the midst of this tension on 8 September a long letter was sent by Comrade Chou En-lai the Prime Minister of China to Nehru in reply to his letter of 22 March. We read both the letters for the first time in the press. Comrade Chou En-lai, explaining the viewpoint of the Chinese Government which he stated had never recognised the so-called McMahon Line as the frontier between India and China on the Eastern sector said that this line was 'a product of British policy of aggression'. He added that the territory south of the line which actually belonged to China was a territory which 'corresponds in size to the Chekiang province of China and is as big as 90,000 square kilometres'. He asked, 'Mr Prime Minister

how would China agree to accept under coercion such an illegal line which would have it relinquish its rights and disgrace itself by selling out its territory and such a large piece of territory at that?"

Inevitably, this was interpreted in India as China's demand that this territory of ninety thousand square kilometres should be given up by India. In whatever way it might have been acquired by the British, it had been, for a number of years, under Indian administration and was looked upon by our people as part of India. People in India asked the question Why is it that this demand was not raised in 1954 when the Panch Sheel agreement was signed between India and China?

But, for us, in this conference the main question is not the validity or otherwise of the claims made by the two Governments. For us the two main questions are the following. *Firstly*, what attitude should a socialist Government adopt towards a country which is the most important non-socialist country of the peace zone. *Secondly*, what principles should govern the relations between two Communist Parties. As everyone knows, the question of frontiers of a country is a question that rouses deep emotions among all sections of people. Despite this, if India had become an imperialist base or if the Indian Government was planning aggression against China, using the territory south of the McMahon Line as a springboard then one could understand and even justify the point made in Comrade Chou En-lai's letter. But such was not the case. We feel, therefore, that in dealing with this question of borders, due weight should have been given by our Chinese comrades to the larger interest of the socialist camp as a whole and of the unity of peace zone.

Moreover, on an issue which concerned not merely China but India as well, on an issue which could not but affect the vast mass of people of our country and our whole movement, on an issue on which depended the relation between the two biggest countries of Asia with a combined population of over 1,000 million — on such an issue, we had every right to expect, that some prior consultation would be held with us and our views ascertained. All the more we had a right to expect this in view of the series of letters that we had written.

It has been argued by the Chinese comrades that in accordance with the tactic of unity and struggle in relation to the national bourgeoisie, they waged the necessary struggle when the Indian Government acted wrongly against China. The argument, in this context is not convincing. Evidently the main forces in the struggle against the bourgeois rulers of India are the mass of Indian people. It follows therefore, that China's tactics – including the way in which the struggle is waged even against the Nehru Government and the method and manner of waging it – had to be such as helps to isolate the bourgeois rulers and not help them to rally the masses. It had to be tactics that helps the Indian democratic movement. This, we regret to say was not kept in mind.

The manner in which the question of 90,000 square kilometres was raised placed our Party in an extremely difficult situation. It helped reactionaries and the Indian Government to step up the campaign against China and against our Party. Masses of people were bewildered. The great fund of love and good-will for China accumulated as the result of China's own past record as well as of the work of our Party and Indian progressives was frittered away to a great extent. The drive against Indian foreign policy, against democracy and against our Party gathered momentum.

Even then our Party did not think it proper to demarcate itself sharply from the position taken by China. We felt that the Chinese comrades were committing a serious mistake but in the interest of good relations between the two parties we thought it necessary to discuss matters personally with them. During the 10th Anniversary of the foundation of the Chinese People's Republic a delegation of our Party had prolonged discussions with the Chinese comrades. The discussions were frank and, on the whole, fruitful but we were conscious that there was a big difference between their assessment of the Indian situation and ours. Their assessment of the extent to which the Nehru Government had moved to the right and ours. Nevertheless, on practical measures to be taken to restore good relation between the two countries, a large measure of agreement was reached. It seemed to us and we stated also that settlement could be reached if, without going into

past history, both Governments agreed to accept the frontier between the two countries as it existed in reality and give it legal recognition, along its entire length. We must state that on their part, the Chinese comrades did change their attitude— a change which found reflection in stoppage of offensive expressions against India in Chinese press, participation by China in the World Agricultural Exhibition held in Delhi, steps to contact representatives of the Indian Government and readiness to take initiative for Nehru-Chou meeting. But before all this could actually materialise and change the situation, there took place on 21 October 1959 in the Kong ka pass in a disputed territory a serious clash between the armed forces of India and China resulting in casualties on both sides including the death of several persons on the Indian side. This took place in an area which according to the Chinese comrades had always been a part of China and into which Indian forces had intruded. It is a remote mountainous area in the northwest where few people live and to which even Nehru had attached practically no significance in the past. The clash however invested even this territory with a new significance.

Conscious of the serious repercussions that this incident would have on public opinion in India and in the relations between the two countries we sent a message to the Chinese comrades requesting them to take a bold initiative to start negotiations. We also wrote to some extent the damage created by the clash can be repaired if the Chinese Government immediately issues a statement in which without blaming either country for the incident there is expression of sorrow over the clash of sympathy for those who have suffered of hope that such things will not happen again and of keen desire to start negotiations to settle all disputes between the two countries. We added A warm statement full of human sentiment and friendly feelings is wanted.

Unfortunately the Chinese Government did not immediately issue such a statement. Precious time was allowed to pass which was made full use of by reactionaries and by anti-China elements in the ruling party. A violent campaign developed in India against China and against our Party. It was only on 7 November that Comrade Chou En Lai sent a letter to Nehru couched in friendly terms, proposing a meeting with him to settle the disputes and

suggesting certain practical measures to eliminate danger of border clashes Subsequently, serious efforts were made by China to resolve the differences The notes sent by the Chinese Government were friendly in tone Comrade Chou En-lai himself came to India to discuss matters and put forward constructive proposals But by now the damage had been done Reaction had secured the upper hand in India Keeping up the India-China dispute served its interest as well as the interest of Indian ruling circles

After Comrade Chou En-lai's visit to India, a joint committee of the officials of the two Governments was formed to examine records and prepare a report This committee has already met several times but, from reports that have appeared in newspapers it appears that little progress has been made towards agreement

The situation remains bad The unfortunate dispute continues Though border clashes have not taken place for over a year, we cannot afford to be complacent The danger remains as long question is not solved

Comrades! We have dealt with this dispute at great length because we feel that the facts must be known to you all and also because we want to impress on the Chinese comrades the imperative necessity of their making great efforts, including major concessions, to resolve the dispute That will heighten their prestige, repair the damage and help the cause of Indian democracy

In this connection, allow us comrades to say a few words on the Tass statement of 9 September 1959

Several times the Chinese comrades have alleged that by issuing the Tass statement, the Soviet comrades violated the principles of proletarian internationalism and revealed to the whole world the difference between the Communist Parties of Soviet Union and China They seem to think that the Tass statement was an open condemnation of China and they even suggest that this was done with a view to please Eisenhower They think that this statement damaged the interest of the socialist camp and helped imperialists and Indian reactionaries.

We are amazed at these allegations. What did the Tass statement of 9 September issued after the clash at Longju say? It stated that 'certain western political circles and the press have lately started a noisy campaign around an incident that recently took place on the Chinese-Indian border in the Himalayas'. It opined, 'This campaign is obviously designed to drive a wedge between the two biggest countries of Asia, the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India, friendship between whom is of great importance for peace and international co-operation in Asia and throughout the world'.

It is a noteworthy fact [the Tass statement said] that this incident has been caught up by those circles in Western countries, in the United States specially, who are seeking to prevent a relaxation of international tension and aggravate the situation on the eve of exchange of visits between the Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, N. S. Khrushchov and the President of the United States D. Eisenhower. By such methods they hope to paralyse the growing desire in Western countries for an understanding with the socialist states on questions connected with the ending of the cold war.

There is not a word in all this which can be interpreted as condemnation of China or actuated by a desire to please Eisenhower. The blame is squarely laid on the shoulders of imperialist circles who were utilising the incident to discredit the idea of peaceful coexistence and aggravate tension.

The statement continued:

One cannot but regret the fact that an incident has taken place on the Chinese-Indian border. The Soviet Union maintains friendly relations with both the People's Republic of China and the Republic of India. The Chinese and Soviet peoples are bound by unbreakable ties of fraternal friendship based on the great principles of proletarian internationalism. Friendly co-operation between the USSR and India is developing successfully in conformity with the ideas of peaceful co-existence.

The attempts to utilise the incident that has occurred on the Chinese-Indian border for the purpose of fanning the cold war and undermining friendship between nations should be vigorously condemned.

In Soviet leading circles, confidence is expressed [the Tass statement said], that the Government of the People's Republic of China and the Government of the Republic of India will not allow the incident to further the aims of those circles who want the international situation not to improve but to worsen. The leading Soviet circles express the confidence that both Governments will settle their misunderstanding, taking into account their mutual interests in the spirit of traditional friendship between the peoples of China and India. This will also help to strengthen the forces standing for peace and international co-operation.

We consider that the Tass statement was entirely correct, wise and timely. It helped to frustrate the game of those who were striving to work up hatred of the Indian people against the socialist camp.

Some comrades seem to think that since the incident that had taken place was one in which the forces of a socialist country and a capitalist country clashed, the Soviet Union as a socialist country should not have expressed regret, should not have advocated settlement by negotiations but should have fully backed China. We cannot agree with this view. Everyone knows that when American imperialists threatened aggression against China, Comrade Khrushchev, speaking on behalf of the Soviet Government, gave a stern warning that the USSR would consider an attack on China as an attack on itself. But such was not the issue here. It was an incident in which were involved a socialist country and a capitalist country of the *peace zone*. Neither was China planning aggression against India nor was India planning aggression against China. In the interests of the socialist camp as a whole, including China, in the interests of the cause of peace and the unity of the peace zone, it was necessary that measures were taken to minimise the conflict, to restore good relations to defeat the game of those who wanted to drive a wedge between the socialist world and the biggest of the neutral countries. This is what the Soviet Union tried to do—and for this the whole socialist camp should be grateful to the Soviet Union.

Without going into further details, we deem it necessary to state that the position taken by the Soviet Union on this India-China

border dispute has, in the opinion of our Party, been an entirely correct one. It has helped us to combat the reactionaries at home who wanted to disrupt India's friendly relations with socialist countries and push her towards the imperialists.

We maintain that this question should not be looked at as one of border claims based on history, about which endless arguments over facts may be raised, but we should approach it keeping in view the paramount need to strengthen and consolidate the peace zone and to strengthen the democratic force in India. We would like to stress the fact that India constitutes a vital part of the peace zone not only because of its vast area and population but also because of its capacity to influence many other newly liberated countries of Asia and Africa. The role that can play in the struggle for peace and against colonialism was vividly demonstrated only recently at the 15th session of the UNO.

Allow me comrades to now give the opinion of our delegation on the few points of divergence on the draft as well as on the suggestions that have been made in the course of the discussion.

1. In the passage on the significance of the experience of the CPSU the Chinese comrades propose to qualify the word experience by the word advanced.

We think that the passage should be retained without any change.

2. The Moscow Declaration of 1957 which the Chinese comrades fully supported stated:

The historic decisions of the 20th Congress of the CPSU are of tremendous importance not only to the CPSU and to the building of communism in the USSR they have opened a new stage in the world communist movement and facilitated its further development along Marxist-Leninist lines. In their speeches comrade Mao Tse tung and other leaders of the Communist Party of China have reiterated this.

As a matter of fact the Draft Declaration under discussion further elaborates the new stage.

Under the circumstances we are unable to agree with the amendment of the Chinese comrades that seeks to delete the passage that deals with the significance of the 20th and 21st Congresses of the CPSU.

3 In the passage concerning the elimination of the harmful consequences of the personality cult, the Chinese comrades propose to add the words 'which obtained in a number of countries'

We are of the opinion that the passage should be retained without any amendment because the personality cult had its adverse effect on the whole world communist movement

4 In the passage describing the substance of Yugoslav revisionism, the Chinese comrades propose to replace the words 'based on the ideas of so-called "national communism"' by the words 'based on bourgeois nationalism'

Our delegation is of the opinion that this amendment is incorrect

Bourgeois nationalism is a very wide term. The specific features of the Yugoslav variety of opportunism have been clearly stated in the passage, which clearly states that the leaders of the League of Yugoslav Communists have renounced Marxism-Leninism, declaring it to be obsolete. Hence, their theory and practice have nothing to do with communism. However, these opportunists and their supporters knowing full well the attraction of communism to the masses of the people, seek to deceive them by pretending that they are also Communists but their communism is different from Marxism-Leninism, it is national communism'. It is necessary to combat this deception and constantly place before the people the only correct internationalist world outlook and principles of communism, of Marxism-Leninism.

Our delegation is of the opinion that the Draft... it is brings out the aspect of the question very well and hence should be retained without any change

5 We fully agree with the proposal made by the delegation of the Communist Party of the Union of South Africa to incorporate in the document a paragraph on racial discrimination and on the struggle against the racist dictatorship in the Union of South Africa.

6 There can be no question regarding the role of the CPSU in the world communist movement. Ever since the Great October Revolution, the CPSU by its achievements and activities, has been and remains the leader of the world communist movement.

Nevertheless, for the reasons stated by Comrade N S Khrushchev, we think it advisable to incorporate in the draft a passage concerning the leading role of the CPSU

7 I shall now place before you the opinion of our delegation on that paragraph in the Draft which refers to the need for adherence to collectively worked out decisions and the impermissibility of group and factional activity. We are sure that every Communist will agree with the sentiments expressed in the paragraph and we hope that every Party will see to it that the principles stated there are carried out. We consider however, that in the context of all that has happened in the recent months, and also at this Conference incorporation of such a paragraph in the Draft is advisable. It will be seized upon by our enemies to malign certain parties to spread confusion to weaken and disrupt our movement. It will do more harm than good. We are therefore not in favour of retaining the paragraph.

At the same time, we would urge upon all parties to draw correct lessons from the recent happenings. Every Communist Party is sovereign and independent, but all are bound together by common ideology, common goal and common tasks. Never was it more necessary to stress this than today. The great victories we have won are due, first and foremost, to our unbreakable unity. At a time when no common international organisation like the Communist International exists the maintenance and consolidation of this unity all the more demands correct norms of conduct and behaviour free and frank discussion between Parties concerned when divergences arise and fostering of comradeship spirit.

We have no doubt that if, at this conference we concentrate on the task of resolving the minor differences that still remain, a unanimous document will emerge. It will inspire Communists and fighters for freedom all over the world give them unbounded confidence and be a powerful weapon in their hands in the struggle for peace and freedom, democracy and socialism.

The eyes of the working people of all countries are focussed on this conference. They expect us to emerge from this conference, more firmly united than ever. We must and shall fulfil their expectations.

Holding aloft the victorious banner of Marxism-Leninism, we shall march forward towards the cherished goal of Communism.

Resolutions and Statements of C.P.I. on India-China Border Dispute

(a) On Events in Tibet

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, NEW DELHI, 31 MARCH, 1959

All honest men in our country have been extremely pained by recent events in Tibet. This ancient land with which our people have long and abiding ties has recently seen much loss of life and destruction of property. And it is but natural that it should attract the sympathy of all Indians who have always wished well of the people of Tibet. All Indians likewise sympathise with our friendly and great neighbour China who is meeting this difficult situation with utmost regard for human considerations, of Tibetan autonomy and the unity of the Chinese nation.

The people who are responsible for this considerable and wanton suffering in Tibet are the same who cause it elsewhere. They are the reactionaries who do not want to move with the times, the self-owners who wish to prevent the dawn of modern enlightenment and equality in Tibet. Misusing the trust placed in them by the People's Democratic Government of China, exploiting the scrupulous regard shown by the Government of China towards Tibetan autonomy, these elements conspired with foreign imperialists to stage a revolt. They had opposed land reform and every progressive measure in the interests of the people. The Government of China decided to give them time, which they utilised to stage a reactionary rebellion.

These elements are neither fighting for democracy nor for freedom. The fact that they have the sympathy and support of Chiang Kai-shek and the American imperialists is sufficient to

show that they stand for utter reaction. In fact, without the active support from the imperialists, these elements would not have been able to stage their reactionary rebellion.

India herself suffers from imperialist intrigues against her safety whether in Goa, Kashmir or the Pakistan border. The same kind of intrigue was organised in Tibet and we should be happy that our neighbour has successfully scotched the imperialist plot across our border.

India has always recognised Tibet as part of China and it is in our agreement over Tibet that the famous Panch Sheel principles were born. These enjoin on us strict neutrality and non-intervention in each other's affairs. This also means that we should not allow our territories to be used for hostile or prejudicial acts against each other.

The People's Government of China, with a full sense of responsibility, has drawn our attention to Kalimpong, which according to it, has become the commanding centre of the rebels. We all know that many shady happenings are taking place at Kalimpong and that a lot of doubtful foreigners are visiting this place. In the interest of both countries as well as the inviolability of our national soil, our Government should immediately investigate the affairs in Kalimpong and place the truth before the people.

Everybody in this country will be glad to find that the Government and Sri Nehru have taken a proper attitude on this question and refused to oblige the reactionaries. And yet a few parties like the PSP and the Jan Sangh are attempting to whip up anti-Chinese feelings in this country. These 'champions' of freedom and democracy remained silent when the US-Pak Pact which directly threatens India's security was signed. Their one aim is to sow discord between our two friendly peoples. They only bring grist to the mill of American imperialism.

The Communist Party of India sends its warm greetings to the Communist Party of China under whose guidance the People's Government of China is leading the people of Tibet from medieval darkness to prosperity and equality. The people of Tibet

firmly allied with the people of China, will not only defeat all imperialist plots but will rapidly progress to peace and happiness.

(b) Strengthen Friendship between India and China

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CPI, NEW DELHI, 9-12 MAY, 1959

The close friendship between India and China that has grown in recent years has been one of the greatest events of our time. It has played a major part in upholding peace and in the resurgence of the nations of Asia and Africa. It has served as a model of peaceful co-existence and co-operation between countries with different social system.

This friendship has strengthened the independence and security of our two great countries and also Afro-Asian solidarity. It has stood as a bulwark of freedom and world peace against forces of colonialism and war. With the development of India-China friendship, imperialism has been progressively isolated and pushed back and Afro-Asian peoples have grown in dignity and stature. It was in this India-China friendship and understanding that the Panch Sheel found its world historic significance.

It has to be admitted, however, that following the events in Tibet, this friendship has to a certain extent been damaged and disturbed. It is necessary, therefore, that the real significance of these events is grasped.

What happened in the Tibetan region of the Chinese People's Republic was a rebellion organised by a handful of serf-owners and bigoted lamas in order to block all reforms and thus perpetuate brutal oppression and tyranny. They wanted to deny the Tibetan people the light of modern civilization so that they would remain sunk in the bottomless pit of backwardness, servitude and indescribable misery. In their rebellion, these reactionary circles were encouraged and even materially helped by the imperialists. It is at their instigation and with their help that the former Local Government in Tibet became a cockpit of intrigue and abused the wide powers of autonomy and prepared for the present rebellion in violation of the 1951 agreement.

between the central authorities of the Chinese People's Republic and the Local Government of its Tibetan region. It was no surprise, therefore, that not a moment was lost by the imperialists—the instigators of the US-Pak bilateral pact, Seato and the like—in proclaiming the Tibetan rebellion as a new opportunity for advancing their intrigues and aggressive plans against India-China friendship and Afro-Asian solidarity.

The Central Executive Committee emphatically states that this rebellion had nothing to do with the interests of the Tibetan people. It was designed to serve only the interests of a handful of reactionary forces at home and imperialism abroad. To describe such a rebellion as a 'national uprising' is incorrect and highly misleading.

India's cultural ties with the Tibetan people will naturally be cherished by all Indian patriots but this cannot be done by showing sympathy towards the serf-owners and feudal oppressors. India of today can have no sympathy for the forces of serfdom and medieval oppression. India's cultural bonds with the Tibetan people can be developed only in the context of enlightenment and progress, of mutual respect and mutual understanding between the co-architects of the Panch Sheel—India and China.

But the Central Executive Committee notes that the developments in Tibet are being distorted and exploited by the people in our country not only to disturb India-China relations but also for undermining the Panch Sheel and India's foreign policy. They are openly advocating the independence of Tibet and instigating India's intervention in the internal affairs of the Chinese People's Republic in furtherance of this end. They demand that rebels who have lost their homeland and are now in India be given all freedom and opportunity to continue their political activities against the Chinese People's Republic. They demand that the instigators and organisers of the rebellion be allowed to function as the Government of Tibet from our soil and carry on what they call 'the struggle for independence'. Their speeches are accompanied by a hate-campaign against the Chinese People's Republic.

Foremost among these forces are the Praja Socialist Party, Jana Sangh, Hindu Mahasabha and other avowed opponents of the Panch Sheel and India's foreign policy, including known pro-American elements. These parties have now joined hands in their vitriolic campaign to provoke India against China. They played no part whatsoever in the making of India's foreign policy. On the contrary they have always greeted Prime Minister Nehru with derision and ridicule and have systematically worked to undermine the foreign policy pursued by him.

The Central Executive Committee warns the country against the insidious manoeuvres of these elements whose pretended sympathies for Tibet can never conceal their ulterior designs. They are guided not by any love or concern for the Tibetan people. They are guided by their hatred against Communists and fond dreams to see India's foreign policy weakened and wrecked. It is to be noted that even some prominent Congressmen also have joined hands with them and are striving to damage the cause which their leader Sri Jawaharlal Nehru has advocated.

Prime Minister Nehru has played an outstanding role in shaping and guiding India's foreign policy and in building India-China friendship. It is a matter of deep regret, therefore, that on several occasions in recent weeks, he should have permitted himself to take positions and make utterances which cannot be reconciled with his own foreign policy and its guiding principle, the Panch Sheel, on whose basis alone India's relations with the People's Republic of China can be upheld and carried forward.

One of the fundamental principles of Panch Sheel is the principle of non-interference. Tibet is an integral part of China. Developments in Tibet are, therefore, an internal affair of the Chinese People's Republic. Any tendency to forget this basic fact or minimise its significance cannot but create grave complications, give rise to misunderstanding and weaken the bond of friendship between India and China.

The Central Executive Committee draws the attention of the people to the fact that some unfortunate and incorrect steps on the

part of the Government of India are being assiduously exploited by the enemies of India's foreign policy, who would like to see it reversed. It will also be noted that the imperialists are working for a further deterioration of India-China relations and the collapse of the Bandung spirit. No doubt they and their friends will spare no efforts in the coming period to achieve this objective.

The Central Executive Committee fervently hopes that Prime Minister Nehru and all those who have been pursuing and supporting India's policy of peace and friendship among peace-loving nations will firmly oppose these efforts. The Committee is aware that the Government has been subjected to very powerful pressure from certain reactionary quarters which still dream of Tibet as a buffer state under their influence. But the Committee is confident that the supporters of India's foreign policy will know how to overcome this pressure.

The controversy which has arisen between the Government of India and the People's Republic of China has sometimes been marked by sharp words. But the Committee looks upon it as a controversy between friends and is confident that this controversy will be easily resolved by strict adherence to the principles of peaceful co-existence as embodied in the historic Panch Sheel.

In his speech in the Lok Sabha on 8 May, 1959 Nehru has reiterated India's foreign policy on Panch Sheel and non-alignment and categorically rejected the suggestion that the policy should be changed. The Central Executive Committee welcomes this declaration as a rebuff to the imperialists and to their allies and to the enemies of India's foreign policy. The Central Executive Committee welcomes the resolution passed at the National People's Congress of China which re-emphasises friendly relations between the two countries.

The Central Executive Committee appeals to all national and patriotic forces to rise to the occasion and defend India-China friendship and our foreign policy in the interests not only of our two countries but of all Afro-Asian peoples and world peace. Today this has become all the more urgent in view of the US-Pak

bi'lateral military pact and other aggressive machinations which threaten the peace and security of our country and indeed of the entire Afro-Asian region.

The Central Executive Committee is confident that the damage done by recent events will be soon repaired and India-China friendship will grow ever stronger, helping the cause of peace in Asia and in the whole world

(c) Incidents on Himalayan Borders

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, NEW DELHI, 30 AUGUST, 1959

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India shares the concern of our people over the unfortunate incidents which have recently occurred in some places on the Himalayan borders. There cannot be two opinions that the territorial integrity of our country must be safeguarded

Under the Panch Sheel, India and China are under mutual obligations to respect each other's territorial integrity. Unfortunately, however, a great part of the northern border of our country has not been clearly demarcated. Moreover, the absence of any formal agreement between free India and People's Republic of China in this matter is liable to give rise to confusion and misunderstanding. The recent incidents involving the border patrols of India and China have taken place in this background

The Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India fervently hopes that immediate steps will be taken by both the Governments concerned to settle all controversies with regard to the border issue by mutual discussion. It further believes that there is no outstanding issue between our two countries which cannot be settled through friendly negotiations

Enemies of freedom and peace are exploiting these unfortunate occurrences to embitter the friendly relations between our two great countries. This must not be allowed to happen, for Indo-Chinese friendship not only strengthens the independence of the Asian nations but also constitutes the bedrock of solidarity and peace among them

(d) On the Clash in Eastern Ladakh

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, NEW DELHI, 24 OCTOBER, 1959

The recent clash in Eastern Ladakh between Indian and Chinese forces that resulted in the death of 17 Indians has naturally given rise to feelings of deep resentment and indignation among our people.

Coming so soon after the exchange of friendly greetings between the Prime Ministers of the two countries, this tragic event has shocked our people all the more.

Our Party shares the sentiments of our people and conveys its deepest sympathies to the families of those who have died.

Divergent versions of this incident have been given by the Indian and Chinese Governments. But, taking into account all the circumstances and especially the fact that it was a disputed territory, the Secretariat of the National Council of the Communist Party of India is of the opinion that there was no justification whatsoever for the firing which resulted in such heavy loss of life. We hope such incidents will not occur again and firing will not be resorted to under any circumstances.

Border clashes and firings not only cause casualties but also poison the atmosphere and make negotiations, which both Governments desire, more difficult.

The latest incident underlines the gravity of the situation and shows that it cannot be allowed to deteriorate any further without serious consequences. We would strongly urge, therefore, that the Heads of the two Governments, Jawaharlal Nehru and Chou En-lai should meet immediately and take steps to reduce the tension and settle the disputes amicably.

(e) On India-China Relations

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, MEERUT, 11-15 NOVEMBER, 1959

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with concern the deterioration in India-China relations that has taken place in recent months. The two countries who were the first to proclaim the principles of Panch Sheel have tended to drift apart

over the question of settling their borders. The feeling of friendship has given way to feelings of bitterness and mutual suspicion and distrust.

The National Council expresses its profound grief over the death of Indian personnel in the Ladakh incident and sends its condolences to their families.

The National Council is firmly of the opinion that it will be harmful to the interests of our country as well as of China and dangerous to the cause of world peace if the situation is allowed to drift any further and immediate steps are not taken to settle the border question in a friendly and amicable manner. Imperialists are seeking to utilise the present discord between India and China to put pressure on our country to abandon its independent foreign policy and to weaken Afro-Asian solidarity.

Taking advantage of the differences between the two countries that started from the time of the activities of Tibetan rebels reactionary forces in our country such as the Jana Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the leadership of the PSP and some influential elements inside the Congress had already launched a campaign of hatred against China. With the occurrence of the first incident, they whipped up war psychosis and raised the false cry of Chinese aggression and threat to India's territorial integrity.

These developments are being deliberately magnified and exploited for diverting people's attention from the problems of their life and living, for disrupting and suppressing the country's democratic movement. No wonder these elements are concentrating fire against the Communist Party which stands today as a powerful unifier of the patriotic and democratic forces, as a champion of India's peace policy, as also the defender of the rights and interests of the masses.

The Communist Party of India warns the people against the activities of these forces. Our Party had declared several times that it stands firmly for the defence of the territorial integrity of India. While reiterating the declaration, the National Council states emphatically that there is no question of a war between our country and China. The four hundred million people of India and

the six hundred million people of China want to live and develop their respective national economies and cultures in peace and fraternal co-operation with each other. The foreign policies of the two Governments are wedded to peace. A Socialist China can never have any warlike designs on India just as free India can never think in terms of war against China. Those who talk of the possibility of a war between our country and China are deliberately utilising the border problem in order to thus serve their reactionary ends.

The frontier of India and China stretches over hundreds of miles of high mountainous territory. It is unfortunate that in the Eastern sector of this frontier, there has been no mutually agreed border while in the Western sector the traditional frontiers are vague and actual frontiers have never been clearly delineated. In these circumstances, charges and counter-charges of aggression have no meaning and are harmful.

The National Council would like to stress that the lamentable deterioration in the relations between India and China has already done serious damage to the cause of Asian solidarity and peace. This situation could have been averted if the border issue had been settled earlier.

In the interest of abiding friendship between our country and China, it is of utmost importance that the frontier between the two countries which stretches over hundreds of miles, should be settled finally and in its whole length.

After carefully considering every factor all the arguments advanced, the National Council feels that such settlement is possible if political and administrative realities are taken as the most important factor in the formal delimitation of the frontier.

As regards what is generally known as the McMahon Line, it has been stated by the Government of China that the Line is illegal because it was the result of exchange of secret notes and was moreover, never recognised by any Central Government of China. The Government of India, however, takes a different view of the matter.

The National Council feels that whatever the origin of the McMahon Line may be, the fact cannot be ignored that for several years this has been the frontier of India and the area South of this Line has been under Indian administration. The National Council holds that the area South of the McMahon Line is now a part of India and should remain in India.

As regards the Western border, the Government of India has taken the correct stand that the traditional border in this sector should be accepted. There is, however, a dispute as to what exactly is the traditional border. Pandit Nehru had stated in Parliament that this was a complicated matter—a vague area so far as the frontier is concerned because the frontier is not at all clear as in the case of the McMahon Line. All this makes it obvious that the proper delineation of the traditional line would require friendly discussions between our Government and the Government of China.

The National Council urges that the Governments of India and China should start negotiations without either of them making the acceptance of its own stand by the other as a condition precedent for the starting of negotiations. Meanwhile it is of paramount importance that border incidents and clashes are scrupulously avoided. For this it is essential that pending final settlement the status quo is maintained by both sides, no intrusions are made by my side into the territory held by the other and fitting and similar harmful occurrences are avoided at all costs.

The National Council appreciates the spirit and the constructive approach shown by China's Prime Minister Chou En-lai in his letter of 7 November to Prime Minister Nehru in order to settle the border question.

The proposal that the two Prime Ministers should meet to settle the entire border issue meets with the ardent desire of millions of people in India and China and of all peace-loving peoples who are anxious to see an immediate end to this deplorable chapter in India-China relations and to see abiding friendship between the two countries is built on firm foundations.

The letter also contains proposals which demonstrate readiness to ensure the tranquility of the border pending final settlement.

The National Council hopes that very soon agreed methods would be devised and measures taken to prevent border incidents.

It appeals to the people of our country to rally in support of negotiations and peaceful settlement.

The National Council draws the attention of our people to the systematic attempt to work up India-China differences and create an atmosphere of war hysteria. Under the garb of defence of our frontiers, these elements, the Praja Socialist Party, Jana Sangh, Swatantra Party and other extreme Rightists are seeking to reverse the independent foreign policy of India and the principles of Panch Sheel at a time when this policy and these principles have won for our country a high place of honour in the estimation of entire peace-loving humanity and when history has shown that it is the only correct code of relations between countries. They seek to drag India into a Western military bloc and thereby jeopardise our hard-won independence. They have even raised the slogan, 'A new foreign policy, a new Defence Minister, a new Prime Minister'.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all democratic elements to fight the machinations of these reactionary forces.

The National Council places on record its appreciation of the stand of Prime Minister Nehru, who, in spite of the terrific pressure from these reactionary forces, has expressed his determination to uphold the independent foreign policy, firmly rejected military alliances, has stressed negotiations and peaceful settlement and warned against war psychosis.

The National Council is confident that the present chapter of discord between our country and China will soon end and cordial relations will be re-established.

(f) On India-China Relations

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CPI, CALCUTTA, 25 DECEMBER, 1959
The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the
Communist Party of India expresses its deep concern over the

deterioration in the relations between India and China in recent months. It deplores particularly the recent unfortunate border incidents and disputes between the two countries.

These unfortunate developments are a matter of serious concern not only for the people of India but for all freedom-loving Asians because India-China friendship has been the cornerstone of Afro-Asian solidarity and freedom. Any weakening of this friendship will also be a serious blow to the forces of world peace.

These incidents are being exaggerated beyond all proportions by interested parties to create an atmosphere of suspicion and tension between Asia's two biggest countries and divide the one thousand million people whose friendship has endured for centuries.

The Central Executive Committee is aware that certain admittedly vital differences have arisen regarding demarcation of the borders between the two countries especially due to the fact that the areas involved have never been properly surveyed or delineated and that the problem has not been taken up and negotiated between the two countries since India became independent and China established its People's Republic. But these differences can be resolved through friendly discussions and negotiation without either side making prior acceptance of its own claims, viz. the McMahon Line in one case and the Chinese maps on the other, the precondition for commencing negotiations.

The basis of starting negotiations for settlement already exist in the statements made by the representatives of the two countries.

In his letter of 22 March, 1959 to the Chinese Premier, Sri Nehru wrote 'I agree that the position as it was before the recent disputes arose, should be respected by both sides and that neither side should try to take unilateral action in exercise of what it conceives to be its right.'

And recently, on 13 September, the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress of China has adopted a resolution in which similar sentiments have been expressed. The resolution states '... as a provisional measure, the two sides

should maintain the long-existing status quo, and not seek to change it by unilateral action, still less by force; as to some of the disputes provisional agreements concerning individual places could be reached through negotiations to ensure the tranquility of the border areas and uphold the friendship of the two countries . . . !

The Central Executive Committee records its deep appreciation of this constructive approach on the part of both Prime Minister Nehru and the Standing Committee of the Second National People's Congress of China. It is confident that once concrete steps are taken in keeping with these sentiments and along the above lines, the situation is bound to improve, leading to a solution of the border problems.

The Central Executive Committee takes this opportunity to reiterate emphatically that our Party stands with the rest of the people for the territorial integrity of India and it shall be second to none in safeguarding it. But the Committee is confident that Socialist China can never commit aggression against India just as our country has no intention of aggression against China.

The Central Executive Committee warns the people that the present unfortunate situation is being exploited by the US and other imperialist circles abroad to draw India into their net. Inside the country, extreme reactionaries such as leaders of the PSP, Jana Sangh and Swatantra Party are also trying to wreck the Panch Sheel and India's entire foreign policy of non-alignment which has greatly strengthened our national independence and been a powerful factor for world peace. It is no accident that inveterate enemies of the country's foreign policy are among the most aggressive campaigners against India-China friendship.

Moreover, these lamentable developments in India-China relations are being deliberately magnified and exploited for diverting people's attention from the problems of their life and living for disrupting and suppressing the country's democratic movement and for inciting the people against the Communist Party which today stands as a powerful unifier of the democratic and patriotic forces, as also the defender of the rights and interests of the masses.

The Central Executive Committee is of the opinion that the deterioration in the relations between India and China stated over Tibet. The activities of the Dalai Lama and his entourage, in utter defiance of all established international usages and through gross abuse of asylum given them have aggravated the situation. The Dalai Lama and his entourage who are functioning as if they were an emigre government, have disregarded even the advice of the Government of India and Prime Minister Nehru in this matter. The Central Executive Committee regrets that these impermissible activities of the Dalai Lama so patently designed against friendly relations between India and China have not been put an end to.

The Central Executive Committee warns the people against the attempts to whip up war hysteria by exaggerating border incidents. The Central Executive Committee endorses the appeal of the Prime Minister to fight war-psychosis in the country which is deliberately being created by reactionaries who are out to break India-China friendship.

This is a testing moment for all those who cherish freedom, progress and peace. Whatever may be our present trials, India-China friendship can and must stand this test. The Central Executive Committee of the National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to the people not to give any quarter to the enemies of this friendship which means so much for humanity, but strive for overcoming the difficulties that have unhappily beset the path of this friendship.

(g) **On Chou-Nehru Correspondence**

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, 16 FEBRUARY, 1960

In his latest letter to Premier Chou En-lai, dated 5 February Prime Minister Nehru has not only reiterated his sentiments for a peaceful settlement of the India-China border dispute and for the restoration of the friendly relations between the two countries but has also expressed in favour of an early meeting of the two Prime Ministers. All peace-loving humanity will deeply appreciate these sentiments and heartily welcome this decision for direct talks.

between the two leaders. Indeed, it is only through such an approach that a way out of the present tragic turn in India-China relations can be found.

The opponents of India's policy of peace and non-alignment who have never lost an opportunity to denounce and undermine this policy and discredit Prime Minister Nehru are naturally upset by the prospect of the two Premiers' meeting. But we are confident that our people, inspired by ideals of peace and friendship among nations will know how to defeat their efforts and create the proper atmosphere for talks between Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Chou En-lai. In their endeavour for peaceful settlement of the India-China problem, the two leaders have the most fervent good wishes of all right thinking men throughout the world.

(h) On Failure of Talks between Prime Minister Nehru and Chou En-lai

STATEMENT BY THE SECRETARIAT OF THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, NEW DELHI, 27 APRIL, 1960

It will be regretted that the recent talks between the Prime Minister of India and the Premier of the People's Republic of China should not have led to a solution of the border problem.

However, these friendly talks, embodying the sincere desire of the peoples of India and China to find a way to understanding and settlement have undoubtedly been a constructive step and this cannot but prove beneficial to the future course of negotiations.

Even if the discussions between the two Prime Ministers have not succeeded, it is nonetheless a happy and rewarding development that the two Governments have decided to continue discussions at the official level. Whatever the differences, however difficult of solution the problems may seem at the moment, we are confident that peaceful approach and friendly negotiations will ultimately bear fruit. The continuation of the discussions between the officials of the two Governments will, therefore, be wholeheartedly welcomed. In view of the great role the friendship between India and China can play in the world of

today, it is indeed the desire of all peace and freedom-loving humanity that the dispute be speedily brought to end through friendly discussions.

Equally welcome is the agreement between the Prime Ministers of India and the People's Republic of China that every effort should be made by the two countries to avoid friction and clashes in the border areas.

These are the positive results of the talks and there is no reason, therefore, to think that the negotiations have broken down.

However there are powerful forces in the country, backed by the reactionary press, who spared no effort to prevent the talks between the two Prime Ministers taking place. At every stage, these forces have sought to bar the way to peaceful negotiations and have vehemently assailed India's entire policy of peace and friendship among nations. There is no doubt that these reactionaries will again spare no effort to keep up the tension between India and China and oppose every constructive step in the direction of a peaceful settlement.

It will now be the task of all right minded people to ensure that these reactionary elements do not succeed in their designs. The positive gains of the two Prime Ministers' talks must be carried forward and everything must be done to further improve the atmosphere so that efforts at a peaceful solution may progress unhindered.

(i) On Nehru-Chou talks

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, CALCUTTA, 12 MAY, 1960

The National Council of the Communist Party of India notes with satisfaction that following the recent talks between the Prime Minister of India and the Premier of the Chinese People's Republic, there has been some lessening of tension in the relations between the two countries. Although it is a matter of regret that a solution has not been found in these talks to the India-China border dispute, the decisions of the two Governments to continue discussions at the official level and to take measures to

avoid any border incidents and maintain tranquility in the border areas are undoubtedly positive achievements of the Nehru-Chou En-lai talks.

Wherever the present difficulties, the National Council is confident that, given the approach of good will and friendly discussion, a peaceful solution of the India-China border question will surely be found.

The co-operation and friendship between India and China have not only given the world the Panch Sheel and the Bandung spirit, but indeed profoundly influenced the course of history in the entire Afro-Asian region and strengthened the larger cause of world peace.

It is understandable, therefore, if all Afro-Asian nations and indeed all peace-loving people the world over so earnestly desire that the problems between the two great countries, embracing the thousand million people, be resolved in the interests of all humanity.

The talks between the two Prime Ministers and their declarations for continuing efforts for a peaceful settlement of the dispute have been acclaimed by all right-minded people. In such constructive efforts on their part, Prime Minister Nehru and Premier Chou En-lai can count upon the most fervent wishes of all those who stand for friendship among nations and for freedom and peace in the world.

The National Council, however, warns that there are powerful forces, both within the country and outside, who are interested in keeping the dispute between India and China alive and in causing discord and tension between the two countries. Ever since the issue came to the forefront, these forces have spared no effort to embitter the relations and prevent every move in the direction of peaceful negotiation. They have exploited the tragic development not only to pull India and China apart, but to assail even India's policy of peace and non-alignment. In fact, their attacks against India-China friendship are an integral part of their wider destructive strategy against Afro-Asian solidarity and world peace. It is also to be noted that the reactionary and disruptive forces are trying to make use of the India-China issue for dividing the democratic movement and for furthering the cause of reaction in our national life.

The positive gains of the two Prime Ministers' talks have made the imperialists abroad and reactionaries at home more desperate and there is no doubt that they will try all possible means to spoil the atmosphere and frustrate discussions and negotiations.

The National Council regrets to note that certain utterances coming from official quarters are sometimes found to be out of tune with India's basic policy of peaceful negotiations and are taken advantage of by the reactionary forces to further their ends.

In this situation, great responsibilities devolve on our people in defending the policy of peaceful negotiations on the India-China border dispute, as also the larger cause of India's policy of peace and non-alignment. The National Council of the Communist Party of India appeals to all sections of the people who stand for these policies to make their contribution in improving the atmosphere still further so that the efforts at peaceful settlement of the India-China border question progress and become successful.

(j) **On India-China Border Dispute**

RESOLUTION ADOPTED BY THE NATIONAL COUNCIL OF THE CPI, NEW DELHI, 18 FEBRUARY, 1961

The report of the team of officials appointed by the Government of India and the People's Republic of China on the India-China boundary has been published. It is regrettable that the two sides could not arrive at agreed conclusions and had to submit separate and divergent reports.

The Communist Party of India has already declared in its Meerut Resolution that it upholds the traditional borders in the Western sector and the McMahon Line as the *de facto* boundary in the Eastern sector. While reiterating this stand, the National Council notes that in the process of discussions which led to the framing of these reports by the officials of the two Governments, each side collected a mass of material to prove its case. The material collected by the Indian side has led the Indian people to believe that India's case is strong. The National Council, however,

notes that the Chinese side has collected a mass of material to prove its case and that on the basis of this material it rejects the soundness of India's case.

The result is a deadlock in the official level talks. This deadlock can be broken only through direct negotiations on a political basis between the two Governments as both are committed to the method of settlement through mutual negotiations in case of dispute between them.

The whole of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part occupied by Pakistan, is a part of the Indian Union. Only India is entitled to deal with any other country in regard to any question that concerns delimitation of the border of any part of Jammu and Kashmir, including the part under Pakistan occupation. Pakistan has no legal status at all to enter into any negotiations with any other country on the question of the settlement of such border of any part of the territory occupied by Pakistan. There should be no negotiations with Pakistan by any country which implies recognition of the occupied part of Jammu and Kashmir as part of Pakistan territory.

The Government of Bhutan has given authority to the Government of India to 'negotiate or take up any question with China regarding its northern frontiers'. In view of this clearly expressed wish of the Government of Bhutan, our Party thinks that all negotiations about the northern frontiers of Bhutan should be carried on through the Government of India.

Also in view of India's relations with Sikkim, negotiations about its frontiers, too, should be carried on through the Government of India.

It is expected that the delegated authority will be extended consistent with Bhutan's independence and in the interests of peace and good-neighbourliness.

The National Council welcomes the hope and desire expressed in the Rashtrapati's address to the Parliament, as also the statement made by the Prime Minister in the Parliament that despite the different positions of the two reports, the door for further negotiations is not barred and that a satisfactory solution of the boundary question can be brought about.

The National Council of the Communist Party of India is firmly of the opinion that bearing in mind such vital political considerations as the promotion of Afro-Asian unity, maintenance of world peace, struggle against colonialism and the internal progress of these two countries—considerations which were the basis of the famous Panch Sheel, the process of negotiations should be continued despite all difficulties, with a view to arriving ultimately at a satisfactory settlement.

National Democratic Front for National Democratic Task

**Political Resolution Adopted by the Sixth Congress
of the Communist Party of India,
Vijaywada, 7-16 April, 1961**

India in a new World

Since the end of the Second World War, vast changes have taken place in the international arena. Socialism has triumphed in countries with more than one-third of the world population and socialist society has registered spectacular successes in every sphere. The national liberation movement has won sweeping victories. Forty new sovereign States have come into existence in Asia and Africa. Colonialism is being shaken to its very foundation even in areas where it still exists. The working class and democratic movements have made sweeping advance. Forces of peace have grown more powerful than ever before. With all these developments, mankind faces today a situation radically different from what it faced in any previous period.

The essential features of this new situation have been described in the Statement adopted at the meeting of 81 Communist and Workers' Parties held in November 1960 in Moscow. The Statement, a document of world-historic significance, which arms the Communists all over the world with an exceptionally powerful weapon, says:

Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national-liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and Communism on a worldwide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

The Statement also points out the magnificent prospects that have opened up before mankind

Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism makes, it cannot stop the advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

The question before us is What part have we to play in this great development? Where does our great country stand in its duty towards its own vast masses and towards mankind?

The hope and aspirations of the Indian people on the attainment of independence were aptly expressed by Prime Minister Nehru in his message on 15 August 1947, wherein he held up the promise of a prosperous, democratic and progressive nation, the creation of social, economic and political institutions which will ensure justice and fulfilment of life to every man and woman.

In spite of the difficulties of the period immediately following the attainment of freedom and the immensity of the tasks that confronted the nation, conditions were exceptionally favourable for the fulfilment of that promise. In the first place, the party which had come into power had the confidence of the people in abundant measure, upon which they could entirely rely. Reactionary vested interests who had opposed the national liberation movement stood exposed and discredited, and were in no position to thwart the national advance. Further, the world situation had been becoming increasingly favourable for the attainment of our national objectives. Gone were the days when the imperialists could dictate their terms to economically backward and militarily weak countries. The Soviet Union and other socialist countries were ready to render unselfish assistance to the newly independent countries to overcome their backwardness, build up their economy and consolidate their freedom.

While, therefore, national regeneration in a country of 400 million people was undoubtedly a vast and gigantic task, conditions, both internal and external have been exceptionally favourable for the carrying out of this task and for launching the country firmly on the path of all-sided national advance. It is in this context that the actual achievements of free India have to be assessed. Especially necessary it is to do so today because this is the year when the Second Five-Year Plan is to be completed and the Third Plan is to begin. And if a proper estimate is made of the last fourteen years' record, it would be evident that, while some notable achievements have been made, the advance on the whole has been so slow in comparison with the necessities and possibilities and accompanied by such unjust and heavy burdens on the people, so much oppression and suppression that they feel angry, disappointed and even frustrated.

Industrial Development and Socialist Aid

Our people welcome the fact that, as the result of the First and Second Plans, the industrial base of our economy has become broader and stronger. Many articles which we formerly imported are now produced in the country. There has been considerable expansion of electricity and irrigation projects. A number of heavy and basic industries, which are of great importance for economic growth have been developed. The public sector has grown despite every effort by imperialists and certain monopolist circles inside our country to thwart this growth. The Oil Commission has achieved significant successes in a vital sector of our economy, which so long was completely under the stranglehold of Anglo-American imperialists. It is also to be welcomed that the Government of India has not acceded to the demand of the imperialists and the Indian reactionaries to cut down the size of the Third Plan and to abandon the emphasis on heavy and basic industries. Our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than before.

This strengthening of the economic foundations of national independence is the product of several factors. During the days of the national liberation movement, farseeing representatives of

the national-bourgeoisie and the Congress had advocated a broad policy of industrialisation in order to overcome the backwardness of the country. After its advent to power, the national-bourgeoisie got the opportunity to implement this policy. Nevertheless the First Five-Year Plan paid very little attention to industries. The weaknesses and shortcomings of this Plan, the objective needs of bourgeois development, together with the growth of the democratic movement and the mass urge for economic advance led to formulation of the Second Plan which stressed the importance of heavy industries as the basis for industrialisation, pointed out the key role which the public sector had to play in this process and recognised, to some extent, the need for land reforms.

Relations of co-operation that were established between India and other countries of the socialist world, above all, the Soviet Union, were of decisive importance in the taking of the first major steps towards industrialisation. These relations enabled India to get credit, capital goods and technical know-how on terms far more favourable than what could be got from imperialist countries - such as lower rate of interest, easier terms of payment, involving no problem of foreign exchange, etc. Above all, aid from the socialist world was of a *qualitatively different type*. It was aid for the building of *heavy and basic industries* vitally necessary for economic independence in the public sector.

India's economic co-operation with the socialist countries has also enabled the Government of India to get assistance to some extent from the advanced capitalist countries for heavy industries. Even then, the contrast between the progress registered at Bhilai on the one hand and Durgapur and Rourkela on the other is glaring. Socialist aid has also helped the patriotic elements in the ruling circles to successfully resist the pressure from the imperialist-controlled World Bank and other agencies to weaken the public sector. The USSR has already offered Rs. 240 crores for the Third Plan, the whole of which will help the development of key sectors of the economy in the public sector. These relations of co-operation with the socialist countries are, therefore,

of great anti-imperialist significance. Lastly, due to the very fact that socialist economy is not a crisis-ridden economy, India's co-operation with socialist countries is of great benefit in many other ways. During the recession of 1957-58 in the USA and other capitalist countries, the prices of goods which India exported fell far more steeply than the prices of those which she had to import from the capitalist countries. The result was a heavy drain of foreign assets and heavier loans. It is evident, therefore, that the more we de-link ourselves from the capitalist world market and the stronger our links with the socialist world market, the more beneficial it will be for our economy.

While noting the advance in our national economy through planning, it should at the same time be borne in mind that the two plans which have been carried out and the Third Plan as formulated now are fundamentally defective. Apart from the defects inherent in all plans for capitalist development (due to the conflict between planning and the spontaneous laws of capitalism), the other shortcomings of the plans consist in the refusal to adequately mobilise the resources in possession of the rich propertied classes, to ban the wasteful and luxurious expenditure by them and, above all, to bring about such institutional changes as nationalisation of the most important foreign concerns, of banking and such other sectors of economy as are necessary, as well as land reform in the interest of the peasantry.

These defects are responsible for the inability to mobilise adequate internal resources, while the Policy of throwing the main burdens on the poor millions and conferring the main benefits on the rich propertied classes has failed to rouse labour enthusiasm for the fulfilment of the plans. Because of these wrong and defective policies, extremely serious problems have arisen in relation to foreign exchange that is required for the import of capital goods, the internal resources that are required for investment, the maintenance of a stable price level, etc. Everyone of these problems has, at some time or other, led to a crisis in the implementation of the plans. All the eminent economists of the country have noted that the solutions that have

so far been offered by the planning authorities have not led to the solution of the basic problems of planning.

It is true that, in spite of the failure to offer solutions to the basic problems of planning, advance has been registered in several respects, particularly in respect of India's industrialisation. We cannot, however, ignore the fact that progress even in that field is far less than what is possible and necessary. In several spheres, for example coal, the estimated targets, themselves moderate, have not been reached. The industrial progress, on the whole, has been slow and halting.

Danger from Foreign Capital

The Government of India has successfully resisted the pressure of imperialists and their friends who wanted our country to abandon the policy of building heavy industries and to weaken the public sector.

The total investment in the Third Plan is proposed to be Rs 10,200 crores. Rs 3,475 crores will be invested in industries, minerals and power, of which the public sector will account for Rs 2,425 crores. The emphasis on heavy industries continues, as also the policy of building these industries mainly in the public sector.

At the same time, certain facts should be noted:

Firstly, there has been a rise in price of nearly 25 per cent since the Second Plan was launched. The sum of Rs. 10,200 crores is, therefore, not as big as it seems at first sight.

Secondly, during the Second Plan, actual investment in the private sector was far heavier than was targeted. The same can happen again unless effective measures are taken.

Further, there are a number of developments and trends which are full of dangerous potentialities and cannot but cause grave concern.

In this period, two processes have been in evidence. The relations with socialist world have developed and India has secured valuable assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, assistance which has helped our country to broaden its industrial base and strengthen its independence.

Simultaneously, there has been heavy import of foreign capital from the West, both in the public and in the private sector. Our official foreign debts have increased from Rs. 200 crores in 1955 to Rs. 925 crores in 1959, of which the share of the U.S. Government and American agencies comes to nearly Rs. 600 crores. And now, under the Third Plan, it is proposed to borrow over Rs. 2,000 crores, a big part of which is expected to come from the USA. Payment of interest and repayment of loans already contracted will average Rs. 100 crores a year.

Special note must be taken of loans under P.L. 480. In the period of the Third Plan about 17 million tons of foodgrains worth Rs. 608 crores will be imported.

Taking advantage of the foreign exchange difficulties, the World Bank and other American agencies are constantly pressing for greater facilities for foreign private capital. They demand curtailing of the public sector. They demand joint Indo-American ventures, reversal of the condition that control of joint concerns should vest in Indian hands. While resisting the pressure from imperialists in many respects, the Government of India has also made many concessions to it.

In regard to foreign private investment, too, while resisting the pressure of foreign capitalists on many occasions, the Government of India has also made a large number of concessions. It is reported that 228 schemes of collaboration between Indian big business and foreign monopolists have been approved in the first nine months of 1960.

These are dangerous developments. They mean not merely economic drain but something worse. When one remembers the role that American imperialism plays in today's world as the bulwark of world reaction and as the mainstay of colonialism, both of the old and the new type, one can easily guess the purpose for which American loans and 'aids' are being advanced and the forces they are meant to strengthen. It is not accidental that the growth of American 'aid' has been accompanied by increasing pressure for concessions which would create 'suitable climate' for foreign private investment.

It should also be noted that oil refineries owned by American and British oil companies had the audacity to refuse to refine crude oil imported by the Government of India from the USSR at a much cheaper rate than was available from imperialist sources. Prompt and stern action was needed against them in national interest. But our Government dared not act as Cuba did.

Foreign private capital, mainly British, still controls several vital sectors of our economy and nets colossal profits. While being curbed in certain spheres, it has grown in others. There has been an overall increase in the book value of foreign private capital from Rs. 256 crores in 1948 to Rs. 570 crores in 1958. There is increasing trend towards collaboration between Indian big business and foreign private capital, even in such industries as fertilisers. The Government is giving all facilities for such collaboration and has, in practice, modified its own Industrial Policy Resolution.

From all this, it would, of course, be erroneous to draw the conclusion that the Government of India is becoming more and more subservient to imperialists or that our independence is being bartered away. A considerable part of the rise in foreign private investments is due to re-investment of profits earned in India. Moreover Indian capital has grown at a much faster rate. The public sector has become a major factor in our economy.

Nevertheless the links that are getting forged between Indian big business and their counterparts in imperialist countries have to be viewed with apprehension, especially in the context of the new strategy of imperialists.

Imperialists, above all American imperialists, are conscious that feudal elements and pro-imperialist compradore sections of the bourgeoisie lack a broad social base in the country and cannot, by themselves, halt the advance of the people towards economic independence and full democracy. Hence, the imperialists strive to find new allies, especially among the rightwing of the national bourgeoisie. By utilising the economic difficulties which the country faces and by playing on anti-democratic sentiments, the imperialists seek to forge alliance with the big monopolists who wield enormous economic power.

and are closely connected with many leaders of the ruling party. These sections of the bourgeoisie, too, in their narrow selfish interest, often adopt a friendly attitude towards monopolists in imperialist countries, strive to enter into collaboration with them, bring pressure on the Government to give them more and more concessions.

This process, which has been accelerated in recent years, can be ignored only at our peril. Strengthening forces of reaction in economic and social, political and ideological life, it holds out serious threat to our economic advance, to our national independence and to democracy. Our people must be made conscious of this menace. They must be roused to defeat the attempts of imperialists who demand more concessions, fight the reactionaries who clamour for the entry of more foreign capital and combat the policy to the Government which facilitates this entry.

State Sector

The growth of the state sector, embracing strategic industries such as iron and steel, machine-building, coal, oil, etc., has been one of the most welcome developments of the recent period. Nevertheless, the investment in the private sector has been far greater than what was targeted. Heavy concessions have been made to monopolists even in respect of several industries originally scheduled for the public sector, such as aluminium and fertilisers. The public sector is still far from attaining a commanding position in our economy. Moreover, under the pressure of monopolists and their friends in the Government, the proposal was made sometime ago to sell shares of public sector industries to private interests - a proposal which, in effect, amounts to partial de-nationalisation'.

The people must see to it that in the interest of the nation this dangerous move is totally defeated and never made again.

It is also necessary to eliminate corruption and mismanagement which discredit the state sector. It is necessary to place the state sector on a democratic basis and conduct it in such a manner as secures enthusiastic co-operation from workers' and the

general public. All this is lacking today. The Government's methods of running the state sector, its attitude towards the workers and towards criticism from the public leads to waste and inefficiency, intensifies strife and conflict and gives rise to public discontent—all of which are utilised by enemies of the state sector.

Unemployment

The employment situation has registered no improvement, the total number of unemployed at the end of the Second Plan is greater than it was at its beginning. The Second Plan aimed at providing eight million additional jobs outside agriculture. The actual achievement is estimated to be only 6.5 million. The Third Plan will start with a backlog of 7 million unemployed. If the entire Plan is put through, it will create additional employment for 14 million, while the number of new entrants in this period is estimated to be 15 million. This will add another one million to the backlog of unemployed. The total number of underemployed in rural and urban areas, according to the sample survey, has already reached 15 million.

This inflicts tremendous misery on millions of our working people and means a big loss of productive power and talent of the nation.

Semi-stagnation in Agriculture

Despite the industrial advance, our agrarian economy on which depend an overwhelming majority of our people for livelihood and which contributes nearly half of our national income, is in a state of semi-stagnation. Agriculture lags far behind the requirements of India's development. The rate of increase of agricultural output during the first three years of India's Second Plan was only 4 per cent per annum. The total output of foodgrains increased from 65.7 million tons in 1955-56, to 75 million tons in 1960-61 (anticipated). The result of this meagre increase is that India has to import annually about 3 million tons of foodgrains under PL 480.

The fluctuation of agricultural production from year to year clearly indicates that our peasants are still helplessly dependent upon weather—in spite of the expenditure of about Rs 1,000 crores under the two plans. Only about 50 per cent of the targets of area to be irrigated under the Second Plan through minor irrigation works has been attained and not more than 25 per cent of the demand for nitrogenous fertilisers is expected to be produced in our country by 1960-61.

But the most important factor behind the failure to step up agricultural production on a significant scale is the fact that due to the Government's policy of compromise with landlords, the remnants of feudalism, though weaker than before have not been abolished. The Government has refused to carry out such land reforms as would give land to the mass of peasants. Even the recommendations of the Congress Agrarian Reforms Committee and of the Land Panel of the Planning Commission have been on the major issue of ceiling disregarded. Semi-feudal land relations are being sought to be gradually transformed into capitalist land relations without abolishing the concentration of land in the hands of a few. A small stratum of rich and well-to-do peasants has derived some benefit but the condition of the majority of peasants remains wretched and their productive energy has not been unleashed. The failure to assure fair price to the peasants for agricultural commodities, the monetary burdens of taxes of various types and lack of expansion of cheap rural credit have left the peasants at the mercy of grain monopolists, speculators and prevented adequate investment in land. Due to all this, agriculture continues to be the bottleneck of our planning. Therefore, in spite of the fact that there has been an overall increase of agricultural production by about 40 per cent in the last ten years (a considerable part of which increase is admittedly due to better statistical coverage), the rate of increase is neither adequate nor stable.

The much-talked-of Community Development and other schemes which, it was claimed, would achieve a non-violent revolution in rural areas, have been, on the whole, a failure.

Instead of the mass of peasants getting land, as was promised by the Congress a characteristic phenomenon of these years has been eviction of peasants on a big scale in almost every State.

The agricultural workers together with their families' number over 70 million. The sharp deterioration that has taken place in their condition in the recent period can be seen from the Second Agricultural Labour Enquiry Committee's Report. By the end of the First Plan, the tendency to exploit child labour had grown, employment of children on wages having increased from 165 days in a year in 1950-51 to 204 days in 1956-57, on the other hand, casual adult male workers were unemployed for 138 days in 1956-57 as compared to 90 days in 1950-51. The average daily wage rate of adult male workers decreased from 109 n.p. in 1950-51 to 96 n.p. in 1956-57; for adult women, the rate fell from 68 n.p. in 1950-51 to 53 n.p. in 1956-57. The average income of an agricultural labour household declined from Rs. 447 in 1950-51 Rs. 437 in 1956-57. The average accumulated debt per household increased from Rs. 47 to Rs. 88 in the same period, while the number of households in debt rose from 45 per cent to 66 per cent.

The agrarian policies followed by the Government have not only hampered rapid growth of agriculture, expansion of the internal market and creation of a surplus with which our economy could be placed on a firm foundation. They have also had adverse effect on the political and social life of the country and hampered the growth of democracy. The landlords who, despite the curbs imposed on them, own vast areas of land, in alliance with the topmost strata of rich peasants, some of whom have grown into a new type of landlords, use their economic power to dominate rural life, to buy over local officials, to control many district boards, panchayats and co-operatives and exercise powerful pull over the Governments in many States. Acting in close co-operation with profiteers, they create artificial scarcity and fleece the mass of people. A large number of them have joined the Congress and strengthened the forces of reaction inside the ruling party. Also in several States, they have become the spearhead of extreme reaction, backing such parties as the Swatantra, Jan Sangh and others.

It is evident, therefore, that India's economic development, as well as the cause of Indian democracy require resolute measures

to abolish all remnants of feudalism and carry out land reforms in the interest of the peasantry. Without this, the living conditions of the vast majority of our people cannot be improved, the problem of creation of internal resources cannot be solved, the basis of rapid industrial advance cannot be laid and democracy itself cannot become real and effective for the majority of our people.

Contrast between Wealth and Poverty

The methods of the Government in raising resources have been such that, while the main burden of development has been laid on the common man, the main fruits have been garnered by the rich. National income has increased by 42 per cent during the last ten years which is considerably less than was expected, per capita income was to have grown by 25 per cent as the result of the two plans. The actual growth has been only 10 per cent. Moreover, where has this increased income gone? To those in the fields, factories and offices whose labour has created this extra wealth or to the parasitic classes? The very fact that such questions are asked increasingly and the Government itself has appointed a Commission to find out the answer shows how serious the situation is. It constitutes a devastating commentary on the economic policies of the Government and reveals callous disregard of the objective of reduction of disparity of income.

Through phenomenal increase in the burden of indirect taxes, through continuous mounting in prices of essential goods, through virtual wage freeze and other means the income of the workers, peasants, toiling intelligentsia and other oppressed section is kept at a miserably low level, their share in the national income steadily declines, while at the same time profits reach dizzy heights. Big business is enabled to concentrate enormous wealth in its hands, profiteers are allowed to fleece the people and blow up the schemes for State-trading in foodgrains. The contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many has, instead of diminishing, grown more glaring than ever.

Monopoly has grown at a fast pace in the last few years. It is estimated that only ten top business houses control between themselves 67 per cent of the total paid up capital of all companies.

The enormous increase in the power of big business and its close links with many Congress leaders have facilitated the growth of corruption on a vast scale. Charges of misuse of the public funds for partisan purposes of the ruling party or group are being levelled in every State. Conflicts inside the Congress over spoils of office have grown sharper and more intense than ever, leading to virtual split in Uttar Pradesh, one of the main strongholds of the Congress. In many States, reactionary elements who had nothing to do with the national movement and who even opposed it, have come to control the local Congress Committees, pushing aside honest veterans who gave their lives to the service of the Congress and the country. The relation between big business in towns and landlords in villages many local Congress leaders and bureaucratic officials is growing ever closer—curbing democracy, corroding public life, reducing administrative efficiency.

A number of progressive measures have been announced but due to the pull of reactionary vested interests on the Government and also the Government's policy of exclusive reliance on the bureaucratic machinery, these are often implemented in such a way as to defeat their very object. Huge budgetary allocations for social services and community and other developments are often spent in a wasteful way and in such a manner as to strengthen the position of the ruling party and even factional groups inside it.

Mass Discontent and Popular Struggles

It is not surprising, therefore, that despite the relative progress which our industries have made and despite a certain amount of strengthening of national economy, the Plan evokes little interest among the people. The dominant mood is one of discontent and frustration.

As a result, the mass enthusiasm that existed when the country attained freedom has been dissipated. The masses who are under

the influence of the Congress suffer from the same hardship as the masses following other parties. Many of their hopes have been belied by the actual practice of the Congress Government. Many members of the Congress and considerable sections of the mass following of the Congress are becoming increasingly critical of their own leaders and of the Government.

Inevitably, strife and conflicts, instead of lessening, have grown continuously.

No one could expect that the masses would take all this lying down. The period since the last Congress of our Party has witnessed numerous actions of the people all over the country and a number of major struggles—such as the strike of the workers in the steel city of Jamshedpur, the food satyagraha in U.P., the anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab, the food struggles in West Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the struggle of the landless agricultural workers in Maharashtra, the peasants struggles in West Bengal for proper implementation of ceilings, the all-India strike of the Central Government employees—the first of its kind in India. In many of these struggles, masses following all parties stood together and fought together.

Some of the struggles embraced lakhs of people and assumed statewide dimensions. They revealed the deep discontent of the masses at their growing misery and their readiness to fight. They also showed the spontaneous support and sympathy that people fighting for just demands get from the broad democratic masses. On a number of occasions, the Government was forced to retreat.

In the context of rising discontent against the ruling party and its policies, it was but natural that the Communist-led Government of Kerala, the greatest single product of the democratic movement since the attainment of freedom, became a rallying point of the hopes and aspirations of the masses. By its resolute defence of the interest of the people, in face of heavy difficulties and under continuous attack from vested interests and the Congress and other parties, the Kerala Government not only strengthened its base among the toiling masses of Kerala but also had powerful impact on the people of other States—discrediting the Congress Governments, giving rise to the demand that these

Governments should do what the Kerala Government was doing heightening the prestige of the Communist Party, drawing people towards it Many Congressmen also in all States who are not supporters of the Communist Party, watched with sympathy and goodwill how the Communist-led Kerala Government was serving the people Kerala was accelerating the process of mass radicalisation

The results of many by-elections and local elections are also an indication of the dissatisfaction of the people with the ruling party though this dissatisfaction where democratic forces are weak often gets utilised by reactionary, opportunist and unscrupulous elements

Logic of their Policies

Despite the growing discontent of large section of people including its own followers the Congress Government has refused to change its policies The logic of these policies combined with reactionary pressure, both from inside and outside the Congress has led to a shift towards the right on many issues The difficulties which the Plan was facing were sought to be overcome by making more concessions to foreign private capital and to Indian big business Landlords were sought to be appeased by not implementing the Nagpur decisions in a proper way In Orissa a Coalition Government was formed in alliance with the feudal Ganatantra Parishad Brutal repression was let loose to suppress the struggles of the people-- over 80 persons being killed in Calcutta during the food movement and over 21,000 being arrested during the Central Government employees strike Every effort was made to utilise the dispute between India and China in order to divert mass attention from burning problems and mount a vicious and sustained attack on the Communist Party – the spearhead of the democratic movement

But on no issue was the cynical disregard of the ruling party of every democratic principle seen so clearly as its attitude towards the Communist-led Kerala Government The attitude adopted by many leaders of the Central Government towards Kerala was openly hostile from the very beginning and this hostility mounted

as time passed. Finding that the Kerala Government was winning popularity, both inside Kerala and outside, and the contrast between it and the Congress Government was becoming ever more glaring, the leaders of the ruling party, including Prime Minister Nehru, threw overboard all the principles they had hitherto professed. In alliance with forces of casteism and communalism—the reactionary leaders of the Catholic Church, the Nair Service Society and the Muslim League and backed by the disgruntled leaders of the Praja Socialist Party, the Congress launched a violent campaign in Kerala and later utilised the chaos and disturbances created by this campaign as the pretext to dismiss the constitutionally-elected Kerala Government. It was an eloquent demonstration of the extent to which the ruling party could go in order to restore its monopoly of power.

The powerful all-India campaign that developed in defence of Kerala Government and the mighty demonstrations that took place in every area against its dismissal were convincing proofs of the people's appreciation of what the Government had done during its 28 months of office and their resentment against the Central Government's action. The fact that in the mid-term elections that followed, the Communist Party and its allies polled many more votes than before, effectively nailed down the lie which formed the basis of its dissolution.

It is to be noted that the opportunist policy of the ruling party's compromise with forces of casteism and communalism is bearing its evil fruit. Congress attitude towards the Muslim League in Kerala has given powerful impetus to Muslim communalism in many States. Hindu communal reaction, already active and vociferous, uses this as a pretext to strengthen itself further.

With no positive and rousing programme with which to maintain the unity of the Congress and to strengthen its mass base, with factional squabbles corroding it from within and assuming alarming proportions in several States, there is increasing tendency on the part of many Congressmen to resort to appeals based on caste and community. Sometimes, provincial passions are roused by rival factions in order to discredit the ruling group—leading to ghastly tragedies as in Assam. Due to

the position that the Congress occupies in the political life of the country, these pernicious practices on the part of many of its leaders set the pattern and are imitated by other parties. Ideas of secularism, of nationalism, of unity of the country—ideas fostered by the Congress in the days when it fought the British—are becoming weaker. Sometimes such economic policies of the Government as tend to perpetuate and even accentuate the economic disparity of different regions, also strengthen provincial animosity.

Rise of Right Reaction

Together with the strengthening of the rightwing inside the Congress, the forces of extreme reaction have now established an open independent political party of their own, the Swatantra Party. Comprising within its ranks a number of big landlords and monopolists, ex-generals, former princes, disgruntled politicians and American lobbymen, the Swatantra Party has nevertheless acquired, in some parts of the country, a certain amount of respectability, due to the leadership of Sri Rajagopalachari. It is trying to link itself up with other reactionary parties. The wide gulf that separates the actual practices of the Congress from its many noble declarations, the growth of factionalism and intrigues in Congress Committees, the blatant way in which the machinery of the State and its funds are often used to serve the interest of the Congress Party or its dominant group, give rise to revulsion and disgust among the people. At the same time, the Communist Party and the genuine democratic forces are too weak in many areas to give adequate expression to the popular discontent, to rally the people and wage an effective fight against the anti-people policies of the Government. Such a situation helps parties like the Swatantra.

The Right inside the Congress feels emboldened by the formation of the Swatantra Party. The Swatantra finds powerful allies among the Right inside the Congress. The immediate aim of both is to push the Congress further to the Right.

Striving to build itself up as the 'main party of opposition' so that its capacity to pressurise the Congress may increase, the

Swatantra Party skilfully utilises the popular discontent against the Government. It argues that the shortage of foodgrains is due to the 'killing of incentive' of 'agriculturists' by agrarian reforms and the slogan of co-operation, that the high prices of industrial goods are due to 'burdens' on the industry in the form of high taxes. It thunders against corruption, waste and inefficiency in Government enterprises in order to discredit the public sector. It openly assails India's foreign policy on the plea that this policy has left us 'without friends' and advocates a 'defence pact' with Pakistan.

Enjoying the support of imperialists, backed by many feudal elements and some of the most reactionary big businessmen and often acting in close co-operation with communal parties, as well as reactionary elements inside the Congress who are rightly called 'veiled Swatantrites', the Swatantra Party tries to combat the growing influence of socialist ideas and of the Communist Party. It assails all the positive gains which the nation has made since the achievement of freedom--such as India's independent foreign policy, the growth of the public sector, the formation of linguistic States, etc. It attacks Nehru and those closest to him. In alliance with other forces of Right reaction, it seeks to modify Indian foreign policy and give it a pro-imperialist orientation, create feelings of hostility against socialist States, belittle the significance of economic assistance given by them; discredit and whittle down the public sector; sabotage all agrarian reforms; undermine and weaken democracy.

The Jan Sangh, which spearheads the forces of Hindu communalism, has become more active than ever. In several areas, especially Hindi-speaking areas, it seems to have increased its strength, making some headway even among the youth and the students. It is responsible for a number of anti-Muslim riots that have taken place in recent years—the most ghastly of them being the recent carnage that took place in Jubbulpore, Saugor and other places in Madhya Pradesh. While Prime Minister Nehru has denounced these riots in the sharpest terms, it is a notorious fact that quite a number of local Congress leaders were sympathetic towards the rioters, many others were apathetic and did nothing

to check it and many police officials directly or indirectly aided the hooligans In Punjab, the Akalis, as well as Hindu communalists, have succeeded in sharply dividing big sections of people along communal lines

These developments which are creating conditions of grave peril for our country and our people are neither fortuitous nor inevitable They are the result of a number of factors Firstly the national bourgeoisie, the ruling class, while being objectively interested in independent economic development pursues policies of compromise with anti-national vested interests and when its leadership is challenged seriously by the Communist Party and democratic forces as happened in Kerala tends to lean on reactionary forces for support Also in the name of ensuring stability but really in order to maintain itself in power at all costs and by all means the Congress enters into all sorts of opportunist alliances as with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa and the Akalis in Punjab Secondly the policies of the Congress in so far as they curb to some extent the interests of foreign and internal reaction engender conflict between them and the national bourgeoisie Thirdly the anti-people policies of the Government give rise to mass discontent and this discontent in the absence of a strong Communist Party in many parts of the country and the weakness and disunity of the democratic forces, is utilised by forces of right reaction for its own consolidation

Right reaction constitutes a growing menace to our independent foreign policy to consolidation and strengthening of our national freedom, to democracy The extent and gravity of the menace cannot be assessed by mere reference to the strength of the Swatantri Party or communal parties like the Jan Sangh Right reaction consists not merely of these parties but has powerful supporters and representatives in key positions in the country's economic life, in the administration and military apparatus and inside the ruling party itself even at the highest level Its slogans are supported by many of the biggest newspapers The Government's policy of heavy concessions to the vested interests is continuously emboldening it, while the increase of dissatisfaction among the masses forms fertile ground

for its expansion. Moreover, the anti-Communist campaign indulged in by Congress leaders, including Prime Minister Nehru, diverts attention of people from the menace and aids its growth.

Fissiparous and separatist tendencies based on caste, community, province and region have grown—apace in recent years. They threaten one of the most precious heritages of our freedom movement—the unity of the nation. Patriotic elements belonging to all parties are deeply worried by the phenomenon.

To a great extent the responsibility for this lies on the Congress. In the past, national unity was achieved on the basis of the objective of national independence. After independence, this unity could be maintained and carried forward on the basis of a programme of radical reforms to complete the democratic revolution—nationalisation of foreign capital, land to the tiller, restriction of monopoly, improvement in the condition of the people and so on. But in the narrow class interest of the bourgeoisie, the Congress failed to carry out such a consistent programme. Many of its measures gave rise to profound discontent and frustration. They are being utilised by reactionary, separatist and disruptive forces to assail national unity.

It can be seen from the foregoing that the situation we are facing, is extremely complex and full of contradictory features.

First: Our industries have registered advance, but at a rate which, taking into account our needs, is slow and halting. Agriculture, on the whole, continues to be in a state of semi-stagnation and dependent on the vagaries of the monsoon.

Second: Economic relations with the socialist world, above all, with the USSR, have grown, enabling us to build several industries which are vital for the consolidation of our national independence. At the same time, the Government has contracted and is contracting heavy loans from the imperialist countries headed by the USA. Collaboration between Indian big business and foreign capital is growing.

Third: The public sector has become an important factor in our economy. But simultaneously, there has been enormous growth of monopoly and of concentration of economic power in the hands of the big monopolists.

Fourth: Feudal relations are being curbed but the main benefit goes to a narrow stratum of rich peasants. Moreover, landlords remain a powerful force and have stepped up their activities.

Fifth: The economic advance registered has been achieved by methods which have imposed colossal burdens on the people and enriched the richer classes, both in cities and in rural areas. Unemployment figures have continued to mount.

Sixth: Misery has grown among the working class, toiling peasants and intelligentsia, giving rise to numerous struggles in which people have displayed militancy, heroism and will to fight. But due to many factors, such as disunity of popular forces, disruptive role of rightwing Socialists, inability of the working class to act on a national-political plane, weakness of peasant organisations and our own failure to conduct a sustained nationwide campaign, the democratic movement, despite these struggles, remains weak and is unable to win major demands.

Seventh: Our influence among the people has increased in the majority of States, but we are still far from becoming the decisive factor in the political life of our country.

Eighth: Popular discontent is being used, in many areas, by parties of religious fanaticism which have become more active and blatant than before. Tendencies of casteism, communalism and provincialism have become more pronounced. Fissiparous and disruptive trends are fast growing.

Ninth: Forces of extreme reaction have formed an open political party, the Swatantra Party, which assails India's foreign policy, public sector, land reforms, etc. The Swatantra Party very often acts in close collaboration with parties of communal reaction, the rightwing leadership of the PSP and rightists inside the Congress.

Tenth: The basic policies of the Nehru Government remain as before, national bourgeois policies—both in the external and internal spheres. At the same time, the Rightists have tightened their grip over the Congress organisation and are striving to move the Government to the right. Many of their attempts have been resisted. Sharp conflicts over policies have arisen inside the Congress, but also on many issues they have succeeded in bringing about some shift to the right.

Anti-democratic Trends

Closely linked with the strengthening of the position of the Right in the Congress and the growth of reaction in our political life is the phenomenon of increase of authoritarian and anti-democratic tendencies. The arbitrary dismissal of the Kerala Government was a blow not only against the Communist Party but against Indian democracy, against democratic norms and practices. Since then the ideological-political offensive against democracy has gathered momentum. Sedulous propaganda goes on that 'parliamentary democracy is not suited to India'. Praja Socialists and Swatantrites with the tacit support of rightwing Congressmen backed Thimayya's move. But for the firm stand taken by Nehru, they would have succeeded in removing the Defence Minister and that success would have marked the dangerous intrusion of the military in political affairs. Recently, Dr. Rajendra Prasad openly made the astounding suggestion that the President of the Republic should not be a mere constitutional head but should have real powers. Sri Sanjeeva Reddy, the Congress President, in his presidential address at the Bhavnagar Session, suggested that direct elections to the State Assemblies and Parliament should be given up. All these are ominous pointers especially if we bear in mind what has happened in many countries in recent years—the latest instance being the establishment of a regime of dictatorship in Nepal.

Complacency based on the assumption that 'such things cannot happen here' would be utterly unwarranted. Not merely do reactionary forces, profoundly anti-democratic in their outlook, occupy important strategic positions in the economic, social and political life of the country but many policies of the Government, breeding widespread frustration, are creating those very conditions in which the people become apathetic and acquiesce in the establishment of anti-democratic regimes as a supposed 'way-out', as a 'remedy' for the worsening conditions of life, bureaucratic callousness to their needs, rampant corruption and other evils.

Disunity of Democratic Forces

The situation that has grown in the country is causing re-thinking among many honest supporters, members and even leading cadres of the Congress. They are alarmed by the growing attack on the progressive achievements of the last 14 years and the attempt to take the country back. They have seen the proud position which India has acquired as the result of her foreign policy and they want that policy to continue. They detest the fact that big business grows ever powerful, corrupts our social and political life and they dislike the concessions being made to it. They would like the public sector to grow rapidly. They expected honest implementation of the Nagpur Resolution on ceilings and State trading in foodgrains and were disappointed when this did not happen. Many of them do not desire the Congress to have alliance with forces of feudal and communal reaction and are unhappy over the growth of casteism. Quite a number of them were critical of Congress tactics in Kerala. They would like parliamentary democracy to be preserved. It is true that these views have not crystallised into a clear cut platform. Vacillations and inconsistencies are to be seen quite often in their practice. Some for example who take a progressive stand on one matter fail to take a similar stand on another. While detesting factional squabbles inside the Congress they very often fail to see its political roots. Moreover the leadership of the Congress tries to allay their discontent by demagogic about socialism by talk of the responsibilities of the ruling party and the need to preserve the unity of the Congress in face of attack to opposition parties and above all, by appeals based on loyalty to Nehru.

Nevertheless however, vacillating and inconsistent these members and supporters of the Congress may be, they must not be placed in the same category as Right reaction—whether inside or outside the Congress. Essentially they are progressive. The process of re-thinking that has started among them is not fortuitous. The growing radicalisation of our people and the increasing discontent and frustration generated by the Government's anti-people policies could not but have their impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of vested

interests, the influence of landlords and other reactionary elements in the Congress, the growth of corruption and the decline of these values which the Congress once cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people, the never-ending wrangle over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement give rise to disillusionment and differentiation inside the Congress. Conflicts arise over policies, conflicts which though yet in an elementary stage, sometimes find expression in speeches in the Assemblies and the Parliament.

But by themselves, these progressive forces are too unorganised and weak to make an impact on Congress policies. They tend to rely too much on Prime Minister Nehru and feel helpless when he compromises with the Right. They sometimes succeed in getting progressive resolutions adopted by the Congress, but are unable to get even these resolutions implemented. Anti-Communism to which many of them have succumbed also prevents them from co-operating with the most powerful and organised democratic force in the country in order to develop a strong movement.

As for the Praja Socialist Party which still wields considerable influence in some States, its leadership has become more and more opportunist. It joined hands with the Congress and the Muslim League to overthrow the Communist-led Kerala Government, securing as reward the office of Chief Ministership. It tried to disrupt the glorious food movement in Bengal, the anti-tax satyagraha in Bihar, the food movement in Punjab and other struggles. It took a leading part in the anti-China campaign during the counter-revolutionary uprising in Tibet and subsequently. With its mass base weakening in many States, it now counts on alliance with reactionaries and disgruntled Congress factions, as well as the good will of Congress leaders in some places for success in the ensuing general elections.

The attitude of the PSP has disrupted Left unity even where it existed in some form earlier. At the same time, many of the cadres of the PSP are radical minded, its following is largely a

Left following. One certain occasions, e.g., the Central Government employees' strike, Communists and Praja Socialists co-operated.

Our Party, the Communist Party of India, has been in the thick of practically every major struggle that took place in this period—struggles which have been mentioned earlier. Trade unions, where we work, have become stronger than ever before. The main fire of the Government and the Congress has been concentrated on us. Despite this, we have registered advance in several areas. We won the Nowgong Assembly bye-election at the height of the anti-China campaign and the parliamentary bye-election in Calcutta; secured impressive victories in Bhopal and won many panchayat and local elections in several States. The campaign in defence of Kerala was one of the biggest all-India campaigns conducted by our Party in its entire history as also the campaign to help the Kerala unit of our Party for the mid-term elections. Vast masses participated in the *padavattam* (march on foot) in Kerala and Tamilnad for agrarian reforms. Impressive also was the mass mobilisation achieved in many States during the rallies which were held at the culmination of State conferences.

Notwithstanding all this, it must be admitted that our activities have, on the whole, been of a sporadic character. The working class has gone into action on a national and industrial level to defend its wages, its trade union and democratic rights from the attacks of the Government and the employers. But political actions by workers, working class actions in support of struggles of the peasantry and on general democratic issues have been very few. Working class action has not reached to the level which could bring about a major political shift in the position of the masses and have an impact on the policies of the Government. Except on Kerala, there was no all-India campaign. Above all, the Party's weakness among the peasantry which was one of the main factors for the weakness of the whole democratic movement, continues.

Due to the absence of a broad nationwide united campaign for progressive policies, the disruption of whatever Left unity existed

in the past, the inability of the Communist Party to move the working class on a big scale on general democratic issues, and the weakness of the peasant movement, the democratic forces have not been consolidated. They have not been able to defeat anti-people policies or even compel the Government to implement its own declarations in such a way as would benefit the people. Extreme reaction has taken advantage of this situation to strengthen its own base and mount an offensive.

The proposals of the Third Plan show that, while adhering to the policy of industrialisation, the Government does not propose to make any basic changes in its policies. While admitting that 'in recent years, transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for land reforms', the Draft of the Third Plan contains not a word to suggest that any effective measures are to be taken to realise these professed aims, on the all-important question of resources for the Third Plan, the draft proposes additional taxation to the extent of Rs. 1,650 crores which is to be raised mainly by 'broadening the tax structure', that is, by laying more burdens on the people. The taxation proposals of this year are a clear indication of what the Government intends to do, how it seeks to squeeze the people while making new concessions to Indian and foreign big business.

In this way, some economic development will undoubtedly take place. But the limitations inherent in the capitalist path of development, further accentuated by the attempt to build our economy without radical agrarian reforms, by concessions to foreign capitalists and without curb on the monopolists cannot but make progress slow and halting, marked by twists and turns, giving rise to profound contradictions and sharp conflicts. With such policies the food situation will remain highly unsatisfactory, unemployment will grow, condition of masses will remain wretched. In these conditions, the dangerous anti-democratic trends that have already manifested themselves will further accentuate.

Forward to Unity

Confronted with these economic and political developments which, if continued, cannot but mean more misery for the

masses, heavier burdens on them, further enrichment of the rich and increasing attacks on democracy, millions of people in all parts of the country and following all parties are asking the question What is the way out? How to go forward? Historic responsibility rests on the Communist Party and on the most advanced and conscious democratic forces to give a proper reply to these questions.

Conditions, despite the negative features that have been narrated, are in many respects extremely favourable for the forces of democracy. The character of the new epoch, the new balance of world forces, the role played by the socialist system and its mighty vanguard, the USSR, are drawing people towards socialism. Our Party, despite its many shortcomings, has attained a big position in our country. Reaction still lacks a broad mass base. Its positive slogans evoke little response. Moreover, the living experience of the last fourteen years has taught our people many lessons, above all, it has taught them the necessity for struggle and unity.

Fourteen years of experience are teaching the people what price they have to pay if the ruling classes are permitted to continue the building of capitalist order of society, giving concession to foreign capital making concessions to landlords and relying on the profit-motive of big business. Fourteen years of experience are teaching democratic elements inside the Congress that by reliance on individual leaders, no matter how great, they cannot attain the cherished goal of a happy and prosperous India and that even progressive declarations will not be implemented by passive waiting or even by their own exertion alone. Fourteen years of experience are teaching the democratic forces outside the Congress that, in order to alter the policies of the Government and in order to defend the people against the ever mounting attacks on their standard of life and liberties, they have to build united action with Congress masses, encourage the strengthening of democratic forces inside the Congress and join hands with them for common national tasks. The urge for unity has grown among all sections of people, especially among those who toil, suffer and fight.

These and other favourable factors exist. They are creating conditions for very broad democratic unity. They are creating conditions for a united mass movement, extensive and powerful. Reaction can be smashed and the compromising policies of the Government defeated if serious and sustained efforts are made to build a united mass movement. Such a movement will be built through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activity. It will have to cover every area and be based on strong mass organisations. Then only the plans of right reaction can be defeated, the desired changes can be brought about in the policies of the Government and all-sided advance ensured.

Striving to build such a movement, our Party must intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country.

It will be unity for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people and retard the pace of economic development, for the reversal of those policies and for bringing about *a shift to the left*.

Of great importance in this context is the establishment of unity of action to defend the vital interests of the working people and to improve their living conditions.

The classes that will constitute the democratic front are the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. Working class-peasant unity must form the core and pivot of this front. It was noted by us three years ago at Amritsar that the failure to organise and develop kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' unions constituted the greatest weakness of the democratic movement. That weakness still continues. We must, therefore, once again emphasise the slogan: 'Turn the face of the Party towards the peasantry'. This time, the slogan must be seriously taken up and implemented by every State unit.

In order to build the democratic front, it is not enough to have a correct idea about the classes that will constitute it. It is equally necessary to have a correct appraisal of the various parties in the country.

Our Party has always advocated close co-operation and unity between Left parties. But we cannot ignore the fact that the leadership of some of these parties, especially that of the Praja Socialist Party, has become, in many respects, more rightist than the Congress. At the same time, the ranks and the masses following them are, broadly speaking, left-minded who want to fight the anti-popular policies of the Government. Hence, the need, while waging a sharp ideological struggle, for correct approach towards these parties so as to draw them and especially their following wherever possible into common activity and struggle.

The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising in view of the role it has played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's leadership. The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of freedom struggle, is vast and extensive. It extends to all classes, including big sections of the working class. It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others. Nehru's influence is even wider. We cannot build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation.

That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp. That situation still continues. In some States—Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal—with the decline in the influence of the Praja Socialist Party, the most important division has become the division between the mass following of the Congress and the Communist Party.

From this it does not follow, however, that a general united front with the Congress is possible today—that is, with the Congress as it is. Our relations will inevitably be one of unity *and* struggle. The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie *as a whole*—including its rightwing. Moreover, after independence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the

national struggle—landlords and others. Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business. Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement. All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its Governments.

At the same time, it would be a big mistake to *equate* the Congress with parties of right reaction. Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of the measures are, in today's context, *progressive*—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on.

The complexity of the situation arises from the following facts:

(1) Policies and measures which are hitting the masses giving rise to discontent and frustration are the policies of the Congress and its Government. It is this discontent that is utilised by right reaction to mislead the masses and strengthen itself. At the same time, these policies cannot be fought effectively either by our own strength or even only by the unity of the Left forces. The broadening and deepening of the struggle against these policies requires the drawing into it of a big section of the people who are in the Congress and loyal to it.

(2) A large part of the forces of the right are inside the Congress. At the same time, the bulk of those who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress.

It is true that many Congress leaders do not genuinely support the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. But it is equally true that most of those people who support it, who want it to be defended, are to be found not inside the PSP or any other 'Left Party' but inside the Congress or among those under Nehru's influence. Many inside the Congress assail the public sector. But it is equally true that the largest number of those who want it to be defended and extended are also in the Congress. As regards communalism, there can be no doubt that communalism has penetrated deeply into the Congress. But it must also be noted that not only Nehru but also many other Congressmen were far more distressed by the happenings in Jubbulpore than many leaders of the Left parties.

In order to defend India's foreign policy, the public sector and the parliamentary system, in order to wage an effective battle against communalism, it is necessary that we forge links with Congressmen.

For this, an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments. Time and again, direct appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congressmen but also to Congress Committees, taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality.

An urgent and important issue on which broad unity can be forged is that of opposition to communalism. A correct approach and fraternal appeal for practical united activity will get response from all healthy elements including many Congressmen. This has become a vital necessity especially after the Madhya Pradesh riots and the intensification of the activities of the Jan Sangh.

We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms, etc. Ours must be a fraternal attitude. Also, when progressive declarations are made by the Congress, we have not just to 'expose' them but use them for forging unity.

We have to support unhesitatingly and by mass mobilisation every correct measure that the Government takes against right reaction. Such action on our part will enable us to fight the reactionary measures of the Government all the more effectively. Further, when conflicts arise inside the ruling party over issues of policy, we must make our position clear before the masses and mobilise them in support of correct policies.

In view of the need to broaden the basis of our struggle and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever that strenuous efforts are made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with masses under Congress influence. We must stress this because despite what we said at Palghat, we have paid too little attention to this task.

What this requires are:

(1) Use progressive declarations of the Congress to forge mass unity in action.

(2) In agitation, keep in mind not only those who are already under our influence but also those who are not, speak not only for those who sit 'in front' and cheer every denunciation of the Congress and its Government, but also those who 'stand on the periphery'.

(3) Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will help to draw towards us honest Congressmen.

(4) Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress and Government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the rightist elements.

(5) Conduct patient explanatory campaign Congressmen and Congress masses. They are worried about the situation that is developing—especially the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The basic causes of this, which arise from the class policies of the Government, have to be laid bare so that they are drawn into the struggle for changing these policies.

While seeking to develop common activity with Congressmen and the masses following the Congress, our Party should, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are themselves totally inadequate in the present-day conditions of India and the world and how these policies stem from the attempt to develop a capitalist society in India and that, too, without taking firm measures against foreign capital, without basic agrarian reforms in the interests of the mass of peasants and by giving big concessions to monopolists. The process of intense heart-searching that has started among them is bound to gather momentum as the difficulties of foreign exchange, price policy, administrative inefficiency etc., become more evident. All effort must be made by us to raise the level of consciousness and understanding of democratic-minded Congressmen and convince

them about the correctness of the basic slogans of our Party for national rebirth.

Progressives and democrats in other parties and also among those who belong to no party also constitute a vast number. While a big section of the masses owe allegiance to the Congress, there is also a big section which either follows parties other than the Congress or are not attached to any particular party. We have to make every effort to draw all of them into common activity.

Independent mass activity by the Party, combined with fraternal and genuine united front approach so that on *each* issue the maximum possible support is mobilised—such has to be the tactics. For such independent mass activity, the need is to raise the level of consciousness of the masses following us. We do not make unity a *precondition* for mass action. But even when waging struggle on our own and in the course of preparation for launching struggle, we must adopt an approach which draws others towards us.

Broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the Government but also in order to ensure that many of the declared policies which are in the interest of the people are properly implemented; not only to secure new concessions but also to ensure that the concessions already won are used for the benefit of the people; not only to extend democracy but also to ensure that the limited rights which local elected bodies enjoy are fully utilised in the interest of the people and so on. Without this, without a sustained effort to make full use of all opportunities and all possibilities, it is impossible to rouse the people for struggle for basic reforms. And for such effort, it is necessary and desirable that all those who want to serve the masses should unite.

National Democratic Front for National Democratic Tasks

The tasks on the fulfilment of which depend our national regeneration and all-sided national advance are: further consolidation of our independence, by defence and strengthening of our foreign policy and forging of closer links with the socialist

and Afro-Asian States; by preventing further penetration of foreign capital and elimination of its existing hold on vital sectors of our economy through nationalisation; by the rapid expansion of the State sector. Nationalisation of banks and of such other concern as may enable the State sector to acquire a commanding position in our economy. Democratic control over the State sector, combating of waste, corruption and inefficiency, and the building of more heavy and basic industries in it. The carrying out of agrarian reforms which would really benefit the mass of peasantry, reduce the heavy burdens on them and make possible more capital investment on land so that agricultural production may increase. A just system of taxation whose main burden falls on the rich. Fixing of minimum wage for all workers and employees and sliding scale of dearness allowance. Improvement in the living standard of the people. Repeal of repressive laws and guaranteeing of unfettered civil liberties. Restriction of the power of bureaucrats, greater powers for States, for local elected organs and extension of democracy.

These are national democratic tasks. They conform to the interest of the vast majority of our people. Most of them are in the objective interest of the national bourgeoisie itself, except of a handful of monopolist reactionaries. They can be carried out by united action by all who desire national regeneration. If carried out, they would launch our country on the path of all-sided advance, generate labour enthusiasm, dissipate the spirit of frustration, reduce strife. They would weaken the forces of reaction in the country and bring the people to the position when the struggle for basic changes and for socialism can be waged more effectively. It is necessary, therefore, that all patriotic and democratic forces should come together to carry out these tasks and form, for this purpose, a broad national democratic front.

In order to build such a united front, we have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the menace represented by right reaction, making Congressmen, including progressive minded Congress leaders, aware of the seriousness of the menace, approaching them in terms of Congress declarations, in terms of commonly accepted ideas and digits. We shall expose the

demagogic slogans of right reaction, the slogans with which it seeks to utilise popular discontent. We shall strive to move into action the masses under our influence in opposition to the slogans and tactics of parties of extreme reaction, and their attacks on our foreign policy, on our co-operation with socialist States, in defence of peace and our national interests, on the public sector, etc., and seek the co-operation of Congressmen and Congress organisations for this purpose.

In order to build such a front, we have to wage a determined and sustained struggle against the compromising policies of the Congress Government, policies which facilitate the further penetration of foreign imperialist capital, retain the remnants of feudalism, encourage casteist, communalist and regional and other fissiparous tendencies, policies which, instead of encouraging growth of democratic forces, try to suppress them, which help the rich at the cost of the poor. We have to explain to the people and the progressive-minded Congress followers that without fighting these policies, the growth of reaction cannot be checked and the country cannot advance on the path of progress and prosperity.

In order to build such a front, we have to establish unity of action of the masses in defence of their immediate interests and against the attacks of the exploiting classes and the Government, strengthen the mass organisations and develop them as genuine united organisations.

In order to build such a front, we have to fight an uncompromising battle against forces of casteism, communalism, regionalism and provincialism, against all discrimination in relation to minorities, for protection of all their legitimate interests, for adequate facilities for backward castes and for balanced development of all regions of our country. While fighting for greater power for States, we have to come forward as defenders of national unity, seeking the co-operation of and striving to act jointly with all healthy and patriotic forces in all parties for this purpose.

In order to build such a front we have to strengthen our Party ideologically, politically and organisationally.

The struggle against the slogans of the extreme right, the struggle against the policies of compromise pursued by the Government, as well as the struggle in defence of progressive policies and declarations made by the Government--all these struggles cannot be effective if they are waged only or even mainly through speeches in the parliament and legislature and through articles in our journals. They have to be waged on a mass scale by efforts to build popular unity and also through independent mobilisation by the Party. For this, we have to lay utmost stress on the task of raising the political level of the masses who follow our Party so that they move into action on political issues. Such positive action and independent mass action will also facilitate the process of radicalisation among the masses who follow the Congress and other parties, and be a powerful lever to forge democratic unity.

Defend and Strengthened India's Foreign Policy

One of the main target of attack of imperialists and their friends is India's foreign policy. This is not surprising in view of the position India occupies in world affairs. Ours was the first party in the country to advocate that a foreign policy of peace, anti-colonialism, co-operation with socialist countries and close friendship with African and Asian countries is in our genuine national interest. We have been extending general support to the Government of India's foreign policy. In the period since Amritsar, reactionary pressure on India's foreign policy has increased--both from imperialists and by extreme rightwing elements in our own country. Imperialists have been striving to change our foreign policy and for this purpose, they are utilising their economic 'aid'. The Jan Sangh, the Swatantra Party, the rightwing PSP leaders, rightwing elements inside the Congress, the big bourgeois-controlled press--all have been active on the issue, making full use of the India-China dispute for the purpose. The slogan is given of 'common defence' with Pakistan. The argument is advanced that India should be 'really neutral' and not associate itself 'too closely' with socialist States. The whole purpose of this pressure, these slogans and arguments, is to bring

about a reactionary modification of our foreign policy—a modification which imperialists desire and have been striving for several years.

By and large, these pressures have been resisted. There have been powerful counteracting forces, too. India's association with the USSR and economic co-operation with it has grown closer. A large number of African States who have won political independence in recent years take an anti-imperialist stand in the UNO. The interest of the Indian nation demands a continuation of the present foreign policy. Nehru, who has been the main architect of this policy, has shown no inclination to abandon it. India stands in the camp of peace and anti-colonialism, against war and for disarmament.

At the same time, we cannot shut our eyes to the fact that there have been pronounced vacillations of the Government of India on several occasions in recent periods. There have been a number of failures on its part to take a consistent stand—especially on issues of anti-colonialism. The Government of India takes too long a time to take a correct position and even then the position is not always sufficiently firm. In a world situation which has become more favourable than ever, due to the growing might of the socialist camp and the attainment of freedom by many countries of Africa, it was expected that India would act as the leader and vanguard of the newly-independent States. This has not happened. On several issues, a number of African States which shook off colonial rule only recently take a more consistently anti-imperialist stand than us.

A glaring example of this has been our Government's vacillations on the issue of Congo. While denouncing Belgian imperialists, India keeps silent on the role played by USA and showers praise on Hammarskjöld whose despicable activities in Congo helped the imperialists. While rightly opposing the seating of Kasavubu's agents in the United Nations and demanding that the Congolese Parliament should be convened, India refuses to recognise the legal Government headed by Antoine Gizenga, as has been done by several African States, by Yugoslavia and even by Indonesia. Several other examples can be cited. More than

once, under the spurious slogan of 'the power blocs' and on the plea of 'not taking sides in the cold war', India has refused to take a firm anti-imperialist position. India is now coming to be looked upon by many as the leader of 'moderates' in the Afro-Asian group. This certainly is not a role which Indian patriots would like India to play.

Such vacillation on the part of the Government of India is not in conformity with India's general foreign policy and India's great anti-imperialists traditions and also does not reflect Indian public opinion.

Therefore, while continuing to support the general foreign policy of the Government, it is the task of all democratic forces in the country to exercise vigilance so that there is no sliding back and to mobilise the masses so that the vacillations and weaknesses are combated.

A major reason for this weakness is that while the reactionary forces who want to change the foreign policy are vocal and active, the progressive and democratic forces, including the mass following of the Communist Party are not so active in counter-acting their pressure. There is the sectarian tendency of not making full use of the correct stand of the Government in order to forge broad unity and bring about broad mobilisation. Also there is the reformist and tailist tendency of taking the present foreign policy for granted, of relying too much on the Government of India and Prime Minister Nehru and hesitation to go beyond the stand taken by them. We underestimate the conspiracies of the imperialists and their capacity for desperate action---due to which we are often taken by surprise.

Mass mobilisation and mass action on issues of peace and anti-colonialism are yet totally inadequate. The tendency is one of leaving the initiative in the hands of the Government, of waiting to see what it does when an issue arises. The democratic forces do not seize the initiative. They do not act to shape Government's policy. They only react to declarations made by the Government. Inevitably their role becomes one of supporting or opposing the acts of the Government in the sphere of foreign policy.

Such a situation should not be allowed to continue.

It is also imperative that effective steps are taken by the Government of India to liberate over 6 lakhs of our countrymen who, to this day, remain under the colonial rule of the Portuguese fascists.

It must be the endeavour of all patriotic people to ensure that the foreign policy of our country becomes increasingly anti-imperialist, a policy of increasingly close association with the freedom-loving countries of Asia and Africa and of co-operation with socialist and other States in defence of peace. Our Party and the mass organisations under our influence will have to play a far more important role in this direction than hitherto.

Tasks on Mass Fronts

The working class movement has registered a big advance. In recent periods, on a number of occasions, all workers of the same industry have gone into action. The strike of over five lakh employees of the Central Government, which came about because of the united decision of all organisations of the Government employees united in the Joint Council of Action was despite all limitations and lack of preparation a major event and focussed attention on the most outstanding grievance of all people, that is, the steep rise of prices. Nevertheless, that consciousness which would move the entire mass on a general issue affecting the workers as a whole and on general democratic issues is yet too inadequate.

Even in the field of wages, the working class is facing a serious crisis. Although the continuous struggle of the workers has wrested some increases in money wages from the unwilling hands of the employers, their real wages show a markedly declining trend since 1955. The real wage level in 1960 is no higher, if not actually lower, than the level of 1939. At the same time, production, productivity and profits in the organised industries have been rising throughout the Second Plan period.

By fighting for higher wages, dearness allowances, bonus, more amenities and better conditions of work, the worker fights

for a larger share of the wealth he is producing and of the goods which are the real national income, a share which the employer always wants to reduce in some way and for which the worker must always fight in the ways open to him. This day-to-day struggle is, therefore, the necessary and constant daily task of the trade unions. The entire working class, irrespective of different affiliations, is vitally interested in the fight for a sliding scale of dearness allowance, the raising and fixing of minimum wages, for a general rise in basic wages and against high prices and rationalisation and productivity schemes leading to retrenchment.

At the same time, the struggle of the workers is increasingly sought to be suppressed by the ruling class through use of the repressive machinery of the State and free hand to the capitalists to practice victimisation. Attacks on democratic and trade union rights including those which are 'legally' recognised on paper are mounting. These attacks can be effectively resisted and repulsed only on the basis of united and determined mobilisation of the working class backed by democratic public opinion.

All these factors, together with several other aspects of intensified capitalist exploitation, are daily strengthening the objective basis for forging the class unity of the workers and mobilising them for united action in their common interest. The recent struggles and strike actions of the textile, jute, plantation, cashewnut, tramway (Calcutta) and other workers in various States and above all, the historic strike of the Central Government employees, are eloquent testimony to the growing urge of all sections of the working class for unity. Great new possibilities are opening up provided the trade unions utilise them with confidence and bold initiative.

If the trade union movement is to be raised out of the rut of localism and narrow economism, a determined campaign for trade union unity and united action must be developed. On this question, a basically sectarian outlook still persists and must be constantly combated. Developing broadest unity of all sections must be combined with principled exposure of disruptive and anti-unity elements and planned expansion of trade union organisation among the lakhs of still unorganised workers.

In order to overcome the serious lag in the political consciousness of the working class, it is necessary to educate, organise and mobilise the workers as part and parcel of day-to-day trade union activity itself. Popularisation of the all-round advance of the socialist countries, the need for active solidarity with the national-liberation movements of Asia, Africa and Latin America and with the working class struggles in imperialist countries; campaign on the concrete issues of disarmament and peace; vigilance, exposure and action against the reactionary conspiracies and manoeuvres of imperialists and monopolists against democracy, against national economic development and freedom—these are some of the most important issues around which we must carry on ceaseless efforts to bring the organised working class into action so that it may increasingly play its vanguard role.

This vanguard role also requires that the working class comes out in action in defence of the demands of other classes—above all, the peasantry.

The democratic forces must adopt a correct attitude towards the small and medium industrialists who suffer from the fiscal and other policies of the Government and from the activities of the monopolists. In matters of trade union demands, these sections of the bourgeoisie cannot be placed in the same category as the big bourgeoisie. We must bear in mind that in order to defend and strengthen democracy, as well as for the broadening of the mass movement, it is necessary to support actively the just demands of the small and middle bourgeoisie and draw them closer to the democratic masses.

In an agrarian country like ours, national regeneration demands, above all, rapid development of agriculture. Experience of the last thirteen-and-a-half years proves that this cannot be done except through democratic reconstruction of agriculture. Experience also proves that left to itself and in the absence of a mass movement, the Congress and the Government will not implement in a proper way even their own declarations. The fate of the Nagpur Resolution on land reforms is the latest instance. Ceilings are being imposed in such a way as to leave practically no land for distribution—thus defeating the purpose of ceiling

At the same time, it has to be admitted that our own approach towards the progressive declarations made by the Congress from time to time has been defective--arising from partial and inadequate understanding of the factors that lead to such declarations. To some extent, they express the needs of national bourgeois development as against imperialism and feudalism. Then there is the pressure of masses exerted through the rank and file and progressive Congressmen. Finally, there is the attempt to create illusions among the masses, illusions about possibility of gradual and smooth advance, through the benevolence of the ruling party, without struggles, without mass movement. The Nagpur Resolution was also due, to a considerable extent, to the agrarian reforms proposed by the Communist-led Government of Kerala. In these circumstances and in view of the certainty that the rightwing controlled State Ministries were bound to sabotage the reforms, it was all the more necessary for the Communist Party, the Kisan Sabhas and other democratic forces, to launch a mass campaign and develop common activity so as to ensure proper implementation of the declarations—implementation in such a way as benefits the peasants and agricultural workers. This we failed to do.

Alliance of the working class with the peasantry forms the pivot and core of the national democratic front. And one of the most important means by which such alliance is forged is the initiative taken by the Party of the working class to organise the peasantry. The Amritsar resolution of our Party stressed that 'the failure to organise kisan sabhas and agricultural workers' unions, in spite of the most favourable conditions, constitutes the greatest weakness of the entire democratic movement'. 'That failure, in the main, persists. In several places, the peasant masses, dissatisfied with the Congress are falling prey to the propaganda carried on by parties and elements of extreme reaction.'

Our tasks on the kisan front which arise out of the present serious situation, are to abolish the remnants of feudalism, bring about a proper redistribution of land, democratise rural society, create a productive upsurge in agriculture and effect radical improvement in the living conditions of the mass of peasantry and agricultural labourers.

The most important task for fulfilment of these aims is the forging of unity of all sections of the peasantry, including agricultural labourers, in common campaigns and struggles for the carrying out of radical agrarian reforms and for securing immediate economic relief for the rural masses. In these campaigns and struggles, the agricultural workers, share-croppers and poor peasants will constitute the most firm and the most reliable force, but it is essential the middle peasants should be decisively won over and the rich peasants should be drawn into common actions on as big a scale as possible on specific issues.

There are several issues on which broad-based mass campaigns can be built and all sections of the rural population mobilised in view of the growing food crisis, mounting taxation, the increasing grip of the moneylenders on the peasantry, the price-sessors which cheat the producers in two-fold ways, by exacting from them higher prices for manufactured goods and by denying them a just price for their own products. A ringing call and mass mobilisation for food, adequate credit, for fair prices, for a just distribution of resources for agricultural improvement, for developing rural industries, for various development works and employment, for irrigation schemes, for the lowering of taxes and rents, for fair wages, for a reasonable ceiling and its strict implementation and the distribution of surplus land, is bound to get response from all sections of the peasantry.

The strengthening of the democratic movement in the rural areas necessitates the organisation and moving into action of the most consistently militant forces in the villages, that is, agricultural workers. The unity of the mass of peasantry for immediate economic relief and for radical agrarian reforms would lack firm foundation without the movement of agricultural workers for their specific demands (wages, hours of work, employment, fallow land, homesteads, etc.) and their active and organised participation in all common peasant movements and popular struggles in the countryside.

One of the most serious obstacles in the way of building peasant unity today is the existence of political divisions among peasants who owe allegiance to different political parties. A very

large section of the peasantry belonging not only to upper and middle strata, but also the class of poor peasants and agricultural labourers is still under the influence of the Congress. The gulf that exists today between this section of the peasantry and that which follows the Communist Party cannot be bridged without our making very serious and conscious efforts to that end. The Party must do its utmost to end this division. Experience has shown that adequate response is not always secured by issuing appeals to peasants over the head of and against the political parties to which they owe allegiance. It would, therefore, be advisable and necessary to approach the peasantry following the Congress in such a way that they can be drawn into common actions and in certain cases, it would be advisable to appeal to local Congress Committees and other local organisations to which the peasants, who are not under our influence, are politically attached, for joint front actions for the redress of common grievances and the achievement of common mass demands for the rural population.

The existing political divisions among the peasantry can be overcome only if the kishan sabha itself is sought to be built as a united mass organisation of the entire peasantry regardless of the allegiance that different sections of the peasants owe to different political parties. Serious attention has to be paid to this task.

Broad alliance of democratic forces of all parties is needed not only to modify the policies of the Government but also in order to ensure that many of the declared policies which are in the interest of the people are properly implemented; not only to secure new concessions but also to ensure that the concessions already won are used for the benefit of the people; not only to extend democracy but also to ensure that the limited rights which local elected bodies enjoy are fully utilised in the interest of the people and so on. Without this, without a sustained effort to make full use of all opportunities and all possibilities, it is impossible to rouse the people for struggle for basic reforms. And for such effort it is necessary and desirable that all those who want to serve the masses should unite.

The struggle to draw women, youth and students into the democratic movement, to build their broad-based mass organisations and develop united movements and campaigns for the defence of their vital interests is a vital part of the struggle to build the national democratic front. Underestimation of the importance of this work is fraught with serious dangers for the democratic movement and must be overcome.

There is a new awakening among women, a rapidly growing urge to overcome the age-old disabilities they suffer from and to make their contribution to national advance. Our women comrades have done valuable work in the women's movement and the results show the great possibilities that are there. But we are far from fulfilling our responsibilities and rousing the mass of women to the common task facing us.

The same vast possibilities are there among youth and students. There are vast new opportunities of drawing them in the service of the people and in defence of their own vital interests. The Party must take effective steps to organise the youth and students, to enable them to act unitedly in defence of their interests and to rouse their patriotism for making their proper contribution in the struggle for national advance and national unity and against reaction, obscurantism and communalism. Popularisation of the ideas of scientific socialism among the younger generation is an essential part of the Party's work on this front.

Systematic and vigorous efforts must be made to overcome weaknesses of the Party's work among the intelligentsia and on the cultural front.

Organise Mass Struggles

The ruling party and even some rightwing PSP leaders frown upon mass struggles. The Government strives to crush them. It says that such struggles dissipate mass energy, divert people's attention from the task of national reconstruction, weaken the unity of the country. Our Party resolutely rejects these contentions. The fact is indisputable, as has been pointed out earlier, that while wages have yet to rise above the 1939 level and minimum wage and adequate dearness allowance to compensate

for the rise of prices is denied to workers, profits have mounted; that the mass of peasants have benefitted little from the agrarian reforms and the condition of agricultural workers has actually deteriorated in recent years; that soaring prices ate fleecing all sections of people that corruption is rampant and the bureaucratic callousness to the needs of the people has grown. Nor can the Government deny that whatever concessions the people have been able to win, wherever they have been able to stop or slow down the offensive of the vested interests, it has been due primarily to the struggles waged by the toiling masses, the resistance put up by them, combined with bold advocacy of their cause by their representatives in the Legislatures. This is proved by the circumstances that led to the appointment of the Second Pay Commission, the taking of certain steps, though half-hearted, to reduce cloth prices after the Central Government employees' strike, the stoppage of advance collection of betterment levy after the great struggle in Punjab, the failure, after mass campaign, of the Pattom Ministry to sabotage completely the agrarian reforms enacted by the Communist-led Government and so on.

Moreover, we have to bear in mind that it is the worsening condition of the life of the people and consequent discontent that are major factors creating the very conditions in which Right reaction can thrive. Had not the Communist Party and the democratic organisations acted resolutely in defence of the people and organise their struggles and movements, wherever they could, parties of extreme reaction would have been far stronger today than they are.

Our Party cannot, therefore, relent its opposition to these policies or weaken the struggle against these attacks on the people. We seek and shall strive to secure the support and co-operation of all democrats for these struggles which are an essential and integral part of the mass movement to build the national democratic front. They have been important in the past in rousing the people in defending their interests and in building their organisations. They will acquire even greater importance in the coming period.

Mass action in defence of the interests of the people and for progressive policies are themselves powerful factors helping to bring people together. They do not disrupt national unity as Congress leaders allege. On the contrary, they facilitate the cementing of unity on a genuine democratic and popular basis.

We must broaden the basis of the struggles and with general democratic support for them so that they acquire greater sweep and momentum. Also, in view of the attitude displayed by the Government during many recent struggles, when draconian measures were adopted, the masses, their organisations and the Party have to prepare themselves organisationally, politically and ideologically for stubborn resistance.

Our Party will, at the same time, mobilise the people for carrying out the tasks of national reconstruction. We shall co-operate with all patriotic forces in order to ensure speedy fulfilment of the Plan targets. We shall make every endeavour to build popular unity so that the resources allocated for nation-building activities are utilised in a proper way and in the interest of the common people.

Anti-Communism—a Bankrupt Banner

Democratic unity requires, together with the conducting of struggles for immediate demands, together with fraternal approach towards the mass of Congressmen, members of other parties and masses who are under no party's influence, together with campaigns on policy issues, sustained ideological battle. The Second Five-Year Plan had declared the following four objectives:

- (a) a sizable increase in national income so as to raise the level of living in the country;
- (b) rapid industrialisation with particular emphasis on the development of heavy and basic industries;
- (c) a large expansion of employment opportunities; and
- (d) reduction of inequalities in income and wealth and a more even distribution of economic power.

As we have already seen, a certain amount of industrial development has taken place and there has been some increase in national income. But the main benefits have gone to the rich, the level of living of the vast majority remains miserably low, unemployment figures continue to mount and inequalities in income and wealth have grown continuously. The pledges given by the Government have remained unfulfilled and will remain unfulfilled unless the masses unite and struggle. The ruling party, with a view to prevent such unity and such struggle, raises the slogan of anti-communism, for it is in the Communist Party that they see the most resolute defender of the people. Anti-communism has always been the bankrupt banner of those who want to keep the masses away from struggle and divert mass attention from their own failures. In the ultimate analysis, it helps imperialists and Right reaction.

Conscious of the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own followers, the Congress leaders have formally accepted socialism as their objective. But their entire practice shows that this is meant to distort the real ideas of socialism and keep the masses away from struggles for democratic reforms. We should, therefore, patiently and continuously explain to the people and the Congressmen that there is not a grain of socialism in the theories, policies and measures of the Congress and its Government. We should also explain to them what socialism really means and how it can be achieved.

In a vague and general way large number of our people have come to accept socialism as a correct objective. They have seen what socialism has achieved in countries where it has triumphed. They have seen how it has done away with the anarchy of capitalism, put an end to the staggering contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, eliminated unemployment and launched the people on the path of speedy and continuous advance. Hence they get drawn towards socialism.

A major ideological task of ours is to deepen this consciousness. We have to explain to the masses, especially the

workers and advanced sections the principles of scientific socialism and show the relation between socialism and the struggle for defence and extension of democracy in every sphere economic, social and political.

The third general elections will be an important event in the life of our country. The Congress will do everything in its power to give us a setback at the polls so that opposition to its anti-people policies gets weakened. The ideological-political offensive against our Party that has been gathering strength in recent periods is essentially an offensive against the forces of Indian democracy and a preparation for the coming elections.

The Swatantra Party, the Jan Sangh as well as the Praja Socialist Party will make every effort to dislodge us from our position as the leading party of opposition in the Parliament as well as in several State legislatures.

These efforts must be defeated. We must not only retain our present position but strengthen it substantially. Serious preparations must be made for this right from now.

We shall fight the elections as a big political battle on the basis of the entire policy of our Party. Sharply demarcating ourselves from the parties of right reaction and communalism and their slogans, we shall, at the same time, lay bare the anti-people policies of the Government and put forward our alternative policies. We shall come before the people with our record as the Party that strives to build national democratic front for national democratic tasks and, as part of this struggle, defends the people against attacks from the Government and vested interests. In States where the possibility exists, we shall give the slogan of establishment of a Government which can carry out genuinely popular and democratic policies.

Path of National Advance

The general objectives to realise which the national democratic front has to strive have been narrated earlier. Their main contents are: strengthening national freedom; elimination of foreign monopoly capital; rapid building up of national industries;

extension of the public sector and democratic control over it; genuine agrarian reforms; extension of democracy in political, economic and social life. Formulating concrete slogans on each of these issues, our Party will develop countrywide mass campaigns for their realisation, seek co-operation of patriotic elements in every party. It will wage struggles in defence of the interests of the people in the context and as an integral part of such a campaign.

Such a campaign, if sufficiently sustained and broad-based, sufficiently militant and powerful can help the people win their immediate demands, bring about changes in the Government's policies, foil the attempts of Right reaction, expose and isolate it. It can alter the correlation of forces in our country in favour of democratic forces and lead to a situation when it becomes a practical possibility to raise the slogan of the establishment of a Government of the national democratic front—a Government representing the fighting alliance of all democratic forces in the country and pledged to carry out a genuine national-democratic programme. Such a Government, if formed, will be an organ of struggle against reactionary forces, a Government which will pursue a consistently peace-loving and anti-imperialist foreign policy, eliminate the hold of foreign capital on vital sectors of our economy, carry out agrarian reforms which really benefit the peasantry, severely curb monopoly capital, rapidly expand the State sector so as to make it the decisive factor in national economy, extend democracy and bring about such changes in the State structure as enable the mass of people to influence and shape governmental policies. The formation of such a Government will enormously strengthen the position of the toiling people in all spheres and facilitate the transition to socialism.

Advance along these lines would correspond to the best interest of our country and our people. Conditions for such advance are more favourable today than ever before. Our Party fervently appeals to all national and patriotic forces to come together so that the vast possibilities that are opening up are fully utilised and our people speedily realise their cherished ideals.

On Finalisation of the Political Resolution of the Sixth Congress of the C.P.I.*

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India having adopted the General Secretary's speech resolves that the part of the speech on the tactical line embodied in the concluding portion of the approved report (pages 37 to 44) be added to the Political Resolution of the National Council and accepted as the tactical line. The Resolution with this addition is adopted. Comrade Ajoy Ghosh be authorised to suitably amend and edit the relevant parts of the resolution in consonance with this decision. Other parts of the resolution be also amended by him in the light of the Report.

*This Resolution is to be connected with the Document (General Secretary's summing up speech of the Sixth Congress) printed under item No. 39 of this volume.

New Situation and Our Tasks*

Speech by Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary of CPI, as amended and adopted by the Sixth Congress of CPI, held at Vijaywada, 7-16 April, 1961

Comrades,

We met three years ago at Amritsar. Since then, a number of major events have taken place. We have to assess these events, assess our own role in shaping them and work out our immediate tactical line.

This is a complex and difficult task. It could have been carried out only by the collective effort of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat. But as our comrades know, sharp differences have existed among us for some time. Due to these differences we could not adopt a political resolution at the Calcutta meeting of the National Council held a year ago. The Central Executive Committee's Resolution adopted after the Bucharest meeting on the problems that had arisen in the world Communist movement, also was not a unanimous resolution.

Afterwards took place in November 1960 one of the greatest events in the history of the world Communist movement—the Moscow Conference of 81 Communist Parties the Conference which, after prolonged discussion, adopted a Statement which was hailed by all Communist and Workers' Parties as a document of exceptional theoretical and practical importance. Representatives of our Party took part in the preparation of the Statement both in the Drafting Committee and in the Conference. As is known the delegation of our Party took a unanimous stand on all issues at the Moscow Conference.

*This Document is connected with the Resolution adopted by the Sixth Congress of CPI printed under item No. 38 of this volume.

It was natural to expect that after all this, the political differences inside the leading bodies of our Party would disappear or at least would be considerably narrowed down. That has not happened.

With such differences it was not possible for us to work out a common political resolution. For the same reason it is not possible to place before you a common Political Report.

At the same time, I feel that we must review, no matter how inadequately, the major developments in our country during the last three years. This is what I shall try to do in my speech.

It is not necessary to deal here at length with the world situation. That has been done in the 81 Parties Statement. The Statement says:

Our time, whose content is the transition from capitalism to socialism initiated by the Great October Socialist Revolution, is a time of struggle between the two opposing social systems, a time of socialist revolutions and national liberation revolutions, a time of the breakdown of imperialism, of the abolition of the colonial system, a time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and communism on a worldwide scale.

It is the principal characteristic of our time that the world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

It must be admitted that before the Moscow Conference few of us, if any, grasped the significance of the discussion that took place in the international Communist movement on the issue of the definition of the epoch. Many imagined it to be a purely academic issue. That however, was far from the truth. The course that world history has taken since the end of the Second World War, cannot be understood unless we realise that we are living in a new epoch.

This matter has been dealt with at great length in the 81 Communist and Workers Parties Statement which brings out not merely the features of the new epoch but also the vast opportunities that have arisen because of this epoch to solve the problems that face mankind. We need not repeat them here. But it is necessary to stress one or two points.

One of the most striking developments of the last fifteen years is the change that has taken place in the status of countries which were formerly under imperialist rule.

In his celebrated work *Imperialism* V. I. Lenin pointed out that one of the features of the epoch of imperialism is the completion of the division of the territories of the globe among imperialist powers. He stated also

For the first time the world is completely divided up so that in the future only *re-division* is possible. Territories can only pass from one owner to another instead of passing as unowned territory to an owner. (niv emphasis)

The First World War a direct product of imperialist rivalries ended in the smashing up of the rule of capital in one sixth of the world. It was an event of world historic significance which initiated a new epoch. However in the rest of the world imperialist rule continued. There was a *re-division* of colonies. French and British imperialists seizing the German colonies in Africa and big parts of the Turkish Empire in Asia.

The Second World War ended in the defeat of German, Italian and Japanese imperialists. While the USSR played the decisive role in inflicting this defeat among the victors there were also imperialist powers like Britain and France who hoped that their empires would remain intact as the result of their victory. Among the victors was American imperialism which with its economy unravaged by war with its industrial capacity higher than ever and with what it believed its monopolistic possession of the atom bomb, dreamed of securing world domination. Peoples of countries held in bondage by British, French, Dutch, Belgian imperialists were despondent. They feared they would continue to remain enslaved for many many years.

Barely sixteen years have passed since then a brief period. But all these calculations and fears have proved wrong. The whole world situation has been transformed. A storm has been sweeping over Asia and Africa. Mighty empires have collapsed. Peoples who, the arrogant imperialist thought would always remain hewers of wood and drawers of water, have shaken off colonial slavery.

The change is seen strikingly even in the composition of the United Nations. In 1945, out of a total of 51 member States of UNO, only 15 were Asian and African. That is, less than one-third. Today, out of 99 member-States 50 belong to Asia and Africa.

Many of these States have not only won national freedom but are pursuing peaceful foreign policies, strengthening their economy and consolidating their political independence. In all this they get full support from the Socialist world. In several countries which still remain under imperialist rule, national liberation movements have attained tremendous sweep and intensity. All efforts of French imperialists to down the revolt of the Algerian people in blood have ended in failure. The Portuguese colonies are stirring. Angola is in revolt. American domination in many Latin American countries is being shaken up. Gallant Cuba has set an example which will have far-reaching effects on many countries. Events in Japan, South Korea and Turkey are significant pointers of the changes taking place even in strongholds of American imperialism.

Never has the world known such far-reaching changes over such vast areas in such a short period.

All this would have been inconceivable without the October Revolution and the great role of the Soviet Union in building socialism without the triumph of socialism in one-third of the world and without the socialist system rapidly becoming the decisive factor in the development of society. These events bring out vividly the close relationship between the growth of the world socialist system on one hand and the triumph and consolidation of the national liberation movement on the other. They effectively nail down the lie about 'two-power blocs', the lie with which imperialists and the bourgeoisie seek to create suspicion among the people about the Socialist countries and weaken the movement for democratic and social changes.

It is a matter of great joy that relations between our country and the Soviet Union have become more friendly than ever. This relationship not only is a big factor in advancing the struggle for world peace but also, as the Political Resolution adopted by the National Council stresses, helps us to strengthen our national

economy and thereby consolidate our national freedom. The sentiment of friendship towards the Soviet Union has steadily grown and is shared today by people from all walks of life and following diverse political parties.

Simultaneously, however, there has been a sharp deterioration of our country's relation with the people's Republic of China. This deterioration has had grave repercussions on the entire Indian situation.

The imperialist system is in a state of crisis and decline. But it is not yet powerless. The imperialists are still strong. They are yet capable of doing immense mischief. They have not reconciled themselves to the setbacks they have suffered. They still hope to win back world domination by plunging humanity into a new war. Such a war, because of the monstrous means of mass annihilation that have been developed would cause, as the Moscow Statement says, 'unheard of destruction to entire countries and reduce key centres of world industry and culture to ruins. Such a war could bring death and suffering to millions of people, among them *people in countries not involved in it*' (my emphasis).

It is believed by many of our people that since India is a non-aligned country and is likely to remain neutral in any future war she will escape devastation. Such belief in this thermonuclear age is without any foundation. The statement correctly points out that 'imperialism spells grave danger to the *whole of mankind*' (my emphasis).

Hence, it is that the peace movement has become the broadest movement that history has known, a movement which embraces people of diverse views in all countries of the world.

The new epoch and the new correlation of forces that have come about in this epoch make it possible to avert the outbreak of a new world war, to combat effectively the local wars started by imperialists and to stamp out the hotbeds of such wars. Events of the last 15 years conclusively prove this.

In the forefront of the struggle for peace stand the great Soviet Union and the countries of the Socialist camp.

The urge for peace is deep and widespread in all countries and among all peoples. By fighting for peace, by putting forward

concrete proposals which further the cause of peace, the Socialist camp whose vanguard is the Soviet Union, is winning the moral leadership of the peoples of the world. The aggressive imperialists headed by the USA stand more isolated from the mass of peoples than ever before.

Communist Parties all over the world, as the 81 Communist and Workers Parties Statement says, consider the fight for peace as their primary task. An essential and most important part of this fight is the programme of general and complete disarmament put forward by the Soviet Union. The realisation of this programme, which is possible only through prolonged struggle would mean elimination of the very possibility of waging war. The banning of the testing and manufacture of nuclear weapons, the abolition of military blocs, the elimination of war bases on foreign soil and a substantial reduction of armed forces and armaments—all these would pave the way towards general and complete disarmament. Into the struggle for these concrete objectives we must strive to draw all peace loving forces. The situation in our country in many respects is exceptionally favourable for this. There is a wide spread sentiment for peace. Also, the Government of India has extended support to the objective of general and complete disarmament. Our country which has played a great role in the struggle for peace can and must play a still greater role in the coming period. It must be the constant endeavour of our Party as well as all patriotic forces in the country to ensure that India plays such a role.

The imperialists not only hold out the threat of a war of unprecedented destructiveness. They also strive in every manner to thwart the advance of oppressed peoples to freedom. They strive to impose new forms of colonial slavery on them. What has happened and is happening in the Congo and in Laos is a stern warning against complacency.

We are rightly proud of the great role that our country has been playing in the struggle for preservation of peace, for disarmament against military blocs. At the same time, it is indisputable that *popular actions* on burning issues related to the struggle for peace have been very few. The masses have not yet

entered into the arena, in the struggle for peace, in a big way as active participants. This undoubtedly is a grave weakness.

'To fight for peace today' says the Statement, 'means to maintain the greatest vigilance, indefatigably to lay bare the policy of imperialists, to keep a watchful eye on intrigues and manoeuvres of warmongers, arouse the righteous indignation of the peoples against those who are heading for war, organise the peace forces still better, continuously intensify mass actions for peace and promote co-operation with all countries that have no interest in new wars.'

Judged by this criterion, what we have done up to now is too meagre. This is true not merely in States where our Party is weak. In West Bengal, on a number of occasions, our Party has moved the masses on issues of peace and on other international issues. But in some other States where the Party is a considerable force among the people e.g. Andhra and Kerala, our activities on the issue of peace, whether from our own platform or through the mass organisations or by the organised peace movement are too little.

Many a time, we have spoken about this weakness. Many a time in our Party Congress and at Party Conferences, decisions have been taken to overcome this weakness. But very little improvement has been registered.

One important reason for this, of course, is the low level of consciousness of the working class and peasantry, including our own Party members. Sunk in local problems, often problems of an economic nature affecting them intimately, they fail to react to events which seem to them to be remote. But we cannot blame them; the fault is entirely ours, of the leaders of the Party for we do little to raise their level. We adopt resolutions on world events when we meet in National Council or Central Executive Committee. But these resolutions generally remain confined to our journals. When our leaders -CPC and National Council members---address public meetings, they rarely even refer to these resolutions. A striking example of this was our failure to organise effective mass actions after the Sharpeville massacre in South Africa which shocked the conscience of humanity, led to

big protests in many countries and was denounced by every party and every newspaper in our country and by the Indian Parliament

Conditions in India are in many respects extremely favourable for the development of a powerful mass movement for peace against colonialism for Afro-Asian solidarity. Peace is essential for our national reconstruction. We have long traditions of anti-imperialist struggle. Sentiments of friendship for the USSR and sentiments of solidarity with Afro-Asian countries are strong among our people. The Government of India generally takes a position which helps the cause of peace and national liberation. Then why this inadequacy on our part why this inability to take the issue of peace among the people in a big way?

I feel that to a considerable extent this is due to *deep rooted sectarianism*. Most of our cadres and also leaders accustomed to militate only on issues on which we can sharply *demarcate* ourselves from the stand of the Government do not feel inspired to take up issues which are *minor* between us and Congressmen issues on which there is little scope to denounce the Government. Hence we are not able to make effective use of the favourable situation. The struggle for peace is looked upon not as the Prime task of the entire Party as the Statement stresses but as a major task of all mass organisations but the specific responsibility of the comrades who are connected with peace committees and similar organisations. Most Party leaders reveal an attitude of utter unconcern towards international issues, towards all problems of the peace movement, towards cadres working in peace committees and in organisations devoted to promote friendship between India and Socialist countries.

There is also a *tawdry and reformist* tendency. We underestimate the conspiracies of the imperialists and of their capacity for provocation due to which we are often taken by surprise. Many comrades take the present foreign policy of the Government of India for granted. We often tend to rely too much on the Government of India and on Prime Minister Nehru and hesitate to go beyond the stand taken by them. We minimise the importance of independent mass mobilisation and mass action against the

war-conspiracies of the imperialists and in support of people defending their freedom or fighting for liberation

It is understandable that the Government of India does not want independent mass mobilisation for peace and wants the whole matter to be left in its hands. But there is no reason why we, the Communists, should acquiesce in this position.

The result of both tendencies is utter dependence on the Government, failure to seize the initiative, inability to act on such concrete issues as the provocative U-2 outrage which wrecked the Summit, inability to move the masses into action, to shape the Government's foreign policy. Inevitably we are not able also to combat the negative features of the Government's policies features which do not help the cause of peace and national freedom, of oppressed countries. Since we have not developed a powerful mass movement *in defence* of the progressive foreign policy of the Government of India we are not also able to move the masses into action in a big way to combat *deviations from* that policy.

Such failure was always bad but its continuation today would be particularly harmful. Ever since the beginning of the India-China dispute forces of extreme reaction have increased their efforts to change India's foreign policy. They have powerful supporters in the monopoly controlled big press and among many leaders of the Congress itself. Imperialists are using their economic aid to bring pressure on the Government's foreign policy. The Kennedy administration, having learned from Eisenhower's experience that tactics of blackmail do not yield dividends, are resorting to a 'new approach' in order to induce India to alter her foreign policy.

We cannot, therefore, afford to be complacent. Nor can we take the present foreign policy for granted. Intense efforts would be needed on the part of all patriotic forces in the country to defend our foreign policy, to defeat those who want to change it and to strengthen this policy further.

While stressing our shortcomings in this matter, it is also necessary to note certain significant advances that have been made in recent periods by organisations in which our comrades

work together, with people belonging to other parties and non-Party people on common international issues.

On a number of questions of foreign policy, we have been able to join hands with influential Congressmen in common organisations working for peace and against colonialism, and for friendship with socialist countries. Despite the strains caused by the dispute between India and China, this co-operation has continued and grown. One of the main reasons for this is that correct use has been made of the positive aspects of the foreign policy of the Government of India and fire has been concentrated on those who assail this policy from the right, who want our country to abandon the policy of peace and non-alignment.

The Second National Conference for Afro-Asian Solidarity held at Calcutta in 1959 had the participation not only of individual Congressmen but also of the leaders of the State IN RUC.

The Third Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference held in Bombay in December 1960 was a notable event. There were over 5,000 delegates who enrolled themselves through numerous organisations—three thousand of them from the trade union movement and over 500 from various women's organisations, a large number representing the Gaan nationalist forces. There were youths and students, doctors and scientists, businessmen, film producers and actors, lawyers, priests and others. More delegates attended from outside States than ever before. The Conference of the Indo-Soviet Cultural Association showed the big growth that has taken place in the number and activities of its units during the last one year.

It should also be remembered that few events in recent periods have stirred our people so deeply as the dastardly murder of Patrice Lumumba, who had come to symbolise the new spirit of resurgent Africa. In Delhi, there was a joint meeting addressed by all-India leaders of the Congress, the Praja Socialist Party and the Communist Party. The mass demonstrations that took place in Delhi, Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Hyderabad and numerous other places were powerful manifestation of the Indian peoples' solidarity with their brothers in Congo. People belonging to all

patriotic parties took part in these demonstrations, with our Party taking the initiative in many areas.

The preparation and mass participation, especially the participation of the working class of Delhi in the meetings convened in connection with the session of the World Peace Council in Delhi were also of a significant nature. Large number of partisans of peace, among them many of our comrades and trade union leaders from different States took active part in the deliberations.

All these and many other facts show that vast possibilities exist for broadening and strengthening the mass movement for peace and against colonialism. We must see to it that these possibilities are made full use of and India's foreign policy becomes increasingly more consistent.

It has become particularly necessary to stress this today not merely because of the activities of the right reactionaries but also because of the pronounced vacillations of the Government of India on many occasions and its failure to take a firm stand on several issues especially anti-colonial issues. In a world situation which has become more favourable than ever, due to the growing might of the Socialist camp and the attainment of freedom by many countries of Africa, it was expected that India would act as the leader and vanguard of the newly independent States. This has not happened. On certain issues, several African States which shook off colonial rule only recently take a more consistently anti-imperialist stand than us.

A glaring instance of this has been our Government's vacillation on the issue of Congo. While denouncing Belgian imperialists, India keeps silent on the role played by USA and showered praise on Hammarskjöld whose despicable activities in Congo helped the imperialists. While rightly opposing the seating of Kasavubu's agents in the United Nations, and demanding that the Congolese Parliament should be convened, India refuses to recognise the legal Government headed by Antoine Gizenga, as has been done by several African States, by Yugoslavia and even by Indonesia. It was noted by the Hindu correspondent of the United Nations in his despatch of March 5 that "India is becoming the rallying banner for the *moderates*.

among the Afro-Asian group' (my emphasis) This certainly is not the role that Indian patriots would like their Government to play

Such vacillations on the part of the Government of India not only is not in conformity with India's general foreign policy and the interest of the peoples of Asia and Africa It does not also reflect Indian public opinion The wave of indignation that swept over the country when news of the murder of Patrice Lumumba was received and the spontaneous demonstrations that took place were eloquent demonstration as to whom the *Indian People* consider to be real representatives of Congo A countrywide campaign must be developed to press the Government of India to accord recognition to the legal Government of Congo

The vacillations and shortcomings that have appeared in India's foreign policy cannot but cause deep regret and apprehension to us Unless checked by mass intervention such vacillations can have serious consequences and lower our prestige in the world That must not happen

Comrades while declaring our solidarity with all peoples fighting for national liberation it is necessary to remind ourselves that to this day parts of Indian territory are occupied by Portuguese imperialists and over 6 lakhs of our brothers and sisters are still under foreign rule A mighty struggle developed in India in 1955 for the liberation of Goa a struggle that brought together in a common united front for a common task and under the common national flag members and masses of all political parties and organisations The death defying courage of the satyagrahis who unarmed and holding aloft the banner of the Indian Republic marched into the very jaws of death is still fresh in public memory Unfortunately the struggle failed to achieve victory primarily due to the negative role played by the Government of India its refusal to take any action to liberate Goa its ban on freedom fighters to enter Goa its open declaration that force would not be used against Portuguese imperialists

Inevitably, in face of fascist terror inside Goa and the apathy of the Indian Government, the movement declined But now once again it is gathering strength All patriotic Goan political parties have joined hands to form the Goan Political Convention

The campaign launched by the National Campaign Committee for Goa which acts in close collaboration with the Goan Political Convention has evoked great response. Big rallies and meetings have been held in several States visited by Goan leaders, in which people of all parties have participated. This movement must be carried forward. Too long has the Government of India acquiesced in the intolerable situation that prevails in Goa, Daman and Diu. Too long has it permitted the Portuguese imperialists, aided by NATO powers headed by the USA, to hold in subjugation part of our motherland. Today when colonialism is being wiped out in one country after another, when the Portuguese colony of Angola is rising in revolt and when inside Portugal itself opposition to the dictatorial regime of Salazar has become stronger than ever, as dramatically illustrated in the seizure of the ship *Santa Maria* at such a time a policy of inaction, a policy of passivity on the part of the Government of India would be totally unwarranted. Our Party demands that effective measures must be taken immediately to liberate Goa and wipe out the shame of over 6 lakhs of our brothers and sisters groaning under the iron heel of one of the worst despotic regimes that history has known full 13 years after India has become free.

The Communist Party of India which was in the forefront of the campaign that developed for the liberation of Goa in 1955 must play its role today also in focussing national attention on this problem whose solution brooks no further delay.

Comrades, facts have shown that there is no basis whatever for the belief that given proper approach and efforts on the part of our Party and other patriots our people cannot be moved into action on issues related to the struggle for peace for friendship with socialist countries for Afro Asian solidarity. Wherever such efforts have been made the response has been great. This should dispel all pessimism and induce us to redouble our efforts so that the movement for peace become a powerful mass movement frustrating the moves of reactionaries, overcoming the vacillations of the Government shaping its policies and heightening the prestige of our country.

State of Our Economy

A number of important developments have taken place in the economic sphere during the last three years. These have been dealt with at some length in the Political Resolution and need not, therefore be elaborated.

At the same time, it is necessary to pose certain questions sharply and answer them.

One of the most important of these questions is as follows:

Taking the last 13 years as a whole, i.e. since the advent of freedom, has the contradiction between imperialism on one hand and the entire Indian people, including the national bourgeoisie on the other sharpened or weakened? And further, what has been the outcome of that contradiction?

This is not mere academic question. It has vital bearing on the strategy as well as immediate tactics of our Party.

As we all know the old Programme of our Party adopted in October 1951 and also at the Madurai Congress in January 1954 had been hailed by the world Communist movement as a document of great importance and a work of creative Marxism. It played a big and positive role in uniting our Party. However soon after Madurai, a series of events forced us to come to the conclusion that the Programme suffered from serious defects. And even in June 1955, in the Political Resolution adopted by our Central Committee, we gave up some of the major formulations of the Programme. Such formulations as this Government hanging on to the will of the British Commonwealth, the schemes of reconstruction all floundering except such as feed war purposes, the Government of India lesser ally carries out the foreign policy of British imperialism were in conflict with living reality. They could not explain Bandung, they could not explain the Panch Sheel, they could not explain the Second Five-Year Plan. We had to make substantial and radical changes in these formulations in June 1955, i.e., within 18 months after Madurai and still further changes at Palghat in April 1956.

This became necessary because although the old Programme contained many correct statements, it missed certain essential factors in the new situation. They were

- (1) The contradiction between the *national bourgeoisie* on one hand and imperialism on the other.
- (2) The role that mass urge for consolidation and strengthening of national freedom and national economy could play.
- (3) And above all, the vast and decisive significance of the emergence of socialism as a world system, its impact on the course of development in our country.

Instead of the oversimplified and one-sided formulations of the Programme, which almost made out that the Government of India was a satellite Government which carried out the dictates of imperialism and under which practically no advance could be made, Palghat gave us a new and richer understanding. The dual role of the national bourgeoisie was brought out clearly. While not minimising the compromising role of the bourgeoisie, Palghat recognised the growth of 'conflicts and contradictions' between 'imperialism and feudalism on one hand and the needs of India's economic development on the other', which was 'reflected also in the growth of conflicts and contradictions between the Government of India and imperialism'.

Has that contradiction vanished? Has it subsided? Our answer to this question is: No, it has not. It has sharpened. Further, as the result of the sharpening of contradiction between imperialism and the entire people, including the national bourgeoisie, our national independence rests today on a firmer economic foundation than before. A number of industries of great strategic importance have been built. The public sector has become an important factor in the development of such industries.

There are many negative features that should cause concern to all patriots but they do not obliterate the big reality—the strengthening of the economic base of our national freedom.

The contribution that assistance from socialist countries, like Czechoslovakia, Rumania and above all from the USSR has made in this development, has been emphasised in the Political Resolution of the National Council. It is a major task of ours to acquaint our people with this fact and to combat the malicious propaganda carried on by men like Sri Moraji Desai, the Finance

Minister, who never misses an opportunity to belittle the significance of Socialist aid and at the same time indulges in servile glorification of the aid given by America. He hides such facts as exorbitant rate of interest, the compulsion to buy the required goods in America where prices are much higher than elsewhere, refusal to give assistance for basic industries in the public sector etc.

Incidentally, we may also draw Sri Morarji Desai's attention to an interesting report. According to the balance sheet presented by the Auditor General's representative on March 22, 1951, Bhilai shows a profit of Rs. 3 lakhs during the last one year, while Durgapur incurred a loss of 32 lakhs and Rourkela a loss of 90 lakhs.

Sri Morarji Desai also needs to be reminded about certain facts such as

The heavy machine-building plant that is being erected at Ranchi with Soviet help will, after the enlargement of capacity that has been agreed upon, produce 80,000 tons of items every year. It will be capable of producing machines to equip fully every year one iron and steel works like Bhilai with an annual output of one million tons of steel.

India is building her independent oil industry in co-operation with the USSR and Rumania. Our country, which produced only 3 lakh tons of oil in 1950 expects to raise its production to 6 million tons in 1965.

Soviet credit for the Third Plan amounts to 240 crores of rupees - a sum far greater than what all other countries put together have promised. Moreover, all this credit is for industries of great importance for our country.

These few facts - many more can be mentioned - are enough to convince every honest person what powerful role co-operation with Socialist countries plays in strengthening our economy. Only those who have no regard for truth and who want to deliberately shut their eyes can deny this. Evidently they are actuated by motives that have nothing to do with India's genuine national interests.

As regards our industrial production, it has increased from 100 in 1951 to 167.5 in 1960. A number of industries which are of

decisive importance for our economy are being developed. The paid up capital of public sector industries has gone up from 66 crores of rupees in 1955-56 to 468.4 crores.

Our workers, our technicians, our engineers have proved that they are as good as any in the world. Given adequate training and facilities they can compete with the best in any country.

Let us take only one example. The Hindustan Machine Tools Factory of Bangalore is producing today many machines which we formerly imported. A few years ago, it took four Indian workers to match the out-turn of a single Swiss worker. Today in several spheres the Indian worker is on a par with the Swiss worker – reputedly one of the most skilled in the world.

While noting the advance which has been made we must not at the same time minimise the negative features of our economy. These features to which attention was drawn by us at Palghat and Amritsar not only continue but have in some spheres become even more pronounced.

In terms of percentage, the increase in industrial production looks impressively high, but that is because the starting point was miserably low. For example we are expected to have 2.6 million tons of finished steel in 1960-61. This though a 160 per cent increase over 1950-51 when we had only 1 million tons of steel, is yet far short of even our barest requirements.

Despite the relative increase in industrial production, rise in national income at the end of the Second Plan is expected to be 20 per cent as against the target of 25 per cent. This is not surprising in view of the fact that factory establishments and mining contribute a bare 10 per cent of our total national income. Agriculture on which depends over 70 per cent of our people and which contributes half of our national income continues to be in a State of semi-stagnation. Without overcoming this weakness there can be no real upsurge of national economy nor appreciable and rapid rise in national income.

Further, the bulk of the additional national income has gone to swell to coffers of the rich. The growth of monopoly has been accentuated. It is estimated that only 10 top business houses control between themselves 67 per cent of the total paid up capital.

of all companies. The public sector, despite its growth, remains far behind the private sector which has a paid up capital of Rs 1124.7 crores.

Concentration of wealth in a few hands and monopoly of political power in the hands of one party is a potent factor behind the growth of corruption which has assumed menacing proportions.

Since the beginning of the Second Plan wholesale prices have risen by nearly 25 per cent. The all-India working class consumer price index shows a similar rise, depressing the real wages of workers inflicting colossal hardship on lower middle class people with fixed income. Wages of agricultural workers have declined. Those whose labour has created the new wealth are forced to live in conditions of poverty and squalor. Real wages of industrial workers today are not higher than in 1939 though their productivity has increased substantially. The Government which is by far the biggest employer in our country shows an attitude of callous unconcern towards the hardship which its own workers have to face. It refuses to take measures to hold the price line and simultaneously refuses to grant dearness allowance on a sliding scale to compensate for the rise in the cost of living.

The percentage of people with an income of less than Rs 200 has increased from 50 per cent in 1952-53 to 65 per cent in 1956-57.

Unemployment figures have gone on swelling and are higher today than was at the beginning of the Plan.

There has been continuous growth of the burden of taxation on common people. Between 1950 and 1960 direct taxes increased only by Rs 20 crores. In the same period indirect taxes have increased by Rs 380 crores.

In this period two processes have been in evidence. The relations with Socialist world have developed and India has secured valuable assistance from the Soviet Union and other Socialist countries. This has helped India to broaden her industrial basis and strengthen her independence. Simultaneously there has been heavy import of foreign capital from the West, both in the public and in the private sector. As the Political Resolution points out, our official foreign debts have

increased from Rs 200 crores in 1955 to Rs 925 crores in 1959 of which the share of the US Government and American agencies comes to nearly Rs 600 crores. And now under the Third Plan, it is proposed to borrow over Rs 2000 crores, a big part of which is expected to come from the USA. Payment of interest and repayment of loans already contracted will average Rs 100 crores a year.

Special note must be taken of loans under PL 480. In the period of the Third Plan about 17 million tons of food grains worth Rs 608 crores will be imported.

Taking advantage of the foreign exchange difficulties the World Bank and other American agencies are constantly pressing for greater facilities for private foreign capital especially American capital. They demand curtailing of the public sector joint Indo-American ventures, reversal of the condition that control of joint concerns should remain in Indian hands. While resisting the pressure from imperialists in many respects the Government of India has also made many concessions to them.

In regard to foreign private investments too, while resisting the pressure of foreign capitalists on many occasions the Government of India has also made large number of concessions. It is reported that 228 schemes of collaboration between Indian big business and foreign monopolists have been approved by the Government in the first nine months of 1960. This development if allowed to go unchecked might prove dangerous. It would mean continued exploitation of our resources by foreigners. It would also strengthen the link between imperialist monopolists and Indian monopolists, the very people who take a pronouncedly reactionary stand on such vital matters as our foreign policy, the role of the public sector and agrarian reforms.

It is necessary, therefore to defeat the attempts of imperialists who demand more concessions fight the reactionaries who clamour for the entry of more foreign monopoly capital and oppose resolutely the policy of the Government which facilitates this entry.

It has never been our position nor is it so today that India should not take loans from countries outside the Socialist camp. But our people have the right to insist that loans that we take from any country are on as favourable terms as those that we get from Socialist

countries, that all of it should be in the public sector, that it is our Government and no foreign agency that should decide which industries these loans will develop, that the prices which are paid are not higher than those prevailing in the world market. Moreover, the amount of foreign loans have to be kept to the minimum extent necessary by effective measures to eliminate waste, ban unnecessary imports and other measures. All this is absent today.

We have already noted the semi-stagnant state of our agriculture. The primary reason for this is not technical but socio-economic. It is the Government's refusal to carry out genuine and radical agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, that lies at the root of the problem. A small stratum of rich and well-to-do peasants have derived some benefit from the agrarian reforms of the Government whose aim as noted by us several times is the promotion of capitalism in agriculture—but the condition of the vast majority of peasants remains wretched. They are unable to make such investments in land as would increase its productivity to any appreciable extent.

As regards agricultural workers who number over 70 millions there has been a definite worsening of their condition.

With landlords, both of the old and the new type dominating rural life even democracy remains in many areas formal. The rural vested interests buy over local officials, get control over many district boards, panchayats and co-operatives and exercise powerful pull over the Government in many States. Failure of the Government to carry out genuine agrarian reforms has thus not only prevented rapid strengthening of our economy but has also had adverse social and political effects.

The total effect of all this is that the advance that has been made during the Second Plan, though significant, has been, taking our economy as a whole, limited, partial and one-sided, accompanied by concentration of wealth in a few hands and acute misery and hardship for the masses.

Hence it is that together with the sharpening of contradiction between imperialism and the nation the contradiction between the Government and the popular masses also has sharpened immensely.

A direct result of this has been the continuous and enormous strengthening of the repressive apparatus of the State, refusal on the part of the Government to confer real power on local elected organs of the people, systematic curbing of democracy and resort to repression on vast scale whenever the people have risen in struggle.

Analysing the prospects of the Second Five Year Plan, we stated at Palghat

'Therefore, while opposing imperialism and attempting to weaken its grip over national economy, the bourgeois simultaneously maintains its links with British capital and gives facilities for further inflow of foreign capital. While striving to curb and weaken feudalism, it simultaneously maintains its alliance with landlords, against the democratic forces and makes concessions to the landlords. While striving to industrialise the country, it seeks to place the burdens of economic development mainly on the common people, while extending the public sector it simultaneously pursues policies of support to monopolists in their attacks on the working people and adopts many measures which enrich the monopolists and thus help them to strengthen their position in important spheres of our life. While calling upon the people to co-operate in the task of national reconstruction, it simultaneously strengthens the bureaucratic apparatus places main reliance on it, refuses to extend democracy and to adopt measures that would improve the conditions of the people. These are policies that weaken and shackle the very classes that are the most resolute defenders of peace and national freedom—the classes without whose initiative and creative activity the nation cannot be rebuilt.'

'Due to all this and the divergence between the aims of industrialisation and the methods adopted by the Government to achieve these aims, the process of development of the country acquires a slow and halting character, marked by twists and turns giving rise to sharp conflicts and profound contradictions. They retard the sweeping away of the obstacle that stand in the way of India's development. They impose colossal burdens on the people, impoverish them, thus preventing stable and continuous expansion of the economy itself.'

Actual events have fully proved the correctness of this assessment. What is the prospects held out by the Third Plan?

The proposals of the Third Five Year Plan, though they have yet to be finalised, will carry the complex and dual process explained above still further. The emphasis on heavy industries continues as also the policy of building those industries mainly in the public sector—in closer co-operation with the USSR and other Socialist countries than before. These mean rejection of the "recommendations" made by the World Bank, other imperialist agencies and their friends in India. We welcome this. At the same time, there is heavy reliance on foreign loans and aid, much of which is expected to come from America. Also readiness to make greater concession to foreign private capital.

As regards land reform, the problem of key importance, the Draft contains not a word which would give ground for the hope that any change is contemplated. "The main task during the Third Plan, we are told, "will be to complete as early as possible the implementation of policies evolved during the Second Plan and embodied in the legislation which States have recently undertaken in pursuance of the accepted policies" (p. 94). The Draft makes the revealing admission that *in recent years transfers of land have tended to defeat the aims of legislation for land reforms*" (p. 96). But instead of tackling the problem courageously, it goes into academic discussion of the distinction between bona fide partition and malafide transfers and makes some timid recommendations which can have no effect whatsoever.

On the issues of resources for the Third Plan, the Draft states that "as regards income and corporation taxes, further increase in yields will have to be sought mainly through a tightening of administration, watch on expense accounts of companies and other measures to check tax evasion"—thereby making it perfectly clear that as before, the rich and super-rich will not have to bear any special new burdens. At the same time, the additional taxation of the stupendous sum of 1650 crores of rupees is proposed to be raised mainly by "broadening the tax structure"—an euphemistic term for laying the burden on the common people.

If any doubts remained about what the phrase really means, that has been dispelled by the new budget of the Central Government—a budget which our spokesmen in the Parliament have rightly called an anti-people budget.

The bourgeois press is full of praise for the "courage" displayed by the Finance Minister in levying taxes on articles of everyday consumption. The reactions in the stock market, according to press reports were "distinctively favourable". The "courage" of the Finance Minister, however, is reserved only for the poor, for the common man, the confidence that he seeks to create is confidence among big business and operators on the stock market.

The question that many are asking is: If already with barely a year to go for the third general elections, the Congress Government thought it fit to impose such unjust burdens, what will it do *after* the elections with a new lease of power for five years?

It is not surprising that extreme reactionaries echoing the voice of the World Bank, attempt to discredit the very idea of planning, very idea of development of heavy and basic industries. They justify their retrograde slogans on the plea of concern for the people. The taxation policy of the Government makes people hostile to the Plan itself.

How are we to act in this situation? What should be our main slogans and how to ensure that a powerful movement is built to implement these slogans?

In order to answer these questions, it is necessary to review some of the most important political developments of the recent period, examine the broad features of the present political situation and assess the State of the mass movement.

Recent Political Developments

It is not possible here to deal at length with the political developments of the last three years. However, some of the most important of them must be mentioned.

When we met at Amritsar three years ago, the political situation in many respects was more favourable for us than it had

been for a long time. So also was the inner-Party situation in almost all States. Not merely had our Party doubled its votes in the Second General Elections as compared with the first, we had also emerged as the single biggest force in the working class. We had substantially improved our position in a number of States where we had been very weak before. Above all, we had been able to form the Government in one State - Kerala. It was a Government representing the working class, peasantry and the common people led by the working class and its Party, but a Government compelled to function within the framework of bourgeois Constitution and without effective control over the organs of State power. A Government led by the Communist Party but with limited power such was the character of the Kerala Government. Moreover, the whole financial structure of the Indian Republic is such that State Governments have extremely limited sources of income. Nevertheless, despite these limitations, the Political Resolution adopted by us at Amritsar rightly characterised the formation of the Communist-led Kerala Government as 'the most outstanding event in recent years'. The Resolution stated 'The policies formulated by the Kerala Government and the measures introduced during the one year that it has been in office have created a profound impression on the people of the whole country, won the sympathy of vast numbers of people in every State and emboldened certain sections of Congressmen to become critical of the reactionary policies of the Government'.

We added 'Precisely because of this, every effort is being made to dislodge the Kerala Government from office. Every possible tactic is used - provocation, attempt at bribery, campaign of lies and slanders, instigation of clashes and even murder. They have not refrained from joining hands with the foreign plantation owners and the dark forces of Catholic reaction, in spite of their protestations of secularism. In its blind anti-Communism and abandoning the principles which it once professed, the State PSP, with the blessing of the all-India PSP leadership has joined this unholy alliance'.

Drawing the attention to these activities and also the discriminatory attitude of the Government of India, we stressed: 'The Kerala experience has also shown that the verdict of the

ballot box in favour of popular forces is not necessarily respected by the vested interests. It has to be defended by mass action'.

What happened subsequently fully bore out the correctness of the above thesis. However, it must be admitted that despite what we wrote in our resolution, the tendency inside the Party in Kerala as well as in our Central leadership was to minimise the intensity of the attack that the Kerala Government would have to face - from local vested interests, from the opposition parties headed by the Congress in the State, with the all-India leaders of the Congress and of the Central Government actively abetting and aiding them. We hoped, especially after our success in the Devicolom bye-election which took place a few weeks after the Amritsar Congress that our opponents would get demoralised and for some time at least would refrain from attempts to overthrow our Ministry.

Hence it was that the intensity and magnitude of the assault which was launched on our Ministry during what came to be known as the 'boat-fare' agitation took us by surprise. One of the slogans of the agitators was that the Central Government must intervene in Kerala. Sri Nehru himself, violating all constitutional propriety, came out with attacks on the Kerala Government.

The Central Executive Committee of our Party which met at Trivandrum in August 1958 reviewed these developments. It pointed out that the real issue before the entire people was "whether a non-Congress popular Government representing first and foremost, the interest of the workers, peasants, middle-classes and other sections of the toiling people will be allowed to function under the Constitution".

A big campaign was developed all over the country to answer the lies spread by the leaders of the Congress and the Praja Socialist Party, to popularise the achievements of the Kerala Government. The attack on our Ministry was for the time being defeated.

We knew, however, that the respite we had gained was temporary. We felt it necessary, therefore, to make a proper review of the work of our Ministry in Kerala, 'to strive to overcome shortcomings and weaknesses and to rouse the

vigilance of the entire Party This work was done to a certain extent jointly by the members of the CEC and the Kerala State Committee The result was the Report on Kerala which was read out at the Madras meeting of the National Council in October 1958 and adopted unanimously

The report stated that despite a number of shortcomings and mistakes, on the whole, the record of the Party and Government in Kerala is a record of massive achievements secured under extremely difficult conditions and in face of overwhelming odds It is a record of which our Party can be justly proud For the first time in the history of Kerala, a clean and honest Government has come into existence For the first time the regime of unrestricted power of the police beating up, torture, extortion etc has been ended and the people have enjoyed security from police harassment The Government has helped the workers in practically every industry to obtain increase in wages Evictions have been banned and the land reforms that are on the agenda will confer substantial benefit on the mass of peasantry Agricultural workers have been assured minimum wage Teachers students Government employees and common people have all benefitted

Because of all this because of the glaring contrast between Kerala on the one hand and the Congress-ruled States on the other Kerala had become a major factor in our national politics exercising big influence on the people of all States

Precisely, because of this, it was necessary to eschew all wrong ideas about the difficulties ahead The report pointed out

A concept grew in our Party which can be described as the concept of gradualism, the concept of a path of more or less smooth advance, the concept that by doing more and more good for the people, we shall be able to achieve progressively greater consolidation and increasingly isolate our opponents and that with their growing isolation, their resistance would decrease It was thought that conflicts among parties opposing the Kerala Government were so sharp and their internal contradictions so deep that they would not be able to unite This led to a sense of complacency and lack of serious effort to divide them

Stressing the need to shed all such complacency the report warned 'Determined efforts are bound to be made to defeat our Government and for that every tactic will be used including resort by the ruling classes who are never tired of preaching constitutionalism to unconstitutional and violent methods'

The report also worked out the immediate tasks which the Party and the Ministry in Kerala should undertake

There can be no doubt that the new understanding helped considerably to improve our work in Kerala and also prepared us for the attack that was launched in June 1959

It is not without significance that the attack was decided upon on the eve of the introduction of the Bill on Agrarian Reforms

The basic objective of this attack was the same as before—the overthrow of our Ministry. But this time the preparations were far more extensive. All forces opposing our Ministry were united. Above all this time the support given to them by the all India leaders of the Congress and of the Government was blatant and open. Prime Minister Nehru who invariably denounces all struggles of the people no matter how modest and just their demand characterised this effort to overthrow a legally constituted Ministry as a popular upsurge.

In a pamphlet which we issued two weeks before the 'liberation struggle' began we laid bare the plan that had been hatched.

'The Congress Party in the State with the blessing of the Congress High Command supported by funds subscribed by British planters, landlords and other vested interests and in alliance with PSP, RSP and dark forces of reaction is out to create disturbances and deliberately bring about a situation of chaos and lawlessness. The Central Government led by the same Congress Party, they hope will step in to dismiss the Ministry for its alleged failure to put down lawlessness.'

Rousing communal passion, religious hysteria and misleading a section of the people they launched a struggle with the avowed object of paralysing the administration and throwing out the Government. They forced many schools to close down by resort to intimidation, physical assault on teachers and students, stone-throwing and even arson. Heavy damage was inflicted on State

buses and boats. Passengers were beaten up. In the name of peaceful picketing they raided Government offices, broke up furniture and resorted to hooliganism of the worst type.

Landlords threatened not to sow crops. Banks declared they would not subscribe to the development loans. Simultaneously officials were incited against the Government, threats were held out that those who carried out the Government orders would be dealt with severely.

In this way, normal life was sought to be brought to a standstill and state of insecurity, chaos and lawlessness created.

All this would have been impossible but for the threat of Central intervention held out in a hardly veiled way from the very beginning of the struggle in fact even before the struggle had started. *Hope of Central intervention formed the very basis of the struggle.* Successive statements of the Central Government leaders of the Congress Parliamentary Board and of Prime Minister Nehru strengthened this hope sought to demoralise the services and created the impression that Central intervention would be forthcoming if the law and order situation deteriorated still further.

Nevertheless, Central intervention did not come as early as the sponsors of the agitation had expected. This was primarily due to the huge support for the Kerala Government in the State as manifested in numerous meetings, the upsurge of democratic opinion in favour of the Kerala Government in all parts of the country and the sharp criticism of Congress tactics made by several newspapers and eminent public men including several Congress leaders.

The dismissal of the Kerala Ministry on July 31, 1959 in violation of the spirit of the Indian Constitution and carried out in the partisan interest of the Congress Party, gave rise to anger and indignation as had been seldom witnessed for many years. On August 3, 1959 there were protest meetings and demonstrations all over the country. The demonstration in Calcutta was the biggest held in the city and, perhaps, the biggest in India since the attainment of freedom. Thirty thousand people marched to the Parliament in Delhi.

A large number of members of the ruling Congress Party itself were resentful. When the Congress Parliamentary Party met in Delhi on August 2, two days after the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry, many members openly voiced their opposition to what had been done. Reporting on the meeting, the New Delhi correspondent of the *Hindu* wrote: Seldom has the 'Congress Parliamentary Party been in such a highly critical mood as this afternoon when the Prime Minister addressed it'.

Kerala thus showed two things. *Firstly*, the extent to which the ruling classes—supposedly reared in Gandhian traditions and with all their professions of non-violence and tolerances can go. *Secondly*, the powerful democratic opinion that exists in our country among people of diverse classes and following different political parties, with which the tactics of the ruling classes can be countered. The significance of both factors need to be grasped.

Comrades, I have dealt with the developments in Kerala till the dismissal of our Ministry at some length because of the crucial role that Kerala played for 28 months in the political life of our whole country. That role gave a powerful impetus to the democratic movement in all States and raised the prestige of our Party to new heights.

A number of other major struggles and campaigns were conducted by our Party during this period. Some of them may be mentioned here.

With the foodgrain prices shooting up in Uttar Pradesh in the summer of 1958, thanks to the activities of hoarders and profiteers, a big satyagraha struggle developed under the leadership of our Party. It was the first Statewide action initiated by us in the Hindi speaking area. Lakhs and lakhs of people participated, several thousands of our Party members, militants, supporters and others courted imprisonment. The PSP at first tried to keep out of the movement. Later it joined it but independently and its participation was more symbolic than real. The food struggle had considerable political impact on the State, focussed attention on food issue and led to some action, though half-hearted on the part of the Government. It showed that it on an issue which acutely affects the mass of people in large parts of the

State, the Party takes the initiative to launch direct action, even of the satyagraha type, such action can focus attention on the issue, bring some pressure on the Government and extend the influence of the Party

Food scarcity was by no means confined to Uttar Pradesh. It affected many other States in the summer of 1958 but not everywhere were we successful in giving form and direction to the mass discontent and develop a strong movement. A fairly strong movement developed in Bengal, despite the fact that it was started rather late. Food demonstrations took place in Calcutta and also in districts.

Far bigger in scope and intensity was the food movement in Bengal of 1959. Direct action all over the State, a procession of nearly two lakhs of people in Calcutta, determined resistance by the people to police attacks, lathi charges in many districts, the killing of 80 persons and serious injuries to over 200 in Calcutta in the all Bengal Martyrs day demonstration, hartals and workers strikes, arrests of nearly twenty thousand persons—all these made it one of the biggest mass struggles of post independence period. It brought out sharply the accumulated misery of the people as well as their determination to fight against those responsible for this misery. Condemnation of the measures of the Government to suppress the movement was so widespread that even a number of bourgeois newspapers which generally support the Government voiced their criticism. The demand for the resignation of the Food Minister and the Police Minister received substantial backing. Our Party played the leading role in this entire struggle and had the support of several Left Parties. The PSP leaders of West Bengal disgraced themselves by their disruption and treachery.

A food movement developed in the beginning of 1959 in Punjab, where the food situation had started deteriorating towards the end of 1958. Over 1,700 persons offered satyagraha but the sweep of the movement was extremely uneven, with one district Amritsar alone supplying 1,100 of the satyagrhis. The movement won certain concessions and strengthened the demand for state trading in foodgrains.

In Tamilnad, in accordance with the decision taken by the State Party Conference, a widespread movement was developed in 1959 summer to ensure enough foodgrains to the people at a fair price. Price reduction day was organised throughout the State on July 12, 1959; 20,000 posters were issued; a broad-based committee representing several parties and organisations was formed to conduct the campaign. The Government agreed to form a Food Committee in which one of our comrades was appointed as member. A number of fair price shops were opened.

Food demonstrations took place in several other States, too, in 1958 and 1959 focussing attention on the steep rise in prices, causing sharp criticism of the Government's food policies in the legislatures and in the Parliament, giving rise to popular demand for action against hoarders and profiteers and for State-trading in foodgrains. There can be no doubt that these struggles and demonstrations were a major factor in forcing the Government to declare that it would introduce State-trading in foodgrains. In practice, however, as we all know, this was sabotaged and main reliance was placed on import of foodgrains from America under PL 480. Import of foodgrains in 1960 totalled 5 million tons.

One serious weakness from which most of the food movements suffered from was inadequate participation by the working class in the majority of centres. In some places, individual workers participated in satyagraha but mass action by the working class in the form of protest strike did not take place except in Calcutta in 1959. This prevented the struggles from acquiring the sweep and momentum which was necessary and possible.

Another weakness was lack of co-ordinated action and an effective countrywide campaign. On such issues which affect several States, unless the Party works out a concrete plan and implements it, the movement as a whole and also in each State remains weak.

Despite relative stabilisation of food prices, in several States in recent periods, the food situation remains highly unsatisfactory, dependent on the vagaries of weather. It would be utterly wrong to think that the problem has been "solved" or can be solved without

radical agrarian reforms and without changes in the policies and actual practices of the Government in such matters as credits advanced by banks which facilitate speculation and which can be eliminated effectively by nationalisation of banks. The fantastic promise made in the Third Plan of producing 100-105 million tons of foodgrains by 1965-66 can carry no conviction when one bears in mind the actual performance during the last ten years and the actual measures that are proposed.

There is every danger, therefore, that during the operation of the Third Plan too the food situation would again and again grow acute. The people have to be prepared for such a contingency and rallied for effective measures to solve the food problem. In this we have to learn from the campaigns already conducted. The campaign in support of our major food slogans has to be a continuous and sustained campaign.

A notable struggle of extensive dimensions was the struggle which began in the beginning of February 1959 in Punjab against the unjust and heavy burden of Bettlement levy. It was the biggest peasant struggle in our country since Telangana. It showed how on the basis of a correct demand peasant unity and the unity of the whole village can be built in practice and also how the support of other sections of people can be gathered. The 48 days struggle during which 18,000 satyagrahis courted arrest, of whom 12,000 were actually jailed and 8 were killed (two of them women) by police bullets was a mass peasant upsurge the like of which Punjab had never known before. Peasants of all view and following all political parties took part in the struggle and so broad based was the unity of the peasantry that for two months the Congress could not hold a successful meeting in any of the villages where the struggle was on. One of the features of the movement was the active participation in it by large number of peasant women.

While the movement was in full swing, it was withdrawn without discussing the matter with the Action Council of the Punjab Kisan Sabha and as the result of advice by me who was in Delhi after consultation on telephone with Comrade Prasada Rao, the then General Secretary of the all-India Kisan Sabha

who was in Chandigarh. This did serious damage to the struggle and the CEC rightly criticised both of us for the way we had acted.

The agitation continued even after this and though direct action was stopped, the movement was kept alive –through meetings, demonstrations, tours etc. As the result of all this, the Government had to reconsider the problem. With the mass of peasants who follow the Congress also ranged against the levy, the State Congress itself had to set up a committee which included Kisan Sabha representatives. Confiscated property was restored, fines were cancelled, advance collection of betterment levy was postponed twice. The committee set up by the Government which contained Congressmen, as well as Kisan Sabha representatives and others has made several recommendations. The movement has, therefore, won certain successes but one has yet to see what the Government does finally.

In Bihar, our Party was very weak at the time of the first general elections but improved its position substantially in the second general elections. The State Party Conference held at the end of 1958 discussed the situation in the State and its own activities especially the role that it should have played on the issue of food. The Conference came to the conclusion that if on any issue there was acute discontent among the masses over a big area, it would not be correct for the Party to refrain from direct action just because there was no unity among democratic opposition parties. Rather, the forces of unity would be unleashed if the Party boldly took the lead in organising struggles while continuously appealing for and striving to build unity.

In pursuance of this understanding, we took the initiative in organising a big demonstration of 25,000 in March 1959 before the Assembly to protest against Government policies regarding land, taxes, prices, civil liberties and TU rights. There was complete hartal in the bazar in Patna. On April 15, hartals took place in 110 towns and bazaars.

These demonstrations and actions prepared the basis for satyagraha against the new and unjust taxes that had been imposed on the people, especially in urban areas. About 11,500 people offered satyagraha all over the State. Satyagraha was

organised in every district head-quarter. A number of big mass rallies were held. *It was by far the biggest mass movement organised by our Party in Bihar, in its entire history.* Unfortunately, even before the struggle had begun the border dispute between India and China became acute and helped the Congress leaders to divert popular attention. This was a major factor weakening the struggle. Nevertheless, certain concessions were won.

The struggles against inequitous levies and taxes that have been waged in this period have, by no means, been very numerous and widespread. Nevertheless, the lessons they have taught are of great significance for the future.

Several times it has been pointed out by us that the *anti-people and anti-democratic aspects of the Government's policies find their sharpest manifestation in the methods of raising resources for the national reconstruction.* This was so in the Second Plan. This continues to be so in the proposals of the Third Plan.

The additional taxes imposed on the people during the Second Plan were far heavier than had been proposed earlier (1,040 crores as against 450 crores). The Third Plan proposes to impose further additional tax to the extent of 1,650 crores of rupees in five years. It is quite likely that the actual burden of taxation will be heavier than even this, and, that as before, the bulk of it will be laid on the common people. In the name of national reconstruction and on the plea of need for 'sacrifice', for 'restriction of consumption', the mass of people will be further squeezed while simultaneously new 'incentives' will be given to the bourgeoisie, especially the big bourgeoisie. It may be noted that not satisfied with what it has already gained, big business presses on with its offensive. A resolution adopted by the annual session of the Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry has asked that the taxation policy of the Government should view management and entrepreneurial ability as a key economic resource that requires to be released and fostered through incentives so as to make possible successful widespread capital investment for productive activity (March 25). More burdens on the people, more concessions to the rich—this is what is demanded by big business. And, this policy will continue if the Government has its own way.

In such a situation, the issue of struggle against unjust burdens, of resistance to the policies which attack the standard of life of the masses, which enrich the rich and impoverish the poor will acquire greater significance than ever before. This will be a task of tremendous importance for our Party, for many organisations, for all democratic forces in the coming period.

There can be no two opinions that reconstruction of our economy needs vast resources and that these resources have to be raised *primarily* from within the country. Precisely, because we are conscious of this, our Party has repeatedly suggested concrete measures by which such resources can be raised. We have suggested such measures as nationalisation of scheduled banks, State-trading in foodgrains, national control on foreign concerns, nationalisation of certain concerns, ceiling on profits, stoppage of compensation to big landlords and the privy purses of princes etc. Most of these and other proposals have not been even seriously considered by the Government. State-trading in foodgrains was accepted in words only to be sabotaged in practice. All this happened not because our proposals were impractical but because they hurt the interest of the classes whom the Government wants to protect and whose interests it seeks to serve.

Organisation of resistance against unjust burdens and organisation of mass sanctions for our concrete alternative proposals—*these are two inter-related parts of the same struggle.* Without carrying out both tasks, we can neither defend the masses, nor defeat the ideological offensive of the bourgeoisie. Without this, the struggle against unjust burdens will not rise to the level of broad mass movement. It must be admitted that very little has been done by us in respect of this up to now. Some explanatory work was done during the second general elections but after that little attention was paid to this work—except for some speeches in the Parliament and some articles in our press.

It is not possible in this speech to deal with all the struggles waged by our Party in the period after Amritsar and up to the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry. But broadly speaking, it can be asserted that despite many shortcomings and weaknesses, taken as a whole, this period witnessed steady and continuous expansion in the influence of our

Party among the masses. It was also marked by considerable improvement in the functioning of the Party Centre as well as in the inner-Party situation in all States.

The counter-revolutionary struggle which, aided by the leaders of the Congress Party and the Central Government resulted in the dismissal of the Communist-led Ministry of Kerala did not halt this process. On the contrary, it put the leaders of the Congress on the defensive. The campaign in defence of Kerala and later in protest against the dismissal of the Kerala Government grew into the biggest campaign ever conducted by the Party. Perhaps at no time since the advent of freedom was mass resentment against the Congress and even against Nehru so great. The ruling party though it had succeeded in dismissing our Ministry had won a pyrrhic victory. Politically and morally, they had lost far more than they had gained. The prestige of our Party stood higher than ever before.

This situation got transformed within a few weeks in a manner that none of us could anticipate. The reason for this was the dispute between India and China.

This dispute has had far-reaching impact on political events in India. It has dealt a heavy blow against the forces of Indian democracy and the Communist Party of India. Extreme reaction has been emboldened to launch open attack on our foreign policy. Even slogans of common defence pact with Pakistan have been used. The Jan Sangh and PSP leadership as well as Rightwing Congress leaders have used this dispute to create hostility against the whole socialist camp—though in this they have not succeeded thanks to the correct attitude taken by the USSR and the healthy sentiments of our people.

The two biggest events that have dominated the Indian political scene since the Amritsar Congress have been the developments in Kerala and the deterioration in India-China relations. Whereas the former helped the Party and the democratic movement, the latter gave them a setback. Also, whereas on the former issue the Party was firmly united on the latter issue serious differences arose at all levels and in almost every State. They have not been resolved yet.

We had to organise the election campaign in Kerala and the all-India campaign to raise funds for the Kerala elections at a time when

the anti-China and anti-Communist agitation was at its highest. Despite that, the campaign attained great sweep. In every State where Comrade E.M.S. Namboodiripad went vast crowds greeted him. Practically in every place the funds collected were far greater than what our comrades had expected. Toiling people in every State proved once again, by their unstinted support, what the Communist-led Government in Kerala had come to mean for them and how ardently they desired its restoration to power. Inside Kerala, there was a big upsurge of the masses, especially of the working class and the toiling peasantry which made our Party leaders confident that despite all the handicaps we would win the elections.

Party candidates and Party-supported independents polled 3.54 million votes in these elections as against 2.37 million votes in 1957 or 1.17 million more votes. The total percentage of our poll in 1957 was 40.75; it increased to 43.81 per cent in 1960. This increase of our votes proved conclusively how false was the propaganda carried on by Congress which sought to justify the dismissal of our Ministry on the plea that it had lost mass support. Nevertheless, as against 65 seats in 1957, this time we secured only 29 seats (total seats 126).

As compared to 1957 elections, we increased our percentage of votes in 72 constituencies, the percentage declined in 53 constituencies.

There were many factors which led to our defeat. The biggest single political factor was the alliance between Congress, PSP and Muslim League and the mobilisation of all reactionary forces in the State behind this alliance. In every village and town, the landlords, the rich people and their supporters threw their entire weight on the scale. Immense social and economic pressure was worked up, together with resort to intimidation and even violence, especially against the poorest strata of people. The Central Government and the Congress leadership did everything in their power to bring about our defeat.

That in face of all this, we increased our votes both in absolute numbers and in percentage was no doubt an impressive achievement, nevertheless, in so far as our Party could not form

the Ministry again, the election results constituted for us and for Indian democracy a serious defeat.

One of the main reasons why the Communist-led Kerala Government had incurred the hatred of vested interests was its agrarian reforms proposals. According to these proposals, which were passed by the legislature just before the "liberation struggle" began, ceilings were fixed at a reasonable level on the family basis, all transfers were banned, no exemption was allowed in the name of orchards, plantations, "efficiently managed farms", cattle-breeding farms, etc. The Bill, when enacted, would have conferred substantial benefits on the peasantry. And this is just what the Congress leaders wanted to prevent. Emboldened by their victory in the mid-term elections, they made plans to scuttle the agrarian reforms proposed in the Bill.

To combat the reactionary attempt to blow up the reforms completely our Party in Kerala decided to launch vigorous agitation. This agitation culminated in a padayatra (march on foot) from one end of Kerala to the other. A Kisan jatha walked from Kasargod to Trivandrum a distance of nearly 450 miles from June 28 to July 24, 1960. Numerous meetings were held as well as talks given throughout the march, covering nearly a million peasants and agricultural workers. Peasants professing all religions and owing loyalty to all organisations were roused by this march, for they were made to see that what was at stake was their own interest and not the interest of any particular party or Government. The jatha received big reception even in the strongholds of the Muslim League and the Catholic Church.

This march was an important event in the political life of Kerala in the post-election period. To a certain extent, it acted as a restraining influence on those who wanted to sabotage the Bill completely. Modifications were made in the Bill in accordance with the message sent by the President of the Indian Republic. All of them were of a retrograde character, but even the ruling alliance dared not go as far as it had desired.

In Madras State, the Kisan Sabha, after thorough discussion of the agrarian reform proposals of the Government, proposed a 17-point amendment. Padayatras were organised in September 1960

to popularise these amendments. Two batches led by well-known Kisan Sabha leaders—one from Madurai, the other from Coimbatore—marched to Madras, covering hundreds of villages and several towns. Warm receptions were given to the marchers everywhere. The padayatra roused the mass of peasantry and also helped to reactivise the Kisan Sabha.

In Bihar, too, we had a padayatra recently. It was organised with a view to get the proposed pro-landlord ceiling Bill amended in favour of peasants and agricultural workers. Passing through more than a thousand villages, the Kisan marchers converged on Patna where a big rally was held. The Chief Minister met the marchers and promised to make some amendments in the Bill.

The Kerala, Tamilnad and Bihar experiences have shown the big role which this form of action, padayatras, can play in rousing the peasantry, in forging their unity for concrete demands, in carrying the Kisan Sabha's slogans to peasant homes and in activising Kisan Sabhas. This has valuable lessons for comrades in other States, too.

In West Bengal, our Party, in co-operation with the Kisan Sabha has been conducting a struggle for the last 3 years for proper implementation of ceiling so that adequate surplus land is secured and for cancelling malafide transfers. In spite of severe repression including arrests of thousands, police harassment and killing of peasants, this movement has spread to many districts and achieved some success. About two and a half lakh of acres of surplus land have vested in the State, a good part of which has been taken possession of by the Government and is being settled with actual tillers of land, free of cost. The struggle is continuing.

A major victory for the Indian democratic movement was the splitting up of the bilingual Bombay State and the formation of the States of Maharashtra and Gujarat. On this issue, the Congress leaders who have stubbornly refused to apply the principle of linguistic States to the former State of Bombay, because of the pressure of the big bourgeoisie, had ultimately to yield. They knew it would be hazardous for them to face another general elections in the Marathi-speaking areas without solving the

problem. The leader and organiser of the struggle which led to the formation of Maharashtra State was the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti, of which our Party was an important constituent.

Although the basic objective of Samyukta Maharashtra had been won, it was decided to continue the Samiti as a broad democratic alliance. The correctness of this decision was fully vindicated in the Bombay Corporation elections when the Samiti, despite the disruption caused by the defection of the PSP, emerged as the second most powerful group in the Corporation, winning more seats than before. Excluding the PSP the Samiti had 28 seats prior to the solution. Now it has 34 seats.

With the formation of Maharashtra and Gujarat, the problem of linguistic States has been virtually solved. One important exception, however, is Punjab. Here two areas—one Punjabi-speaking, another (Haryana) Hindi speaking remain within the same State. The problem is complicated because of the fact that while in Haryana, there is a general urge (but no strong movement) for separation from Punjab, inside the Punjabi-speaking region the people are sharply divided on communal basis (Hindu and Sikh) on this issue. The policy followed by the Congress has been utterly opportunistic and devoid of any principle and has, in fact, intensified this division. Our Party has taken the position that Haryana should be separated from Punjab and that a Punjabi-speaking State should be formed comprising all Punjabi-speaking areas of Punjab, including Kangra district. Such a Punjabi-speaking State will be based on the common national consciousness of the entire Punjabi people and can therefore, be achieved speedily as the result of a united mass movement. The struggle launched by the Akali Party ignored this basic fact and was, moreover, conducted under communal slogans, using Gurudwaras as the centres of the movement. It further aggravated communal divisions. Such a struggle was foredoomed to failure. On the other hand, the Hindu communalists opposed the demand on purely communal considerations and even denied that Punjabi is their mother tongue. The Government of Punjab made full use of the situation to suppress democratic liberties of the people.

The agitation has ended but communal antagonism in Punjab has been further accentuated. The basic problem remains unsolved. It can be solved only on the lines suggested by our Party but that will require sustained struggle against both Sikh and Hindu communalism and intense ideological campaign, in order to eradicate communal influence which today is strong even among the toiling masses who take part in economic struggles conducted by us.

The second general elections showed that we have emerged as the biggest single force in the working class. That position continues. There has been improvement in the functioning of trade unions where we work. But the political level of workers, even of those who are under our influence, remains low—preventing effective participation by workers on general democratic issues. Serious attention has to be paid by Party units to this task. Also, in many areas there is little contact and consultation between Party committees and trade union cadres. This needs to be remedied.

As regards the situation in the working class movement, a comprehensive report covering all aspects was made by Comrade S. A. Dange at the Coimbatore session of the AITUC. I am in general agreement with the evaluation made in that report as well as the specific tasks formulated. I shall not, therefore, deal with them here.

Comrade Dange's report also dealt with the Central Government employees' strike of July 1960, the biggest action by the working class of India for many years. Strikes had taken place in different sectors of Government such as Post and Telegraph, Defence, etc. But this was the first time when workers in all Government services decided to go on strike. It was an economic action with the just and eminently reasonable demand for sliding scale of dearness allowance and minimum living wage in terms of Delhi Tripartite Convention to which the Government itself had been a party. The call was given by the Joint Council of Action which represented all organisations of Government employees. Over five lakhs of workers responded to the call. The Post and Telegraph workers were in the forefront of the action, followed by workers of Civil Aviation, Defence Federation and others. Railway trains stopped in Calcutta and Bombay and a large number of workshops closed down.

All these took place in the face of severe repression, in face of an ordinance banning the strike and threatening dire punishment

to those who took part in it or supported it and despite Prime Minister Nehru's broadcast which charged the strikers with "weakening our defences", arrests of over 21,000, shooting down of seven workers, a virulent press campaign of vilification of the strikers, misrepresentation of their stand and so on.

Many State and local units of our Party did all that they could to help the workers but the Party Centre miserably failed to discharge its duties and responsibilities. One of the greatest shortcomings of the strike was that public opinion had not been mobilised in support of the workers. Also, even after the Joint Council of Action had given the strike notice, the belief prevailed among many of us that some last-minute settlement would be arrived at. The organisational and ideological preparations were woefully inadequate.

We must draw correct lessons from this event and see to it that such failures are not repeated.

There have been numerous working class actions in the last three years. In many of them, workers belonging to various trade unions have fought together. There have also been united actions by workers of the same industry.

Acute problems are going to face the working class in the coming period, particularly in relation to wages. Sri Nanda, the Labour Minister of the Government of India, admitted in his speech in the Lok Sabha on April 11, 1960 that the condition of workers has deteriorated in recent periods. He said:

'Between 1939 and 1947 the standard of living of workers had declined by 25 per cent. By 1951 they had just recovered lost ground. By 1955, real wages had increased by 13 per cent. But since 1956, when again prices started rising, *their gains have to an extent been wiped out*'. (emphasis added).

The problem is likely to grow even worse during the Third Plan. Prices will continue to rise and under the slogan "wages linked to productivity" the attempt would be made to deny wage rise to neutralise the rise in prices. In such a situation, even in order to maintain their present conditions, the workers will have to fight. Trade Union struggles will, therefore, be of great importance in the coming period.

While there has been appreciable advance on the part of the working class movement in most of the States, the same cannot

be said of the peasant movement. The exact membership in each State would be known only after the Trichur session of the AIKS but the general position, as was revealed in the Draft Report of the Agrarian Sub-Committee of the National Council prepared in December 1960 is deplorable. The decisions taken at Amritsar have generally speaking not been implemented. The membership of the Kisan Sabha and agricultural workers' organisations have in most States been either stationary or have declined. Since this matter, as well as features such as lack of funds, lack of cadres, absence of any systematic activity, virtual identification of the Kisan Sabha with the Party, etc., have been dealt with in the Agrarian Sub-Committee's report which will be discussed in the Party Congress, it is not necessary to elaborate it here.

It must be stressed, however, that this State of the organised Kisan movement is not due to any decline in the influence of our Party among the peasant masses. Between the first and second general elections, our influence in all States increased appreciably and a large part of this increase is in rural areas. Our success at the polls which could have given a strong impetus to the kisan movement and strengthened the Kisan Sabha, has paradoxically enough, had just the opposite result. There is marked hesitation among many Party leaders working among Kisans to conduct mass agitation, campaigns and struggles. There is a tendency to look upon representation by legislature members to Ministers and authroities as *substitute* for such mass activity. The big opportunity created by our successes in elections to advance the cause of the peasantry and win their demands remains only partially utilised because sanctions are not forged in the form of mass Kisan activity and mass Kisan organisations.

Unless this State of affairs on the Kisan front is remedied, we cannot expect any appreciable strengthening of the democratic movement.

Here I must mention one encouraging fact. The Trichur session of the All-India Kisan Sabha which met only a few days ago shows that a beginning of some improvement has started. The membership has increased and in some States, there has been a revival of activity.

This is certainly a welcome development, but it has not yet become an all-India phenomenon. The need is to carry the process forward.

As part of our political activities, we contested numerous elections in this period—to panchayats, municipalities, district boards, Assemblies and the Parliament. Among the most notable of our victories were the following:

We won the Warsaligunj bye-election to the Bihar Assembly defeating both Congress and PSP candidates.

Comrade Phani Bora, Secretary of the Assam State Council, won the Nowgong bye-election defeating the Congress candidate Sri Devakanta Barua by a margin of over 5,000 votes in December 1959, at a time when the India-China differences were extremely acute and every effort was made to utilise it against us.

Contesting seats to the Municipality of Bhopal which had witnessed communal carnage sometime ago in December 1949, our Party candidates won 13 seats out of 30. Another three seats were won by independents supported by the Party. The Congress won 12 seats. Thus together, with our allies we won a majority of seats in the municipality of the capital city of Madhya Pradesh.

Comrade Indrajit Gupta won the bye-election from Calcutta to the Parliament defeating the Congress candidate by a big margin in April 1960. It was one of the most striking victories won by us in recent periods.

In the elections to the Calcutta Corporation which took place on the basis of an extremely narrow franchise (only three hundred thousand people out of a total population of nearly 4 million having the right to vote), the United Citizens Committee polled 44 per cent of the votes and won 31 seats as against 38.7 per cent votes and 39 seats secured by the Congress (5 Congress and one independent had won uncontested). The United Citizens Committee is a body consisting of our Party and several other Left parties.

In the elections to the Bombay Corporation the Samyukta Maharashtra Samiti won 34 seats, 18 of which were won by members of our Party. The Congress won 59 seats as against 62 that it held prior to the elections. As for the Praja Socialist Party its seats declined from 27 to 14—a striking manifestation of the people's disgust with its anti-unity and disruptive role.

Rise of Right Reaction

Comrades, it will be incorrect for us, however, to see these successes only. It is also necessary to examine the failings and weaknesses of the democratic movement. Further, it is necessary to assess certain developments of a dangerous type.

There can be no doubt that as the result of the struggles and activities conducted by us, we have increased our influence in the majority of States and in the country as a whole. At the same time, these struggles and activities have not been of such an extensive and sustained nature as to bring about a major shift in the position of the masses. Except on the issue of Kerala, there has been no effective all-India campaign by the Party. Campaigns on policy issues such as agrarian reforms, alternative methods of raising resources for the Plan etc. have been generally speaking, weak. Most of the struggles conducted by us have been of a local and economic character. Though necessary and important in themselves, they could not seriously influence the course of national politics.

The role of the Praja Socialist Party which during the last general elections polled 11 million votes (10 per cent of the total votes polled) and which continues to have considerable influence in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh, Maharashtra and several other States, has been, on the whole, anti-struggle and disruptive of Left unity. This role was seen in Bengal, in Uttar Pradesh, in Bihar, in Maharashtra and above all in Kerala. Having discredited themselves as the result of their role in Kerala, they tried to capitalise on the India-China border dispute in order to assail our Party. The total role of the PSP in this period has disrupted even the limited Left unity that had been built earlier and has had a negative influence on the mass movement.

Apart from this, we must refer to some major phenomena of this period. They are:

- (1) Tightening of the grip of the Right over the Congress and the Government and a shift of the Government to the Right on many issues.
- (2) Growth of the forces of disruption—casteism, communalism and provincialism and so on.

(3) The intensification of the activities of the extreme right and formation of the Swatantra Party

(4) The coming into open of profoundly anti-democratic trends and tendencies

These phenomena which by no means are unrelated to each other, deserve serious attention from our Party. They hold out serious threats to the democratic movement and to the forces of progress.

In the Political Resolution and in the earlier part of this speech I have dealt with the shift of the Government to the Right on many issues. We have dealt with the economic policies of the Government, policies which have not only made our progress slow and halting but have also sharpened the contradiction between the Government and the people. Discontent against these policies of the Government has grown and has manifested itself in many struggles and elections.

We must not however focus attention on this aspect of the matter alone. To take into account only the numerous struggles of this period, to pick out the biggest of them, pile them up together and to make this along with a few selected election results the basis for overall generalisation such a method would give a totally distorted picture of the situation as a whole. It would be subjectivism of the worst type. All the more it is necessary to warn against such subjectivism for it is a failing that has hampered us on several occasions, from making a realistic assessment of the situation.

Discontent has undoubtedly grown against the Congress. But the overall position of the Congress still remains very powerful. Its influence remains vast and extensive in fact, taking the country as a whole, far greater than all the Left parties put together.

A comparative study of the votes polled in the first and second general elections gives the following picture:

During the first general elections, the parties that opposed the Congress from the Left were the Communist Party, the Socialist Party, the KMPP, the Forward Bloc, the RSP and the Peasants and Workers Party. If to these we add the Scheduled Caste Federation which was allied to the Socialist Party, the total votes polled by all

of them together come to 27.8 million out of 106.9 million or 26.5 per cent of the total votes polled. In 1957 election there was no KMPP. It had merged with the Socialist Party to form the PSP. Also the PSP had split, a section breaking away and forming the Socialist Party. If we take, as before, the combined votes of the Communist Party, the PSP, the SP, the RSP, the Forward Bloc, the PWP and the SCF, the total come to 30.8 million. This undoubtedly represents an increase of 3 million votes but we must remember that the total poll had also gone up to 114 million. The percentage of votes secured by all the Left parties was 27 per cent of the votes polled. The Communist Party had substantially improved its position both in terms of absolute votes and in terms of percentage but the combined votes of the PSP and SP in 1957 were less than the combined votes of the Socialist Party and KMPP.

As for the Congress, it improved its percentage of votes from 43 to 47. This, of course, need not be taken as an indication of increase of Congress influence. In 1951-52, there had been more *uncontested* returns of Congress candidates and in such cases no votes are calculated. Secondly, the independents—many of whom were disgruntled Congressmen—polled less votes in 1957 than in 1952. If we take both these factors into account, we can state that broadly speaking the overall position of the Congress did not undergo much change during the two general elections.

Of course, elections under the present electoral system do not constitute a clear indication of the relative influence of the various parties; nevertheless, in a broad and general way they do indicate the main trends as well as the correlation of forces in the country.

Whether the third general elections will show any major change in the pattern of voting, it is too early to predict. Much depends on our activity from now on. But in this connection we may note the fact that, contrary to general expectations the Central Government dared to impose heavy burdens of indirect taxation on the people barely a year before the third general elections is significant. It shows not merely the shift to the Right and the increased pull of big business over the Congress. It also shows the confidence that the Congress leaders feel in the

outcome of the elections—despite the growing misery of the people, despite the increase of discontent among them.

Moreover, discontent against the Congress is not, by itself, a measure of the growth of the democratic movement. We have to see how this discontent is being utilised, by whom and for what purpose. In this respect, the situation as it is developing in many areas, especially where the Party and the democratic movement are weak, cannot but cause grave concern.

For example, in the Gurudwara elections held in Punjab the Akalis won a sweeping victory, securing 136 out of 140 seats. Congress-supported candidates got only 4 seats. The Akalis had the backing of the Sikh landlords, businessmen and many Government servants. Their success was due to the whipping up of the religious sentiment.

In the Panchayat elections that took place in Rajasthan recently, the landed elements through the Jan Sangh, Ram Rajya Parishad and Swatantra Party captured about 30 per cent of the Panchayat Samitis and together with Congress jagirdars, with whom they acted in close collaboration, re-emerged as a powerful force in Rajasthan's political life. On the whole, the elections indicated a marked shift to the Right.

The Congress policy of alliance with forces of feudal reaction is coming home to roost.

The huge support which the deposed Maharaja of Bastar has also been able to gather among Adivasis of his area also is an indication of the same phenomenon.

Congress alliance with the Muslim League has given new impetus to Muslim communalism. Emboldened by this alliance and making use of the legitimate grievances of the Muslims in respect of the treatment given to Urdu and the discrimination practised against Muslims, communal elements among them have revived the Muslim League in several places.

Far more serious than this, however, is the menace from Hindu communalism. The Jan Sangh, which spearheads the forces of Hindu communalism increased its poll from 31 lakhs in 1951-52 to 67 lakhs in 1957. In several areas, especially in the Hindi-speaking regions, it seems to have increased its strength still

further—making some headway even among the students and the youth. Riots were engineered against the Muslim minorities in Sitamarhi and Bhopal in which many were killed. The ghastly riots that took place recently in Jubbulpore, Saugor and other places in Madhya Pradesh are an ominous pointer of the growing nature of the menace. Almost everywhere, where such riots took place, the State Governments apathetically watched the mass butchery of Muslims. Many Congress leaders, in private talks, expressed sympathy with the rioters. A large number of police officials directly or indirectly aided the hooligans. Prime Minister Nehru was the only top Congress leader to denounce these acts of barbarism openly and unequivocally.

Such crimes against a minority community not merely disrupt the democratic movement, but also bring shame to India's fair name. The forces they help to strengthen are the worst reactionary forces in our political life.

Wherever such incidents occurred, members, sympathisers and supporters of our Party actively intervened and did all they could to allay passions and help the victims. The latest instance of such intervention was in Jubbulpore and Saugor in Madhya Pradesh. We are proud of what our comrades did there. We also greet those Congressmen and others who refused to be swayed by communal hysteria and strove to keep aloft the banner of nationalism and secularism. Many common people too protected the Muslims in their localities and helped them in various ways.

In Punjab, communal divisions have grown so sharp that they have given a big blow to the entire democratic movement. This division affects our own mass base even.

Caste sentiments, instead of lessening, have grown prodigiously. In elections, the tendency is more and more one of appeal based on caste. Members of the Congress Party themselves set the example which gets followed by others. Panchayats and other local bodies get divided into factions based on caste.

Another dangerous phenomenon is the aggravation of provincial animosities which have manifested themselves in several States and which led to mass riots in Assam against the

Bengali minority. It was no sudden flare up but had been carefully planned. Well over 50,000 men, women and children were uprooted from their homes, property worth many lakhs was destroyed and several scores of people were killed in what was the most widespread and ghastly riots that India had known since the attainment of freedom. Such a thing could not have taken place without the active support of men high up in the ruling party and in the administration. There is ample evidence to show that factional rivalries in the Congress played a big part in these happenings which brought untold misery to lakhs of innocent people. The PSP leaders took a leading part in the instigation of riots. It is to be deeply regretted that the Central Government and the Congress leadership instead of conducting a searching inquiry and meting out exemplary punishment to the guilty men, hushed up the whole matter in the narrow interest of their own Party.

During the crucial days while the riots were on, in many localities our comrades worked to protect the Bengali minorities but the State leadership of our Party could not intervene effectively.

These riots are an ominous symptom. They show how the sense of frustration and apathy created among the people by many of the policies of the Government, are being utilised by forces of reaction.

Animosities based on provincialism disrupt not merely the unity of the mass movement but also threaten to weaken the unity of our own Party. More than once it has happened that our comrades have failed to take a common stand on issues of divergence between two provinces or two linguistic groups inside the same province.

Also, as the Political Resolution has pointed out, there has been another significant development—the rise of the Swatantra Party with an avowedly reactionary programme.

Already at Amritsar, we drew attention to the growth of Right reaction as a distinct phenomenon in our political life, a phenomenon which could not be identified with communalism and obscurantism alone. Right reaction was striving to put forward something like a socio-economic programme on a "non-communal" basis. We stated:

'Seizing upon the difficulties in which the Plan has landed and frightened by the growth of the democratic movement, and the Communist Party, extreme reactionary forces have intensified their activities. They preach that our economic difficulties can be overcome only with the help of American dollars and that for this a suitable climate must be created'.

'These people have been carrying on vicious attacks against the public sector, demanding still greater concessions to monopolists, both Indian and foreign. They are openly advocating an almost open-door policy for penetration of foreign capital, particularly from the USA while striving to sabotage trade with the USSR and other socialist countries. They demand the curtailment of social service measures under the plan, while trying to blackmail the Government to change its fiscal and economic measures still more to their advantage and to the detriment of the common people. They demand modification of the existing labour laws to suit their interests. These people openly express their hostility to radical land reforms.'

These counter-revolutionary trends have found concrete manifestation in the programme of the Swatantra Party which is trying to unite all reactionary forces under its banner. Also, it is forging links with communal parties like the Jan Sangh and Akalis. In addition to what was stated at Amritsar, a major object of attack of these parties is the foreign policy of the Government of India. They never miss an opportunity to assail the Defence Minister, Mr. Krishna Menon. The crisis that was sought to be created in September 1959 over General Thimayya's threat of resignation and the way the Right-wing Congress leaders, the PSP, the Swatantra and Jan Sangh, the big business press acted were revealing. But for the firm stand taken by Nehru, Thimayya's threat would have worked. That would have marked dangerous intrusion of the military in Governmental affairs. This development was an indication of the dangers that loom ahead—especially in view of the unresolved dispute between India and China. It would be folly to minimise that danger.

Apart from the support it enjoys from feudal sections, American lobby-men and other similar elements, the Swatantra

Party also has the backing of some of the biggest and most reactionary monopolists in the country.

This should not, however, be taken to mean that the Indian industrialists and financiers have split into two sections—one a pro-imperialist section backing the Swatantra, another an anti-imperialist section backing the Congress. No such split has yet taken place. Theoretically also, there is no basis for such a split at this stage. On the contrary, it is known that some of the biggest patrons of the Congress also back the Swatantra. They support the Congress for what the Congress has done and is doing for them. Simultaneously, they try to build up the Swatantra as a weapon to pressurise the Congress and move it further to the Right.

On this issue, the issue of the Indian monopolist bourgeoisie, there is a lot of confusion in our Party. This confusion needs to be removed.

It would be wrong to think that the Indian monopolist bourgeoisie is *pro-imperialist*—in the sense that it desires to join the imperialist war camp, abandon the aim of industrialisation and be content with a backward agrarian economy. There is nothing to indicate any such tendency on its part. They are keen to build up an independent capitalist economy and develop India industrially. At the same time, they constitute a *reactionary force in our economic, social and political life*. It is on them that imperialists more and more count to hold back India's democratic advance and facilitate joint exploitation of the Indian people.

The real danger that faces us today is not that of overthrow of the Congress at the hands of the Swatantra Party or of the forces of feudalism triumphing or of India being reduced to a satellite State like Pakistan. Nor is there just now a serious danger of imperialists being able to force the Indian bourgeoisie to give up the policy of capitalist industrialisation. In certain States and in many areas, especially where feudal remnants are strong, the danger of the semi-feudal forces further strengthening their political position is real and that danger has to be combated in every possible way and in alliance with all democrats and patriots.

Nevertheless, taking the country as a whole, the real and immediate danger is that of a further and more pronounced shift

to the Right, a shift brought about *under the leadership of the most reactionary monopolists with semi-feudal elements, allied to them playing an important but subordinate role.* It is this that extreme reactionaries both in the Congress and outside it are striving for.

(1) They would try to bring about a reactionary modification in our foreign policy, a shift away from the socialist camp and towards Western powers, perpetuate and aggravate the India-China conflict, tone down opposition to colonialism on the plea that we need not meddle in affairs that do not concern us.

(2) They would adhere to the policy of industrial development but strive to wring further concessions for big business, weaken the state sector, create a "suitable atmosphere" for foreign private capital, especially American capital and enter into closer collaboration with it.

(3) They would like to sabotage all agrarian reforms.

(4) They would strive to undermine parliamentary democracy and mount attack on the Communist Party.

(5) And as an integral part of all this and in order to carry out the above aims, they would help the extreme Right both in the Congress and outside the Congress to grow. They would try to remove the Communist Party from its position as the main party of the Democratic Opposition in the Parliament. They would like the Central Cabinet to be packed with Ministers subordinate to them. The systematic campaign in the bourgeois press against certain Ministers is not without significance.

All these processes—the process of concentration of wealth in a few hands, intensification of the activities of Right reaction and the strengthening of the position of the Right inside the Congress are inter-related. They have got accelerated in recent years. They have, on a number of occasions and on several issues, given rise to sharp conflicts over issues of policy—foreign policy, public sector versus private etc. The Right has not got all it wanted. Nevertheless, it has made gains in many spheres and presses on with the offensive. This process will continue in the coming period.

The growth of monopoly constitutes a serious danger to our people. If this growth continues and if the monopolists who have

already got powerful supporters and representatives in the Government are able to get complete control over the Government, then even the state sector will more and more tend to become an instrument in their hands and acquire features of State-monopoly capitalism. We cannot rule out such a danger. Hence, all the greater need to fight against monopoly and its growth.

As the Third Plan Draft shows, the Government of India has no intention of altering its basic policies. With such policies a certain amount of industrial development will undoubtedly take place. At the same time, the contradictions in our political and economic life will further sharpen. The food problem will remain unsolved. Unemployment will grow. Conditions of life of the vast majority of people will remain wretched. Further, the Indian bourgeoisie will not be able to create a substantial stratum of labour aristocracy and prosperous intelligentsia that grew in advanced capitalist countries on the basis of colonial exploitation and gave stability to parliamentary democracy. In such a situation, with mass discontent growing and the main challenge to the ruling party coming, not from Social Democracy, not from an alternative bourgeois party but from the party of the working class, profoundly anti-democratic trends and tendencies may grow in the ruling classes such as, belittling of parliamentary conventions and practices, arbitrary use of the power of the executive and resort to repression, corrupt practices during elections and alliance with forces of casteism and communalism, intimidation and terror to prevent free and fair elections; gradual emasculation of democracy. Even trends towards regimes of a personal or reactionary dictatorship may develop with the Communist Party as the main target.

Events in Kerala have serious lessons for the future.

In this context, the utterance of Dr. Rajendra Prasad about the President's powers which was made the subject of prolonged and intense debate in newspapers cannot be regarded as a casual incident. Nor can the suggestion of Mr. Sanjeeva Reddy about abolition of direct election to Assembly and Parliament be dismissed lightly.

These utterances, suggestions and continuous propaganda against parliamentary democracy have to be viewed in the background of what has happened in a number of neighbouring countries—Nepal being the latest instance. They have to be viewed in the background of the Thimayya incident and the strong position of anti-democratic and reactionary elements in the administrative, police and military apparatus. They have to be viewed in the context of the activities of forces of feudal and communal reaction, the activities of Right reactionaries as well as the strengthened position of the Right inside the Congress and the Government. Also they have to be viewed in the background of the disunity of the democratic forces and their weakness due to which, despite a number of local successes, they have not been able to defeat the anti-popular policies of the Government which has given rise to a sense of frustration among big sections of people. Such a mood, breeding passivity among the people sometimes make many of them acquiesce in the establishments of dictatorial regimes as a supposed remedy for the evils they suffer from—or at least as a 'lesser evil'.

Danger to National Unity

The menace is all the greater because of the growth of fissiparous tendencies which I have mentioned earlier—tendencies based on caste, religion, region and province which are growing fast almost in every part of the country.

No Indian patriot can view this phenomenon with unconcern. All the positive gains of the freedom movement are being dissipated. All the values we cherished are being attacked. The Prime Minister himself had to indicate his helplessness at such a state of affairs, when he said in utter despair that he would be prepared to "sacrifice even national planning to save national unity".

Unless halted in time, the forces of national disruption that have become more active than ever can plunge the country into chaos, disrupt the popular movement and even endanger democracy. We, therefore, appeal to all patriotic and democratic

parties, organisations, groups and individuals to shed mutual prejudice and come together in order to carry forward the traditions of national unity built in the days of the freedom struggle. We appeal to all parties not to make use of casteism, communalism and provincialism to secure narrow gains. We make a special appeal to the mass of Congressmen who cherish the sacred memories of the united struggle which they and many of those who are today in the Communist Party and other non-Congress parties had waged in the days when we fought British imperialism. We need the spirit of that unity today no less than we did in the past. We need it in order to arrest the growth of disruptive forces and take our country forward along the path of planned development.

While appealing for such unity, we deem it our duty, however, to point out that the major share of the responsibility for the present situation rests on the shoulders of the Congress and its Government. It is not enough to desire unity. It is necessary to state *why* there is disunity and to point out *how* unity can be achieved.

In the days before 1947, we had before us an inspiring national objective, the objective of political and economic freedom—an objective to be secured by the united struggle of the masses. There were different parties in the country. There were factions inside the Congress. But all patriots were united as regards the objective as also as regards the need for mass struggle. After the attainment of freedom, there was the need to place before the nation an equally clear and equally inspiring objective and also to indicate the means by which that objective could be realised. This was expected from the Congress. And this the Congress leaders, due to their class policies, miserably failed to do. After toying with slogans like the Welfare State and Co-operative Commonwealth, they began to talk of socialistic pattern of society but it was so interpreted as to rob it of all inspiring content. The concrete policies of the Government not merely had nothing to do with socialism; they were not even in accordance with principles of democratic planning. They were policies for capitalist development. And that too without firm action against foreign

monopoly capital, without basic agrarian reforms. These policies helped to make the rich richer and the poor poorer. No national unity could be forged on this basis.

What could have unified the vast majority of the nation after the attainment of freedom? *A clear-cut programme of democratic reforms to complete the national revolution:* nationalisation of British concerns, land to the tiller, curbing of monopoly, steps to develop national industries, minimum wage to workers, extension of democracy in all spheres, an independent peace-loving and anti-colonial foreign policy. Wherever this was done, as in the sphere of foreign policy, broad national unity got forged. And where the Government failed to do so, it failed to unite the people.

After the first flush of enthusiasm on the attainment of freedom, our people began to feel the pinch of the Congress regime. The peasant found that he had not got land, but had to face eviction offensive. The worker found that the additional wealth created by him went to swell the coffer of the capitalists. The middle-class employees found that their real salaries were dwindling because of the steep rise in prices. The common people of all classes found that in the name of national reconstruction it was they who had to bear heavy burdens while the richer classes grew ever richer. Added to all this was rampant corruption in every sphere—many members of the ruling party making full use of their official position.

Inevitably discontent grew and it is this discontent which, in the absence of a countrywide democratic movement, is being utilised by forces of reaction in many areas. The backward sections of people are told that the root of the trouble lies not in the class policies of the Government but due to the fact that men belonging to particular castes, or regions occupy key posts in the Government. Many members of the ruling party, in order to consolidate their own position, themselves resort to favouritism based on caste and community.

Quite often discrimination is practised against Muslims. Urdu is denied its rightful place. Adequate facilities are not given to Adivasis (aboriginals), backward castes and communities to register rapid advance.

Moreover, in economic planning, the Government fails to pay attention to the need for balanced development of all regions.

All this gets utilised by disruptive and separatist forces.

Not only has the Congress failed to combat effectively the growth of fissiparous tendencies, but in many States, different factions of the Congress are themselves utilising these tendencies in order to strengthen themselves. In several States, the Congress factions are themselves based on caste. Further, in order to maintain itself in power the Congress has not hesitated to join hand with the Muslim League in Kerala, with the Akalis in Punjab and so on—all of which has further accentuated the fissiparous tendencies.

It is a welcome sign that many honest Congressmen are getting perturbed by these developments. It is a welcome sign that they desire steps to be taken that would curb communalism.

We shall join hands with all such Congressmen. We shall join hands with all those in every party who detest communalism and casteism, who desire to hold high the banner of national unity. We shall organise united activity with them in defence of the traditions of our national movement.

At the same time, we have to be clear that the struggle against fissiparous tendencies cannot be divorced from the struggle for a radical reorientation in the policies of the Congress and the Government. There must be a clear definition of the immediate objective towards which we have to march. There must be concrete *economic and political measures* which take us forward towards that objective and which *steadily and continuously* improve the condition of the common people. There must be a concerted ideological and political offensive against forces of casteism, communalism, linguistic and regional rivalries *together with a policy which helps backward communities to advance speedily, which protects such minorities as Muslims against discrimination and which ensures balanced development of all regions.*

All this is lacking today. Hence it is that forces of disruption have attained such success. It shall be our constant endeavour to explain this patiently and systematically to all patriots so that *mass support is built for programme, policies and measures that can build national unity.*

National Democratic Front for National Democratic Task

Comrades, it can be seen from the foregoing that the situation we are facing is extremely complex and full of contradictory features.

First, our industries have registered advance, but at a rate which, taking into account our needs, is slow and halting. Agriculture, on the whole, continues to be in a state of semi-stagnation and dependent on the vagaries of monsoon.

Second, economic relations with the socialist world, above all, with the USSR have grown, enabling us to build several industries which are vital for the consolidation of our national independence. At the same time, the Government has contracted and is contracting heavy loans from the imperialist countries headed by USA. Collaboration between Indian big business and foreign capital is growing.

Third, the public sector has become an important factor in our economy. But simultaneously there has been enormous growth of monopoly and of concentration of economic power in the hands of the big monopolists.

Fourth, feudal relations are being curbed but the main benefit goes to a narrow stratum of rich peasants. Moreover, landlords remain a powerful force and have stepped up their activities.

Fifth, the economic advance registered has been achieved by methods which have imposed colossal burdens on the people and enriched the richer classes both in cities and in rural areas. Unemployment figures have continued to mount.

Sixth, misery has grown among the working class, toiling peasants and intelligentsia, giving rise to numerous struggles in which people have displayed militancy, heroism and will to fight. But due to many factors, such as disunity of popular forces, disruptive role of Right-wing socialists, inability of the working class to act on a national-political plane, weakness of peasant organisations and our own failure to conduct a sustained nationwide campaign, the democratic movement, despite these struggles, remains weak and is unable to win major demands.

Seventh, our influence among the people has increased in the majority of States but we are still far from becoming the decisive factor in the political life of our country.

Eighth, popular discontent is being used, in many areas, by parties of religious fanaticism which have become more active and blatant than before. Tendencies of casteism, communalism and provincialism have become more pronounced. Fissiparous and disruptive trends are fast growing.

Ninth, forces of extreme reaction have formed an open political party, the Swatantra Party, which assails India's foreign policy, public sector, land reforms, etc. The Swatantra Party very often acts in close collaboration with parties of communal reaction, the Right-wing leadership of the PSP and Rightists inside the Congress.

Tenth, the basic policies of the Nehru Government, remain as before, national bourgeois policies—both in the external and internal sphere. At the same time, the Rightists, have tightened their grip over the Congress organisation and are striving to move the Government to the Right. Many of their attempts have been resisted. Sharp conflicts over policies have arisen inside the Congress, but also on many issues they have succeeded in bringing about some shift to the Right.

Despite the advance made by the democratic movement in several States and despite the increase in the influence of our Party, the negative features that have appeared in our economic, political and social life hold out grave dangers to our country—to our independent and peaceful foreign policy, to all-sided growth of our economy, to the well-being of our people and to Indian democracy.

There is, of course, no ground for panic. Nevertheless, complacency too would be unwarranted. Ahead of us lies a difficult period—a period of acute conflicts, of sharp changes in the situation and even crisis.

All the more it is necessary to stress this because in our Party the tendency is strong which equates peaceful path with parliamentarism, a tendency which has resulted in the concept that advance of the toiling masses towards the conquest of power may be achieved through successive elections, in each of which we shall grow gradually stronger. It is a concept which takes Parliamentary democracy for granted and envisages no serious

danger to it—at least for a long period, and visualises a process of smooth and continuous advance through free and fair elections in the bourgeois liberal spirit.

In essence, this is a reformist and even revisionist concept. It gives rise to such reformist practices as neglect of mass work among the peasantry and the tendency to look upon masses not as fighters but only as voters of making work in legislatures a substitute for mass action, instead of linking the two. But it can also give rise to deeply sectarian practice which expresses itself in minimisation of the need to win *allies*. Both have actually happened in our Party.

Let us recall in this connection that at Amritsar in April 1958 we stated that "the Communist Party and the democratic forces, if they unite and undertake their mass tasks seriously right from now, can certainly expect to effect further breaches in the Congress monopoly of power. The process, begun at Kerala, can be carried forward towards the establishment of alternative democratic Governments in some other States".

The reformist essence of this formulation lay in the fact that it held out the prospect of smooth advance towards power. It did not visualise a furious assault on democracy as social contradictions sharpen, as the mass movement develops and we grow stronger—an assault which may lead to a veritable crisis of parliamentary democracy. At the same time, it had deeply *sectarian* implications for it linked the *immediate mass tasks* of the Party *not* with national democratic unity to carry out *common* national democratic tasks but directly with the slogan of "alternative democratic Government"—which, in reality, was the same as the slogan of Government of democratic unity as given by us at Madurai in 1954. It was one thing to give this as a slogan in a *particular State* on the eve of elections. It was quite another to relate all mass tasks of the Party with this as a *general* slogan years before the elections. Such linking up could not but narrow the scope of democratic front and affect our day-to-day agitation itself.

It is necessary today to shed all complacency. It is necessary to realise that sharp alternatives face our nation. Either the

democratic forces unite, isolate and defeat the forces of Right reaction, arrest the shift of the Government to the Right and bring about a shift to the Left, i.e., towards democratic advance. Or forces of reaction, pressing on with the offensive and aided by their allies in the Congress and the Government bring about an all-sided shift to the Right.

Conditions, despite the negative features I have narrated, are extremely favourable for the forces of democracy. The character of the new epoch, the new balance of world forces, the role played by the socialist system and its mighty vanguard, the USSR, are drawing people towards socialism. Our Party, despite its many shortcomings, has attained a big position in our country. The living experience of the last thirteen and a half years has taught our people many lessons—above all, it has taught them the necessity for struggle and unity. The process of rethinking has started among Congressmen and Congress supporters who are getting apprehensive by the rise of Right reaction and by the growth of fissiparous tendencies and who want the Government to implement its progressive declarations.

The growing radicalisation of our people and the increasing discontent and frustration generated by the Government's anti-people policies could not but have their impact inside the Congress as well. The increasing grip of vested interests, the influx of landlords and other reactionary elements into the Congress, the growth of corruption and the decline of those values which the Congress once cherished, the resort to oppression and repression of the people, the never-ending wrangle over offices and patronage—all this combined with the impact of the mass movement gives rise to disillusionment and differentiation inside the Congress.

These and other favourable factors exist. They are creating conditions for very broad democratic unity. They are creating conditions for a united mass movement, extensive and powerful. Such a movement will be built through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activity. It will have to cover every area and be based on strong mass organisations. Then only the plans of Right reaction can be defeated, the desired changes can be brought about in the policies of the Government and all-sided advance ensured.

Striving to build such a movement, our Party must intensify efforts to unite all patriotic and democratic forces in the country.

For what? Immediately, for democratic reforms, for defending and strengthening all that is progressive in the Government's policies, for opposing those policies which harm the people and retard the pace of economic development, for the reversal of those policies, and for bringing about *a shift to the Left*.

Of great importance in this context is the establishment of unity of action to defend the vital interests of the working people and to improve their living conditions.

Which are the forces that have to be united for this purpose? No difference exists inside the Party as to which classes will constitute the democratic front. We all agree, that the front will consist of the working class, the peasantry, the petty-bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles. We all agree also that working class peasant unity must form the core and pivot of this front. It was noted by us three years ago at Amritsar that the failure to organise and develop kisan sabbhas and agricultural workers' unions constituted the greatest weakness of the democratic movement. That weakness still continues. We must, therefore, once again emphasise the slogan, "turn the face of the Party towards the peasantry". This time, the slogan must be seriously taken up and implemented by every State unit.

As regards the parties, we are all agreed about the role of the Praja Socialist Party and the Socialist Party. The leadership of these parties, especially that of the PSP, is in many respects more Rightist than the Congress. At the same time, the ranks are, broadly speaking, Left and socialist-minded. Hence the need, while waging a sharp ideological struggle, for correct approach towards these parties so as to draw them and especially their following, wherever possible into common activity and struggle.

What about the Congress?

The Congress has been and is an extremely important factor in the political life of our country. This is not surprising in view of the role it played in leading the struggle for national freedom and in taking measures to consolidate independence under Nehru's

leadership The influence of the Congress, though less than it was in the days of freedom struggle, is vast and extensive It extends to all classes—including big sections of the working class It extends to the peasantry, the artisans, the intellectuals and others Nehru's influence is even wider We cannot build the national democratic front by ignoring this big reality of the Indian situation

That is why the Fourth Congress of our Party stated that the division between the masses that follow the Congress and the masses that follow parties of the democratic opposition is the most important division in the democratic camp Does that situation continue? It does And, in some States, with the decline in the influence of the PSP, the most important division has become the division between the mass following of the Congress and the CPI I have in mind the States of Kerala, Andhra and West Bengal

Does it follow that a general united front with the Congress is possible today that is with the Congress as it is? No Our relations will inevitably be one of unity and struggle The Congress is the organ of the national bourgeoisie as a whole—including its Rightwing Moreover, after independence, it has been joined by many reactionary forces that opposed the national struggle—landlords and others Many of the old leaders have got corrupted by their links with big business Many new people have come in who had nothing to do with the national movement All this finds reflection in many of the practices of the Congress and its Governments.

At the same time, it would be a big mistake to equate the Congress with parties of Right reaction Many of the declared policies of the Congress and some of the measures are, in today's context, progressive—foreign policy, public sector, secularism and so on.

The complexity of the situation arises from the following facts:

- (1) Policies and measures which are hitting the masses, giving rise to discontent and frustration are the policies of the Congress and its Governments. It is this discontent that is utilised by Right reaction to mislead the masses and strengthen itself. At the same time, these policies cannot be fought effectively either by our own

strength or even only by the unity of the Left forces: the broadening and deepening of the struggle against these policies requires the drawing into it of a big section of the people who are in the Congress and loyal to it.

(2) A large part of the forces of the Right are inside the Congress. *At the same time*, the bulk of these who are our potential allies are also inside the Congress.

It is true that many Congress leaders do not genuinely support the foreign policy of peace and non-alignment. But it is *equally* true that most of those people who support it, who want it to be defended, are to be found not inside the PSP or any other "Left" party but inside the Congress or among those under Nehru's influence. Again, take the public sector. Many inside the Congress assail it. But it is also true that the largest number of those who want it to be defended and extended are also in the Congress. As regards communalism—it is correct to point out how deeply communalism has penetrated the Congress. But, let us not also forget that not only Nehru but also many other Congressmen were far more distressed by the happenings in Jubbulpore than many leaders of the Left parties.

Can we defend India's foreign policy, can we defend the public sector, can we defend the parliamentary system—without forging links with Congressmen and winning their support? Can we fight communalism effectively except in co-operation with them?

Evidently we cannot. It follows, therefore, that an approach has to be adopted which takes into account the loyalty of Congressmen towards their organisation and their sentiments. Time and again direct appeal will have to be made not only to Congress masses, Congressmen but also to *Congress Committees*—taking into account the issue concerned and the concrete conditions in the locality.

An urgent and important issue on which broad unity can be forged is that of opposition to communalism. A correct approach and fraternal appeal for practical united activity will get response from all healthy elements including many Congressmen. This has become a vital necessity especially after the Madhya Pradesh riots and the intensification of the activities of the Jan Sangh—especially in the Hindi-speaking areas.

We must look upon democrats inside the Congress and the mass of Congressmen as our friends and potential allies in the struggle for consolidation of political independence, defence of parliamentary democracy, of foreign policy, public sector, agrarian reforms, etc. Ours must be a fraternal attitude. Also, when progressive declarations are made by the Congress, we have not just to "expose" them but use them for forging unity.

Would it not have been a good thing, comrade, if after the Nagpur session of the Congress, we had organised *padayatras* of kisans in all parts of the country with the single slogan: "Implement your decision on ceilings"? Would it not have helped us to strengthen our links with peasants—the bulk of whom, all comrades admit, remain the main pillars of support behind the Congress?

Also, would it not have been a good thing if after the Congress-Ganatantra Parishad alliance in Orissa, we had not just "exposed" the Congress but ran a mass campaign in the State, reminding Congressmen of the traditions of struggles against the Rajas and asking them to bring pressure on their leaders to *break* the alliance?

Would it not have been a good thing, when right reactionaries and PSP-ers supported Thimayya and launched an attack on Krishna Menon and when Nehru stood firm—if at that time we had organised mass demonstrations supporting Nehru? Would not that have helped us to forge unity with democratic-minded Congressmen and also help to fight reactionary moves of the Government itself more effectively?

Take another example. Proposal came from high circles about sale of shares of industries in the public sector to private individuals. Sharp conflict developed inside the Congress leadership on this issue. Should we not have played a role in this?

Theoretically, perhaps few comrades would object to any of these suggestions. But there is hesitation to act.

I maintain—and that is one of the main things that I want to stress—that in view of the need to broaden the base of our struggles and in view of the critical nature of the period ahead, it has become more necessary than ever, that strenuous efforts are

made by us to forge links with democrats inside the Congress and with masses under Congress influence. We must stress this because despite what we said at Palghat we have paid too little attention to this task.

What this requires are:

(1) Use progressive declarations of Congress to forge mass unity in action.

(2) In agitation, keep in mind not only those who are already under our influence but also those who are not, speak not only for those who sit "in front" and cheer every denunciation of the Congress and its Government but also those who "stand on the periphery".

(3) Wage a resolute and uncompromising battle against Right reaction and against parties of communalism, against their policies and their slogans. This will help to draw towards us honest Congressmen.

(4) Even when opposing and fighting policies of the Congress and Government, concentrate fire wherever possible on the Rightist elements.

(5) Conduct patient explanatory campaign among Congressmen and Congress masses. They are worried about the situation that is developing—especially the growth of fissiparous tendencies. The basic causes of this—especially the absence of a really inspiring objective due to the class policies of the Government, have to be laid bare.

While seeking to develop common activity with Congressmen and the masses following the Congress, our Party should, at the same time, carry on a campaign of patient explanation in order to point out to them how the basic policies of the Congress are themselves totally inadequate in the present-day conditions of India and the world and how these policies stem from the attempt to develop a capitalist society in India and that too without taking firm measures against foreign capital, without basic agrarian reforms in the interests of the mass of peasants and by giving big concessions to monopolists.

Conscious of the tremendous and growing attraction of the ideas of socialism among our people, including their own

followers, the Congress leaders have formally accepted socialism as their objective. But their entire practice shows that this is meant to distort the real ideas of socialism and keep the masses away from struggles for democratic reforms. We should, therefore, patiently and continuously explain to the people and to Congressmen that there is not a grain of socialism in the theories, policies and measures of the Congress and its Government. We should also explain to them what socialism really means and how it can be achieved.

In a vague and general way large number of our people have come to accept socialism as a correct objective. They have seen what socialism has achieved in countries where it has triumphed. They have seen how it has done away with the anarchy of capitalism, put an end to the staggering contrast between the wealth of the few and the poverty of the many, eliminated unemployment and launched the country on the path of speedy and continuous advance. Hence they get drawn towards socialism.

A major ideological task of ours is to deepen this consciousness, we have to explain to the masses, especially the workers and advanced sections the principles of scientific socialism and show the relation between socialism and the struggle for defence and extension of democracy in every sphere—economic, social, political.

All that I have said about democrats in the Congress does not, for a moment, mean that there are no progressives and democrats in other parties and also among those who belong to no party. On the contrary, they, too, constitute a vast number. While a big section of the masses owe allegiance to the Congress, there is also a big section which either follows parties other than the Congress or are not attached to any particular party. We have to make every effort to draw all of them into common activity.

We have to wage a sustained and determined struggle against Right reaction. We have to fight the anti-people policies of the Government. We have to defend the people against attacks of the vested interests and of the Government. We have to fight an uncompromising battle against forces of casteism and communalism. And while striving for unity, we have to organise,

whenever the situation demands it, independent mass action by the Party on the basis of our own influence, on the basis of whatever strength we can mobilise. *All these have to go hand in hand.* Then only the democratic front will get built.

Independent mass activity by the Party combined with fraternal and genuine united front approach so that on each issue the maximum possible support is mobilised—such has to be the tactics. For such independent mass activity, the need is to raise the level of consciousness of the masses following us. We do not make unity a *precondition* for mass action. I have explained while dealing with the Bihar anti-tax struggle that we do not wait for unity. But even when waging struggle on our own and in the course of preparation for launching such struggle, we must adopt an approach which draws others towards us.

The question, comrades, is not whether we have to wage struggles. The question is how to wage it, with what approach, with what slogan and tactics so that it may be waged on the broadest possible basis and successes are won.

We are approaching a crucial period. We shall be called upon to play a big role in that period. This should give us a sense of urgency.

Today we are a major force in the life of our country. Perhaps the biggest development in Indian politics since the achievement of freedom is the emergence of the Communist Party as the second Party of the country and the formation of Kerala Government. Even our enemies have to recognise it. Question is—how do we go *forward*? How do we extend and deepen our influence? How do we intervene effectively in the political situation so as to be able to shape events? I feel that what I have stated embodies in essence a correct line. Of course, it has to be further elaborated.

Let me in this context, refer to an important matter. After some months will take place the third general elections. We shall fight the elections as a big political battle on the basis of the entire policy of our Party. Sharply demarcating ourselves from the slogans advocated by Right reaction, we shall, at the same time, lay bare the anti-people policies of the present Government.

put forward our own alternative policies and make the elections into a big political campaign, both against Right reaction and against the present Government and *for* our policies on every issue. We shall come before the masses with our record as the Party which struggles to forge national democratic front for national democratic tasks—and, as part of that struggle, strives to defeat the anti-people and undemocratic policies of the Government and defends the people against its attacks as well as the attacks from vested interests.

Comrades may ask: What will be the relation of our Party to the Government? I am not in favour of the phrase "party of opposition" as defining the general character of our Party, because it is essentially a parliamentary concept. Of course, inside the Parliament and in the legislatures, we shall function as a democratic opposition in the way it was explained in the June 1955 resolution of our Central Committee.

Ours will be a positive approach, a political battle, on the basis of our alternative policies which strengthen our independence and our economy, which gives land to the peasants, which improve the conditions of the masses and strengthen democracy in our economic, social and political life. The policies have to be further concretised in our Election Manifesto.

What about alternative Government? I feel that if in some States, the possibility exists or if the masses think that such possibility exists, we should give the slogan that we strive for the formation of a Government which will carry out these policies.

What is the direction in which we want to take the whole mass movement? In my opinion, National Democracy is a correct slogan for our country.

But since this is a question which is directly related to the Programme, I think that decision on this should be taken only after full discussion in the Party.

I have already taken a long time. But I would like to say a few words more with your permission. As Dimitrov said at the 7th Congress of the Communist International, in the struggle for the establishment of the united front, the Communist Party has to play an extraordinarily important leading role. Only the Communist Party is at bottom the initiator, organiser and driving

force for the united front. Inevitably, therefore, no discussion on the political situation can be complete if we do not take into account the paramount need to strengthen our Party.

What I have to say about the weaknesses from which the Party suffers and which must be fought if this role is to be played, I shall do when we discuss the resolution on Party organisation. But let me state right now that without overcoming the serious ideological and organisational weaknesses which exist, without re-unifying our Party on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, on the basis of a correct tactical line and on the basis of strict adherence to discipline, we cannot go forward and cannot discharge our national political tasks. I hope that we shall emerge from this Congress more united than before, conscious of our great responsibilities so that we can effectively discharge our duties towards our country and our people.

Organisational Report of C.P.I.²

**Placed before Sixth Congress held
at Vijaywada, 7-16 April, 1961**

I. Introduction

The Amritsar Congress of our Party had drawn pointed attention to the favourable international and national developments which made it possible for the Communist Party to make further advance in its struggle for progressive policies. It had, at the same time, pointed out that the extent to which this favourable situation was utilised depended on "the emergence of the Communist Party as a mass political force – a Party which will unite and rally the popular masses by its initiative in every sphere of national life and by its resolute leadership of the mass struggles."

Drawing the attention of the entire Party to the "serious weaknesses—ideological, political, as well as organisational", the Amritsar Congress went on: "Without combating these weaknesses the Party cannot discharge the immense responsibilities that confront it. Serious and sustained efforts have to be made, therefore, to overcome the shortcomings, to strengthen the unity of the Party and to develop it into a mass Communist Party."

The three years that have elapsed since then have further confirmed this assessment. For, they have been years in which international and national developments were still more favourable to the cause of socialism in general and to the Communist movement in particular. Our Party however, failed to take advantage of these favourable developments.

That the international working class and progressive movement for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism

gained further impetus during the last three years needs no elaborate explanation. As the statement adopted by the Moscow meeting of the Representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties pointed out—

"The chief result of these years is the rapid growth of the might and international influence of the world socialist system, the vigorous process of disintegration of the colonial system under the impact of the national-liberation movement, the intensification of class struggles in the capitalist world, and the continued decline and decay of the world capitalist system. The superiority of the forces of socialism over those of imperialism, of the forces of peace over those of war, is becoming ever more marked in the world arena."

Nationally, too, the forces of Indian democracy have registered big advance; together with them, and as their vanguard, the Communist Party has expanded its political influence among the people. On the other hand, the national policies of the ruling party are being increasingly exposed before the people as policies calculated to benefit the rich few and harm the large mass of the poor; while its organisation is torn asunder by factional and group rivalries. As for the other opposition parties, they suffer from almost all the weaknesses as the Congress (lack of national policy which inspires a confidence among the mass of the people, internal dissensions, factional and group squabbles, etc.) while they have not the nationwide mass basis and organisation which the Congress has.

All these are described in the Political Resolution being presented to this Congress. They require no detailed explanation here. What is needed is only to point out that opportunities for further advance are today even more favourable than they were three years ago.

Unfortunately, however, the warning given at Amritsar against any illusion regarding the automatic consolidation and advance of the democratic movement and the Communist Party, the emphasis laid then on the need for "serious and sustained effort to overcome these shortcomings and weaknesses" in the Party practically went unheeded. As the subsequent description of the state of the Party

today would show, the main slogans issued and targets laid at Amritsar have all remained on paper. The result is that, while the political influence of the Party has grown during the last three years, the capacity of the Party to consolidate this political influence and to use it as an effective weapon in that very "fight for progressive policies," which the Amritsar Political Resolution had put as the central task of the Party, has declined.

Though our Party stood in the forefront of such glorious mass struggles as the food movement in Bengal and the anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab, though it was the militants and sympathisers of our Party who contributed most to the development of the Central Government employees' strike; though the dismissal of the Kerala Ministry evoked spontaneous nationwide sympathy and goodwill for our Party; though the Party as a whole rallied behind the campaign to defend Kerala and showed in that campaign an example of nationwide campaign on a national-political issue; the Party has not been able to consolidate the enormous prestige that it won through these developments and to develop that "united mass movement, extensive and powerful, through campaigns, struggles and other forms of activities, covering every area and firmly based on strong mass organisations" which alone in the words of the Political Resolution of the Amritsar Congress, "can defeat the plans of the Right reaction, bring about desired changes in Government's policies, attain the aims and objectives of the plan and ensure all-sided national advance."

Nay, more. The unity of will and action, which is the very basis of the strength of the Party, received serious shocks during the last three years. A new and unprecedentedly serious crisis struck the Party from top to bottom when its political opponents launched a sustained attack on it on the issue of the India-China borders. All the norms of conduct, whose strict adherence alone would make our Party "the party of a new type" which Lenin built up—norms of conduct which it has been the pride of every member of our Party since its formation—were brazenly violated by leading members and units of the Party which, therefore, became a laughing stock of the world.

How did such deterioration take place in the Party? How could the Party lose its unity and cohesion at the very time when it acquired prestige among the people? How could it simultaneously become politically strong among the people, but organisationally weak within itself—both to an unprecedented extent? These questions are worrying every Party member and sympathiser today. This Congress should, therefore, apply its mind to this problem as a vital problem facing it.

II. State of Party Organisation

It is symptomatic of the state of the Party as a whole that Party membership has gone down in the period between Amritsar and Vijaywada. The actual extent of the fall in each State can be seen from the following table.

Unit	1960	1959	1958 Amritsar	1956 Palghat
1 Andhra	—	30 856	40 000	22 146
2 Assam	—	3 101	2 791	1 384
3 Bihar	—	11 089*	15 800	6 027
4 Delhi	1 172*	1 261*	811	504
5 Gujarat	500	450	450	346
6 Karnataka	—	1 872	2 128	1 057
7 Kerala		45 574*	61 563	25 000
8 Manipur			500	428
9 Madhya Pradesh	—	1 000		800
10 Maharashtra		9 889	8 719	5 000
11 Orissa			2 530	807
12 Punjab	10 281	9 939	9 410	4 542
13 Himachal	300	200	113	
14 Rajasthan	—		1 700	535
15 Tamilnad	20 000*	22 678*	19 899	7 764
16 Tripura	2 840*	2 900*	3 513	2 664
17 U P	—	12 000	10 000	5 000
18 West Bengal	17 769	17 851	20 622	10 775
19 Marathwada				1 041
20 Mahabar				10 709
21 M Bharat				400
22 T C State	—			11 000
23 Telangana				6 500
24 PHQ	57	57	61	75

(* includes candidate members)

It was after several years of continuous and systematic struggle that the Party was able, after the 1957 general elections, to break the sectarian resistance against the expansion of Party membership and to raise it to the level of 218,532 members at the time of Amritsar Congress (refer Organisational Report presented at the Congress) It was clear, even at that time, that this was only a modest beginning and that Party membership should be raised still higher so that the increasing political influence of the Party may be adequately reflected in the organised strength of the Party

Membership & Voting Strength

It will in this connection be interesting and instructive to compare the proportion of Party members to the electoral strength of the Party in our country with the same in three other countries where the Party has become a real mass Party of the working class France, Italy and Indonesia

	Party members	Votes polled	Average votes per member
India (1957)	100 606	12 166 150	1 121
Italy (1960)	1 800 000	6 080 000	1 3.4
Indonesia (1959)	1 500 000	8 000 000	1 5.33
France (1954)	506 250	5 001 618	1 10

It will be seen from the above that, even if we had aspired to maintain only the lowest ratio of Party membership to electoral strength as existed in the above three Parties i.e., one Party member to ten voters our membership should have been 55 times what it was at the time of Amritsar It was from this totally inadequate Party membership that it registered a fall in 1958 and 1959

We may add that, even if the most conservative of the ratios existing in the above three Brother Parties were to be adopted by us, Party membership in Kerala in 1960 (when we polled 35,00,000 votes) should today have been 3,50,000 Actually however, Kerala's membership today is 46 206 In other words

instead of registering an increase of 50 per cent, which was the advance registered in our electoral strength between 1957 and 1960, our membership registered a fall of nearly 25 per cent.

The same is the position in almost all States. Our political influence has increased everywhere without exception and, therefore, Party membership should have grown. But, with very few exceptions, Party membership has come down.

Class and Social Composition

As important as the number of Party members is its class and social composition.

It is obvious that our Party cannot become a real mass Party of the working class unless the industrial and agricultural labourers, together with the mass of poor and middle peasants form not only its firm political base but also its main recruiting ground. Particular attention should, therefore, be paid to the millions of worker and peasant militants rallied behind the Party, the level of their education as well as their understanding of Marxism-Leninism raised, and they in their tens of thousands drawn into the Party, first as members and gradually as functionaries and leaders at all levels. That is why the Communist Parties throughout the world are taking effective measures to raise the proportion of worker and peasant members of the Party. Our Party, however, has failed to take up this important aspect of Party building.

The reports available at the Party Centre do not give information on this point. It is, however, well known that no Provincial or District leadership of the Party has, in the period under report, made any conscious effort to improve the class composition of Party membership.

Information is not available on the extent to which socially oppressed sections like Scheduled Castes, Backward Classes and women are being drawn into the mass activity of the Party and the best of them ultimately are being drawn into the Party, first as members and subsequently as functionaries and leaders of Party units at all levels. It is, however, known that no Party unit at any level makes it as one of its main tasks to draw these sections of the people into the Party.

Paying attention to the industrial and agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants, scheduled caste and backward classes and women does not by any means imply an attitude of neglect to other sections of society. On the contrary, planned work among middle class intellectuals, students and youth with a view to drawing the best of them into the Party as its members and functionaries is necessary if the Party is to be able to carry on a successful struggle for proletarian hegemony.

It is significant in this connection that the Congress and other political parties are paying a good deal of attention to organised work among all those sections of the people; it is this that enables them to launch a terrific offensive against our Party on the ideological-political plane even when their main economic policies are being increasingly exposed as detrimental to the interests not only of the workers and peasants but also of the middle class.

Here again, exact data are not available to show how Party organisations at various levels are trying to tackle this problem. It is, however, clear that whatever recruitment is taking place is extremely spontaneous and that there is no planned and balanced development of Party membership, either in numbers or in the quality of new members enrolled.

While no written reports are available with the Party Centre as to the reasons for the fall in membership noted earlier, it is known and can be stated without fear of exaggeration that the following para in the Organisational Resolution of the Amritsar Congress has remained on paper: "The State Committees have to study the position concretely and undertake *planned extension* of the Party into new areas, planned extension of circulation of papers, planned extension of Party activity, enrolment of new members into the Party has to be a part of the normal activity of the Party, as also of educating them. Special emphasis has to be given to the task of enrolment of members from the working class, poor peasantry and agricultural workers. It has to be noted that, even though our activity in the working class has increased considerably, the number of workers in our Party even in big industrial areas, is relatively small."

Recruitment in relation to other Aspects of Party Building

These weaknesses and defects regarding enrolment of Party members—the number enrolled, as well as the class and social position of new recruits—cannot be taken in isolation from the other aspects of Party building—aspects which may broadly be classified into *education* and *organised activity*. For, increase in Party membership without corresponding measures to raise the ideological level of those who are already members or are being newly drawn into the Party will be detrimental to the growth of a mass Party of the working class based on the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism. So will large-scale recruitment of Party members injure the cause of building a real mass Party of the working class unless it is accompanied by adequate guarantees that every Party member is effectively drawn into organised activity.

It was this need for *education* and *organised activity* that was advanced by those who put up a sectarian resistance to larger enrolment of Party members, their argument being that mass recruitment can be thought of only after the problems of Party education and of the organised and effective functioning of all Party units and members are effectively tackled.

The Amritsar Congress rejected this argument and said that there is no question of either of these three aspects of Party building (recruitment, education and organised activity) being put before the others; on the other hand, all the three aspects of Party building should be simultaneously taken up as they are interdependent. It, however, laid great emphasis on these aspects of Party building and issued slogans and laid targets to guide the Central and State leaderships of the Party, as well as the units of the Party in the matter of Party schools, general education, elimination of illiteracy, improvement in the quality and circulation of Party journals, Party funds, enrolment of members into and systematic functioning of mass organisations, collective functioning of all Party units with individual responsibility of the leading cadres, systematic struggle against individualism and for the restoration of Party discipline, etc.

State of Party Education

How far have these slogans and targets of the Amritsar Congress been fulfilled by the Party as a whole? It is very difficult to give a concrete answer to these questions. For, at the moment of writing these lines, we have before us only the Organisational Report adopted by the Punjab Conference and the reply to the Central Secretariat's questionnaire submitted by the Tamilnad State Council. We are, therefore, obliged to confine ourselves to giving below whatever information is obtained in these reports.

Punjab has carried out the directive of the Amritsar Congress that short-term Party schools of about 7 to 10 days should be organised in the States (though, it should be admitted by the Central leadership, the part of the Amritsar directive that the CEC should prepare a syllabus for these schools was not carried out).

The Punjab Council conducted a 10-day school for 45 to 50 leading comrades from all the districts in March 1960. The subjects taken up in the school were Political Economy, Marxist philosophy, Present Policy and International Situation, National Problem and the History of the national movement, the role of the national bourgeoisie, State and Revolution, Agrarian movement, Trade Union movement and Party organisation. The education sub-committee of the State Council also prepared a syllabus in Urdu for the education of ordinary Party members on four subjects. (1) Socialism, Congress and Communist viewpoints; (2) Party Policy; (3) Party and mass organisations; and (4) Party Organisation. Special schools were also held for agricultural labourers in the districts of Ferozepur, Bhatinda, Jullundur, Ludhiana, Ambala, Hoshiarpur and Gurdaspur.

The Tamilnad report was submitted in July and at that time no school had been held. But preparations for taking 7 lessons on five topics were at an advanced stage. These were—(1) One lesson on Historical Materialism; (2) Two lessons on current international situation and our tasks; (3) Two lessons on India since 1947; (4) One lesson on tasks on the TU front; (5) One lesson on tasks on kisan front. It is not known whether these classes were really held.

Both Punjab and Tamilnad are running their theoretical monthlies. That of Punjab SADAYUG by name has been running

for a year and a half; it has a circulation of less than a thousand. That of Tamilnad is called JANASHAKTI monthly, which has a circulation of 3,000.

It will be seen from the above that in neither of these two States has the work of Party education reached the mass of Party members—either those who were already in the Party before Amritsar or those who were subsequently enrolled. The low circulation of the two theoretical monthlies is an indication of inadequate attention paid by the Party as a whole to ideological-theoretical questions. To this should be added that the Central leadership failed to discharge the responsibility, specifically laid on it by the Amritsar Congress, of preparing a syllabus for State Party schools of 7 to 10 days' duration.

Organising activity of the Party

As for the other aspect of Party building, i.e. planned and organised activity of Party members, concrete information has not been made available to the Centre by the State Councils. We are, however, making certain general observations based on the personal experience of the members of the Commission and on whatever reports have been made available to the Centre from some States.

(1) The scrutiny of Party members enjoined by the Party Constitution is not generally done. For example, the provision in Article VII, sub-clause (1), that "No Party card can be renewed in the case of any Party member who, for a continuous period of more than six months and without proper reason, has failed to take part in Party life and activity or to pay Party membership dues"—is not observed at all. According to the Organisational Report of the Punjab Council (adopted at the recent State Conference) as high a proportion as 50 per cent of Party members are completely non-functioning and hence should, according to the strict constitutional position, be refused renewal of membership. That, however, is not done for the reason that it is considered inadvisable to do so. The position must be the same or even worse in other States. As for the regular payment of Party dues, it is known that large numbers of Party members make the payment long after the due date and that too under continuous pressure and

prodding from the higher committees. Even most of the higher committees themselves wake up to the necessity of getting payments only when the National Council takes decision to adopt extreme measures and that too, after repeated warnings.

(2) It does not appear as if uniform standards of Party membership for recruitment and for renewal are being applied for all States. Varying standards of political consciousness, moral standards, sense of discipline, systematic activity, making of financial sacrifices, etc. appear to be followed in various States and within some States even as between different districts.

(3) The way Branches are functioning, there is no mechanism to see that every member of the Branch is assigned some job or other in accordance with his or her capacities and that the tasks assigned to him or her are checked up. The same applies to the higher committees; the Marxist-Leninist principle that every Party member should not only accept the policy and programme of the Party, but also actively participate in implementing Party policies and decisions under the leadership of the Party and that to this end, his or her job should be decided and checked up by the unit of which he or she is a member and by the higher units, is not observed in practice at any level of the Party.

(4) The explicit provision in the Constitution that every Party member should "unless exempted, work in a mass organisation" is practically ignored by a large number of Party members.

(5) In the case of Party members who are working in a factory or institution, the principle is not observed that their primary work should be the activisation of the factory or institutional branch. A considerable section of such Party members prefer to work in the village panchayat, municipal ward, street or 'nohalla. This weakens planned activity of the Party in the organised working class.

(6) In the formation of Party branches, the rational principle that area of operation should be compact enough to facilitate effective functioning is not observed; branches seem to be very often formed on the basis of a particular number of members and not the area convenient for effective functioning so much so that there are cases in which even areas with populations of 50 or 60 thousand are made basis of the branch.

(7) The principle of dividing the Branch into convenient Groups is formally observed, if at all. The work of "distributing and checking up work of individuals" and of organising "preliminary discussions where necessary for facilitating political discussion in the branch"—both laid down in the Party Constitution—are not carried out. This *plus* the large size of the Branch makes it impossible for the Branch general body meeting either to have effective political discussions or to carry out the job of distribution and checking up the work of individual members. The net result is that neither the Group nor the Branch general body meeting provides that guidance and leadership to Party members which is the essence of the Marxist-Leninist principle of Party organisation—a form of organisation in which every Party member is guaranteed full facilities for exercising his democratic rights as Party members, while, at the same time, it guarantees that his individual views and individual will are subordinated to the collective views and collective will of the Party.

(8) This weakness of the primary unit has led to a situation in which, even when higher units fix up quotas regarding enrolment of members of mass organisations, preparations for public meetings or other forms of agitational and propaganda activities either of the mass organisations or of the Party, demonstrations, strikes and other struggles, sale of Party literature, collection of funds either for the mass organisations or for the Party, etc., these general targets fixed by the higher units are hardly broken up into targets to be fulfilled by every member of the Party unit to transform the large fund of goodwill and support, which it enjoys among the people, into the organised strength of the mass organisations and of the Party.

(9) This basic weakness of the Party Branch as the organised unit of the Party at the primary level is partly to be traced to the fact that organisation at higher levels is no better. The Committees or Councils at the intermediate unit, District, State and National levels are generally chaotic and planless in their functions as Party Branches. At these levels, too, whatever political discussion takes place is not businesslike and, therefore, does not lead to any practical result. As for the slogans and targets to be fulfilled either by the unit as a whole or by its individual members, they are very

often not even laid down in concrete terms; when they are laid down, there is invariably failure to check up on their fulfilment.

(10) Over and above the failures in the functioning of individual members and units of the Party from top to bottom are dangerous, alien trends --unworthy of the members and units of the Communist Party. Refusal to submit oneself to the discipline enforced by the unit of which one is a member, as well as by the higher units; refusal to carry out decisions taken by the unit; irresponsible and callous attitude towards one's basic duty to attend Party meetings; refusal to pay levies and even the membership dues of Re. 1 per year; abandonment of the standards of simple living and hankering after an easy life; selfishness and ambition in the matter of securing elected posts such as MP, MLA, panchayat member, etc. and even quarrelling and manoeuvring to get them; absence of the correct Communist attitude in the matter of dealing with the Party's and people's money which is sometimes even misappropriated; feudal and high-caste attitude towards comrades coming from scheduled or backward castes and towards women all these are growing, not because there is anything inherently wrong with the comrades, but because there is a general slackness of Party discipline which is partly due to the growth of Parliamentary constitutional atmosphere and partly to the fact that no Party unit at any level takes upon itself the job of fighting these alien trends.

The mention of these dangerous alien trends should not be taken to mean that all of them have assumed big proportions. But the fact that every one of them has assumed some proportion, while the loosening of the sense of discipline is general and widespread should be sufficient warning that, unless measures are promptly taken to root them out, through a combination of inner-Party ideological campaign and organisational tightening of discipline, they can, in a short time, assume very serious proportions and disrupt and destroy the whole Party.

III. State of Party Centre

Nowhere is the Party organisation in such a sorry state of affairs as it is at the all-India Centre. Not only has it failed to discharge the functions assigned to it by the Amritsar Party Congress, but

even the bare minimum degree of functioning which obtains at the level of State and District Councils, Executive and Secretariats is absent in the case of the National Council, the Central Executive and Central Secretariat.

The Organisational Resolution adopted at Amritsar emphasised "The key role to be played by the Central organs of the Party—the National Council, Central Executive Committee and the Secretariat" and laid down the following tasks for these Central organs which should be given 'top priority'. It stated:

"1. The most important of these is Party Education, so that unity of outlook and action develops in the higher and middle leadership of the Party and a beginning is made in the direction of development of cadres. The Centre has to prepare a syllabus and also help to organise Party schools in States and zones.

"2. The NEW AGE monthly must play an important role in raising the ideological-political level of the Party by giving studied articles on economic and political developments, on lessons and experiences of the mass movement, on Party building and on theoretical matters.

"The Central leadership has to take steps to improve weekly NEW AGE.

"It has to plan our publications on current matters and on major problems.

"3. Guidance by the Party on current issues has to be ensured by well-prepared meetings of the National Council and regular meetings of the Central Executive Committee.

"4. On major political issues, the Central Executive Committee and the Secretariat will guide the Parliamentary Executive Committee, which shall be responsible for all Parliamentary work, including discipline of MPs.

"5. A sub-committee of leading comrades on the trade union front has to be formed.

"6. In view of the decisive importance of work among the peasantry and agricultural labour and in view of the neglect of this work by the Party for a long time, a sub-committee of leading comrades on the kisan front has to be formed and the Party Centre has to pay special attention to the task of rebuilding the organisations of the peasants and agricultural workers.

"7. Effective measures have to be taken to overcome the neglect of the struggle for peace by Party units.

"8. The work among women, students and youth has to be vigorously organised. State and District Committees have to pay serious attention to this. In order to help work, discuss common problems and evolve policies, the Party Centre should convene meetings of leading comrades working on these fronts and form sub-committees wherever necessary and possible.

"9. The need for strengthening the contact between the Centre and the States is great. At the same time only certain steps in this direction can be taken immediately such as periodic visits to the States by the General Secretary and other Secretariat and CEC members, studying of reports sent by State Committees, prompt reply to their queries, intervention when big problems arise and Central guidance is needed.

"Special attention needs to be paid by the Centre to the Hindi-speaking areas where our movement is weak. The Centre has to take steps to start Hindi and Urdu weeklies.

"The Secretariat should plan out a programme of convening meetings of the State Secretaries to discuss the major problems of the State and help in solving them.

"10. We have been without a Party Programme for several years, a document which, applying the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the realities of the Indian situation, can arm the entire Party with a clear perspective. This has intensified ideological confusion. A Draft Programme has to be prepared which the National Council will circulate for discussion in the entire Party.

"11. We have no unified understanding about the achievements and mistakes of our own Party since its inception. Comrades joining the Party in different periods hold divergent views about how the Party grew, what it achieved, what it failed to achieve in each period. Distorted ideas based on lies and half-truths on the role of the Communist Party in the National movement prevail not merely in the ranks of our sympathisers and supporters, but also inside the Party.

"The broad general statement made earlier viz., that the present status of our Party is the result of the cumulative work of

the Party carried on during its entire history—this statement alone is not enough. What is needed is a unified understanding of the history of our Party, of its work. Such a task has become very necessary now. It is a difficult task and will take considerable time for completion. But a beginning should be made as soon as possible by collection of documents and discussions among leading comrades who played an important role in different periods of Party history.

"12. The Party Centre has to organise proper Party life for cadres working in the Central Office and in various departments of central work and decide about the form of organisation at the Party headquarters.

"The sub-committees formed by the Centre will not replace the committees of the mass organisations nor issue directions to similar sub-committees in the States. Their function is to help the Party Centre to study problems and enable the Party Centre to give guidance which should be through the State Committees.

"The members of the Central Secretariat will divide up work among themselves on the basis of the principle of collective functioning, individual responsibility for implementation of decisions and regular collective check-up. The present practice of individual functioning, of no check-up has got to go.

"Each member of the Secretariat will be in-charge of a specific department or departments of the Central Executive Committee and be personally responsible for its functioning, for regular report to the Secretariat as well as implementation of the decisions.

"The members of the Secretariat will devote themselves entirely to central work. But they will be few in number and cannot by themselves carry out all the Central tasks. Central work has to be done not merely by the members of the Central Secretariat but also by other members of the National Council, above all, by members of the Central Executive Committee.

"Members of the Central Executive Committee are not just State Committee functionaries who attend CEC meetings when they can 'afford', as several of our former PB members did. CEC members elected by the National Council are responsible to the

National Council to see that the work of the Centre is properly carried on. They have, beside State, Central responsibilities and they have to carry them out when called upon by the CEC to do so, e.g., visit certain States, conduct Party schools, prepare study and other material, write articles in the Central journals, etc. They have to ensure that decisions of the National Council and CEC are implemented by the State Committees.

"After each meetings of the CEC a report of the decisions and the explanation will have to be sent to members of the National Council."

It should be mentioned in this connection that the resolution did not try to put forward all the tasks that are desirable but only those which were considered *practicable*.

Take, for example, the item "Party Education". It did not envisage the starting of permanent or even periodical Central Party schools. It envisaged only the preparation of a syllabus by the Party Centre, together with the help to organise Party schools in States and Zones.

Again, with regard to the work among the women, students and youth, the main responsibility was put on the State and District Committees which were directed "to pay serious attention" to it. The Party Centre was only to convene meetings of leading comrades working on this front and form sub-committees "wherever necessary and possible."

With regard to the help to be given to the States, the resolution pointed out the limitations of the Party Centre and set a consequently modest task.

All the more serious, under these circumstances, is the failure on the part of the Party Centre to fulfil even the modest tasks laid on it by the Party Congress. On a review of the extent to which the above-formulated tasks were fulfilled by the Party Centre, it is found that most of them remained literally unfulfilled. With regard to some others, the particular comrades who were entrusted with the job have, in a way, attempted to discharge their responsibilities but the Central organs of the Party Secretariat,

Executive and National Council—were either not informed about it by the comrade concerned with the request that the question be considered collectively and decision taken or even when they were informed, they did not pay any serious attention to it. Let us, therefore, try to go into this question in greater detail.

(1) *Party Education:* The major task assigned to the Party Centre on this was the preparation of a syllabus for Party schools to be run by the State Councils. The Madras National Council appointed a Committee for this purpose with Comrade Ranadive as Convenor. The meeting of the Committee was convened in January 1959 and attended by Ajoy, Adhikari, Jolly Kaul, Sankarayya and Ranadive. It prepared a synopsis for 12 lessons. Ranadive, Ajoy, Adhikari, Jolly Kaul and Sankarayya were assigned respectively for different lessons to be written in pamphlet form. Unfortunately, barring Sankarayya, none has been able to fulfil his assignment.

The Amritsar resolution also asked the Party Centre to give help to the States in running their schools. Comrade Ranadive helped the Punjab Council to run its Party school at which he delivered a speech on Political Economy.

(2) *New Age Monthly:* The Amritsar Resolution directed that the monthly should play an important role in raising the ideological-political level of the Party by studied articles on economic and political developments, on lessons and experiences of the mass movement, on Party building and on theoretical matters. Actually, however, no improvement in the direction outlined in the resolution has taken place. Particularly serious is the weakness in the matter of reviewing the mass movements with a view to drawing lessons from them, pose problems of Party building with a view to develop discussion on them, etc. The monthly has essentially remained a forum for reprint of important articles published in foreign journals and some articles on the problems of Indian economy.

(3) *The New Age Weekly:* Central leadership was directed by the Amritsar Congress to take steps to improve the weekly.

In the period between the Amritsar Congress and the Madras meetings of the National Council, some improvement was

registered and this was noted in the Secretariat's Work Report to the National Council.

Subsequent to the Madras meeting, however, a number of difficulties cropped up in the working of the Editorial Board. At the February 1959 meeting of the CEC, one whole day had to be devoted to the discussion of the problem that had cropped up in the working of the Editorial Board. The arrangement made at that meeting was to reconstitute the Editorial Board with Secretariat members (Comrades Joshi, Basavpunniah and Ranadive) and three from the editorial staff (Comrades Ramdass, Zia and Mohit).

This, too, did not lead to any smooth functioning in the New Age Weekly set up; on the other hand, clashes began to develop in the newly reconstituted Editorial Board. Subsequently, after the Meerut meeting of the National Council, Comrades Ranadive and Basavpunniah (who were appointed as the members of the Commission on Political Report) were relieved of the responsibility of the Editorial Board.

This, too, did not make the work of the Editorial Board smooth. Clashes continued between Comrade Joshi and other members of the Editorial Board. Ultimately, the National Council, at its meeting held at Calcutta in May 1960, decided that, while the composition of the Editorial Board will continue, i.e., Comrade Joshi to function together with the staff member, Comrade Joshi's views should prevail in cases of difference within the Editorial Board. It should, however, be mentioned that, while Comrade Joshi was given this authority, neither the Secretariat nor the CEC, nor to speak of the National Council, went into the problems posed by Comrade Joshi on the one hand and by the comrades of the Editorial Board on the other.

These difficulties within the set-up of the *New Age* weekly, together with the fact that the majority of members of the CEC, even of the Secretariat have failed to give thought to the improvement of the political character of the weekly (not to speak of themselves writing for the paper) have led to a situation in which the weekly is not really looked upon as the organ of the Party Centre.

(4) *Circulation of the Weekly & Monthly:* The state of affairs described above has also affected the circulation of these journals. We are giving below the relevant figures:

New Age Weekly Circulation

Month	1958	1959	1960
January	—	12,142	12,250
February	—	12,226	12,207
March	--	12,158	12,014
April	12,175	12,321	11,273
May	12,500	12,239	10,637
June	12,260	11,919	9,942
July	12,450	12,022	9,944
August	12,500	12,665	9,300
September	13,000	13,647	9,039
October	12,500	13,623	9,026
November	12,460	13,543	9,944
December	12,503	13,398	9,226

New Age Monthly Circulation

Month	1958	1959	1960
January	—	4,965	3,500
February	—	5,000	3,500
March	--	5,015	3,500
April	5,006	4,500	3,500
May	4,745	4,502	3,500
June	5,000	4,500	3,300
July	5,000	4,506	3,300
August	5,000	4,500	3,300
September	4,900	4,503	3,300
October	5,075	4,503	3,300
November	5,000	4,500	3,300
December	4,976	4,004	3,300

The main reason for such a deplorably low circulation of the Central Party organs is, of course, the fact that the State, District and lower organs of the Party do not take upon themselves the

task of popularising Party papers among the people. However good and well-edited the paper is, the circulation of the Party paper does not depend on the political content and the technical worth of the paper alone; even such a good and well-edited paper can become a mass paper and an effective instrument of the Party in its campaigns only if a mass inner-Party campaign for the study and popularisation of Party organs is undertaken by the entire Party from top to bottom. Only then will the circulation of the Party organ grow. It was with a view to launch such a campaign in the entire Party that the Amritsar resolution included among "targets and slogans for the year" the item "doubling of the circulation of newspapers—Central and State—within a year". The failure of the entire Party in this respect should no doubt be put on record.

That, however, would not absolve the Central Secretariat Executive Committee and National Council of their responsibility in the matter. For, the fact remains that the Central leadership, as a whole, failed, on the one hand, to improve the content of the paper (which is of key importance in enabling Party members to make a success of their campaign for circulation) and, on the other hand, failed in their organisational task of moving the entire Party in this regard, it did not even have any serious discussion at any of its meetings on the question as to how these two tasks—improving the content and launching a drive for circulation—are to be fulfilled. As a matter of fact, this has always been looked upon as the special responsibility of the comrades—the Secretariat member and staff-comrades—working on it.

(5) *Party Publications:* The Amritsar resolution laid on the Central leadership the responsibility of planning out publications on current matters and on major problems. However, at no meeting of the National Council and the CEC was the problem concretely discussed. Even in the Secretariat, there was at no time any serious discussion as to the subjects and the lines on which publications are to be prepared. Nor was any plan prepared by the Centre for the whole Party as to how the Party publications are to be sold and popularised among the people as part of a big mass

campaign. Whatever planning was done, either by way of preparing or selling Party publications was done by the particular comrade or comrades who were entrusted with the job.

(6) *Well-Prepared Meetings of the National Council and Regular Meetings of the CEC:* This was the directive given by the Amritsar Congress. Actually, however, most of the meetings have been the very opposite of this.

One of the most successful meetings of the National Council ever held during the last three years was the Madras meeting of October 1958. The Central Secretariat and the CEC had made fairly good preparations for it: A Work Report of the Secretariat since Amritsar Congress, a Report on Kerala, a document on Party's work among peasantry and a document on the Plan had all been prepared. (The Report on Kerala was made orally but others were in writing.)

It is true that the Work Report could not be discussed in the CEC before it was presented to the National Council. But the Secretariat had thoroughly discussed it and was completely unified on it. Even the CEC could have done the same provided it had sat sufficiently long on the eve of the National Council meeting. Furthermore, the kisan document had been thoroughly discussed by the CEC and discussions within the National Council showed that there was appreciation of the limited improvement that had taken place in the work of the Party Centre since Amritsar.

The next meeting of the National Council held in Trivandrum in July 1959 was a special meeting to discuss the current situation in Kerala and to decide on the tactics to be adopted. That limited objective was, of course, fulfilled. But a regular meeting of the National Council, as envisaged in the Party Constitution ("at least once every 6 months") was long overdue and hence it should have had on its agenda discussion and decisions on the political and organisational questions facing the Party. This, however, was not done.

The third meeting of the National Council was held in November 1959 at Meerut. Here, too, the discussion of political and organisational problems facing the Party did not take place.

The Council was so immersed in the problem of India-China border dispute that it could not take up any other issue; the document on political developments which had been prepared by some members of the Secretariat had not been discussed in the CEC nor was it the unanimous document of the entire Secretariat. The result was that the very brief discussion on that document was extremely discursive and helped laying emphasis on ideological confusion inside the leadership rather than ideologically unifying the Party. The only gain of the Meerut meeting was that, after prolonged and thorough discussion, a more or less unified line on the India-China border question emerged. But, against the background of differences on national issues, even this unified understanding on India-China border issue failed to evoke any enthusiasm either in the National Council or in the Party generally.

The next meetings of the National Council—those of Calcutta in May 1960 and of Bombay in December 1960 failed to bring about unification of the Party on questions on which the National Council found itself divided at Meerut. What is more, the Work Report of the Secretariat presented at the Calcutta meeting was not the unanimous report of even the Secretariat, not to speak of the CEC. Some members of the Secretariat themselves took objection to certain parts of the Report.

The net result of all this is that the meetings of the National Council have not served the purpose for which they are intended under the provisions of the Constitution. The Amritsar resolution, it will be recalled, pointed to the National Council as the body which will "not only elect a proper, competent Central Executive Committee and the Secretariat, but exercise effective control over their work by suggestions and criticism, not hesitating to remove those members of these bodies who fail to carry out their responsibilities and replace them by others". Actually, however, it has become a body which deliberates on certain current questions which, too, are not properly posed before it in well-prepared documents but in an extremely unorganised way.

It should further be added that, while the Madras meeting of the National Council noted a limited improvement in the work of the

Centre, it did not express full satisfaction. Serious criticisms were made by several comrades. One of these criticisms made by Comrade Jolly Kaul is worth noting here since it appears to pinpoint one of the basic failings of the Party Centre even when it was working at its best.

We are, therefore, extracting below from the minutes—"When the Amritsar Congress took place, we called it a Special Congress because we all felt that there were certain very acute organisational problems facing the Party at all levels, right from the Centre down to the lower units. Some of these problems were mentioned in the document before the Congress, like inactivity of Party members, Party finance, whole-timers, relation between lower committees and higher committees, relation between comrades, problems about relations between leadership and ranks, MPs, MLAs, their relations with the Party comrades, etc. We all know that the great achievement of the Amritsar Congress was that we were able to pass a Constitution which we had been wanting, which is to help us in tackling these organisational problems. It is very disappointing we have not solved these problems. We were not even able to discuss them, leave aside tackling them.

"Now in this period they have grown. I do not know what is the situation all over India. But I can say that in Bengal, right from the lowest ranks, there is a serious organisational crisis just at a time when the influence of the Party is growing. I do not wish to mention all of them here.

"It was expected that the National Council would take up these questions and tackle them. But, from the agenda of the meeting, I find that there is no programme or provision for tackling these problems. What I suggest, therefore, is that these serious organisational problems should be tackled in the following way: The Party Centre should start a *Party Organiser* where these questions will be posed, discussed in a little more elaborate way. We would help the Centre in posing these problems. The issue should be discussed in the Party Committees. The Organiser would publish the discussions of the Party Committees on these problems. Thus, we will get a correct idea of the problems facing

us. After the discussion has gone on for some 6 months or so, one of the National Council sessions can be set apart to find a way out."

The story of the meetings of the Central Executive Committee is esse. There was some improvement for nearly a year when meetings used to be well-prepared to a limited degree. But subsequently, particularly after differences cropped up on the India-China border, CEC meetings started becoming more and more chaotic.

The main reason for this sort of functioning of the National Council and the CEC is the manner of functioning the Secretariat itself. The work report of the Secretariat presented at the Calcutta meeting in May 1960 makes the following assessment:

"According to our new Constitution, the Secretariat is supposed to carry the current work of the CEC when the latter is not in session and it is not supposed to assume the functions of a Polit-Bureau whose place is now meant to be taken by the CEC. One of the most compelling reasons why this arrangement was made in the Party set-up was that no small leading body of comrades functioning at the Centre could be entrusted with the political and organisational responsibilities of leading the Party in conditions such as ours. Hence, came the bigger body of the CEC drawn from all major units and major fronts of Party activity to assume the role of the Political Bureau. In reality, what has happened is that, in many respects, the Secretariat itself has been called upon to function as the PB, while the CEC has only been some sort of a reviewing authority.

"However, the Secretariat did not take decisions on certain important matters such as arising out of Kerala and India-China dispute but referred them to the CEC sometimes even calling emergent meetings.

"It is not as if the Secretariat was consciously usurping the powers and authority of the CEC. Rather it is the circumstances and events that pushed the Secretariat into the spheres that should ordinarily belong to the CEC. Nevertheless, much more than 'routine work' has become its functions and it has had to take a number of important political decisions.

"It should be mentioned here that it is also difficult to ensure regular meetings of the CEC every two months. But events move fast, decisions cannot wait.

"While the Secretariat's responsibilities have, in fact, thus increased, giving rise to added expectations, its functioning has, however, considerably deteriorated, particularly during the last few months or so. Despite all they have been doing, the Secretariat and the team of other comrades working directly can hardly be regarded as what is understood in Communist Party organisation as Party Centre.

"Some sort of loose form and structure are, no doubt, there but it is badly lacking in requisite attributes and qualities that go to make a Party Centre.

"There was a decision that the Secretariat should meet every week and this has not been implemented, though many meetings of the Secretariat have been held.

"It is not essentially a question of some formal meetings to keep up the number for, quite a good number of meetings have been held. If the Secretariat was engaged in serious collective study of the political and economic events in the country, in discussing various organisational problems and issues of mass movements, in preparing pamphlets and political articles, in reviewing the Party journals and checking up implementation of the decisions of the National Council and CEC, in developing correspondence with the Provincial units the need for regular well-planned Secretariat meetings at least once every week would have been felt. It would not be wrong to say that the pattern more and more became one of calling meetings as and when issues arose. So, irregularity and slackness in this respect has grown not essentially because Secretariat members do not like meetings but because of the approach and style of work of the Secretariat.

"It has also been a problem to get the Secretariat members together all at a time in Delhi. Very few Secretariat meetings have been attended by all Comrades Ajay, B T Ranadive, P. C. Joshi, M. Basavpunniah and Bhupesh have been generally available for these meetings. Comrades Z.A. Ahmed and A.K. Gopalan a little less and Comrade Dange perhaps the least of all. These three

comrades, especially Comrades Dange and Gopalan have been mostly out of Delhi in connection with their respective mass work. It is Comrades P.C. Joshi and B.T. Ranadive who have been in regular attendance at the Party Office and keep regular hours. Comrade Bhupesh functions at the Parliamentary Office and so is Gopalan when he is in Delhi. Comrade Dange functions from the AITUC Centre. Comrade Basavpunniah has been going frequently, though not regularly, to the Central Offices but of late, he was busy with the Commission work. After Amritsar Congress, Comrade Ajoy started going to the Central Office for a few hours daily and that was an improvement. But later, he could not keep this up due to his illness and bad conditions of health.

"This would show that there is no ready opportunity even for brief daily consultation among the majority of the Secretariat members, this does not mean that informal consultations between 3-4 individuals available do not take place now and then; but that cannot obviously be regarded as a substitute for proper collective consultations in the Secretariat. So, meetings become the only occasion when the Secretariat members present in Delhi meet all together and discuss things as a collective body. But except in some cases generally these meetings are not properly thought or prepared: for, perhaps many items that is not necessary either. The agenda is named by one or more comrades and decisions are taken. It is only when major political issues are taken up that some preparation is made beforehand usually by Comrade Ajoy himself.

"In the functioning of the Secretariat, the written notes, reports, etc. are scarce with the result that the discussions tend to become perfunctory and no proper records are kept for further references or for follow on. The scrappy minutes often containing only decisions are, however, kept. It was decided that only the decisions should be recorded and not who says what. Issues and problems of mass fronts and mass movements are scarcely discussed in the Secretariat. It is further left to the individual comrades concerned. Neither the Secretariat asks for report nor do the Secretariat members concerned take any initiative in bringing up such issues or submitting them. Only significant

exception has been to anti-betterment levy struggle when at different stages, the Secretariat discussed the question in all its aspects.

The Secretariat in this period issued a number of statements on political events a list of which is enclosed. Generally, these statements have been made either after formal Secretariat meetings or some cases through mutual informal consultations. The statements would show that the Secretariat has tried to react to all major political events. Only two statements issued by the Secretariat have come in for criticism from some comrades—one is on the Ladakh incident and the other is on Eisenhower's visit.

"No Central leadership can win confidence and secure authority without ideological initiative and effort on its part especially when reaction is on the offensive on the ideological front and Party members and militants most impatiently look forward to the leadership for guidance and lead. But the Secretariat has deplorably failed in this respect. The Communist Parties all over the world have seriously taken up ideological questions after the Moscow Conference and many of them are still discussing them. But we only passed a resolution endorsing the 12 Parties Declaration at Amritsar. The Madras National Council meeting directed the Party Centre to prepare a document on revisionism and dogmatism.

"Later it was decided in the Secretariat and the CEC that at least a separate section on the subject should be included in the Political Report. Anyhow the clear direction was that a report of this kind must be prepared. But the Secretariat is not in a position to present any document on this subject. In fact, except for the last series of Secretariat meetings in March in connection with the preparation of April CEC meeting and the documents for this National Council meeting, the Secretariat never found time to discuss the question. So is the case with the CEC.

"While the 12 Parties Declaration pinned down revisionism as the main danger and many other fraternal Parties took a similar view, our Party leadership has as yet to say which is the main danger—revisionism or dogmatism and sectarianism.

"The responsibility for all this must be borne entirely by the CEC and the Secretariat, especially the Secretariat.

"Ideas alien to fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and serious deviation are allowed to prevail in the leaderships of our Party let alone ranks. Only in some cases they are taken note of and dealt with when they publicly compromise positions of the Party. There is no such collective effort on the part of the Secretariat to ideologically equip itself, much less remould and educate the Party ranks and fight challenges to the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism.

"From the attitude of the Secretariat, it would seem as if there is no pressure of bourgeois nationalism and revisionism on our Party, as if our Party is so strong and impervious to these pressures that the leadership need not bother. Yet the reality is that at every level of the Party, including the highest leadership, alien ideas and practices are penetrating and accumulating day after day. Units and comrades who want to see this trend combated and eliminated feel frustrated and many of them have now almost given up all hopes. The intellectuals who are usually drawn close to the Party through the Party's superior ideological activity remain uninspired and unattracted.

"Thus Party units and Party ranks have been left without any leadership in the ideological sphere."

(7) *Guidance to the Parliamentary Group:* On this, we are giving below extracts from the two Work Reports presented to the National Council in October 1958 and May 1960:

Work Report of Parliamentary Group to National Council in Oct. 1958

"As far as Parliament is concerned, Comrade Bhupesh Gupta devoted considerable amount of time for preparatory work for the autumn session and also during the session itself. Two reports on the preparatory work had been circulated to the MPs and also submitted to the Party Secretariat. The Second Report was also circulated among the CEC members at the time of the Trivandrum meeting of the CEC. In the preparatory work, this time, active co-operation has been sought and received from a number of

provincial committees as well as individuals in different parts of the country. It had been admitted that the performance of our group in the Parliament this time has been fairly effective and good. But many of the weaknesses in work still continue. Self-preparation is weak and neglected in the case of most MPs. Comrade Dange's pre-occupation with the AITUC and other work kept him away from Parliament for a part of the time and his absence naturally told on the effectiveness of our group in the Lok Sabha. Apart from the Kerala issue, on other matters, too, such as reappraisal of the Second Plan, Assam Oil Refinery, the Secretariat has collectively given some guidance to the Parliamentary group.

"A few other matters had also been referred to the Secretariat by the group. Our Parliamentary group has made a significant contribution by its exposure of Morarji Desai. It has succeeded in exposing Ramdhyani and for the first time since independence, compelling the Government to administer at least a public warning to an ICS Secretary. Moreover, it has succeeded in getting breach of privilege proceedings initiated against the weekly journal *Thought* which really echoes the USIS. As a result of the persistent effort of the group in the Parliament in co-operation with the Kerala State Committee, it has been possible to prevent the PSP motion for discussion on Kerala during the session. The group made special efforts to keep the MPs informed of the truth about Kerala through personal contacts and otherwise. It brought out a pamphlet containing report on Nehru's press conference on Kerala and EMS's reply.

"On the food issue, the Parliamentary group took a great deal of initiative not only for highlighting the gravity of the situation but also for backing up the mass movement in Uttar Pradesh and West Bengal. On behalf of the group, a letter was addressed to the Prime Minister and the popular demands were pressed in the consultative committee, which the Prime Minister had to appoint. Parliamentary group's work in this respect had a good impact on the people of Uttar Pradesh. Our Parliamentary group also could have taken up the question of Central food supplies to Kerala but our MPs were not informed of the latest position."

Work Report of May 1960

"On all important issues like Kerala, Tibet, Thimayya episode, India-China relations, the Secretariat guided the Parliamentary group and, in fact, the stand taken in the Parliament was the result of mutual consultations between the two.

"In regard to Kerala, the State Committee also rendered great help and but for their co-operation, it would not have been possible for the Parliamentary group or the Centre to raise the issues so effectively in the Parliament.

"As for the India-China question, internal Party differences were also reflected within the Parliamentary group itself. But except for one or two departures, our MP comrades have maintained complete discipline. Our group in Parliament had to face a very difficult situation like of which it had never experienced before. The general line of the group has been to stress negotiations and peaceful settlement and talks between the two Prime Ministers, while concentrating fire on the enemies of such an approach and of India's foreign policy. In this, care was taken to see that the opponents of the policy of peace and negotiations did not succeed in building up a common front with those who, however agitated or bitter they may be over the India-China border developments, generally stand for the present foreign policy and a sober approach. This made it necessary for our group to be extremely cautious in its approach.

"Although the PSP, Jan Sangh and elements like Masani raised a big noise now and then, they, however, ultimately found themselves pitted against a large number of Congress MPs. In the Congress Parliamentary Party, too, their friends were cornered and they suffered a big rebuff when the invitation to the Chinese Premier for talks was announced.

"In spite of initial difficulties our group did not come out badly in the Parliament over this issue.

"During the past few months, there has been a concerted drive for greater foreign private investments in our country. This situation has been matched by our group through constant exposure of foreign capital and our group literally kept foreign capital under a barrage of exposure. The exposure in respect of oil

has been particularly effective and its impact is felt not only by the Ministry but also by foreign oil concerns.

“Similarly, the question of land reforms and co-operatives were also taken up by our group with a view to pinning down the Government to define the steps on the basis of the board declaration of the Congress Party.

“On the Pay Commission’s Report, the Communist MPs led the attack on the basis of the discussions between the AITUC Centre and our MPs working on the TU front.

“Pondicherry Committee of the Party and Comrade Subbiah referred certain important matters of administration, etc. to the Parliamentary group and these were taken up in both Houses.

“It is our group which systematically fought for the implementation of the policy of State-trading in foodgrains. But it has not succeeded in preventing its virtual sabotage. The food issue was also kept up by our group. In all this, many Congressmen sympathised and even lent their voice more or less to the position which we had taken. But for this support and sharing of feelings, Ajit Prasad Jain would not have been forced to resign.

“Likewise the rehabilitation problem, particularly, the scandals of Dandakaranya, were highlighted by our group in Parliament. And this set the ball rolling. The Rehabilitation Minister is badly shaken.

“Our group persistently exposed the moves of the Dalai Lama and his entourage as well as their dealings in respect of gold and other things. Generally our stand has found support among many Congressmen though they expressed themselves in their own way. The support to Dalai Lama, of course, comes from the PSP benches without any effect.

“Deshmukh’s demand for probe into corruption—the Secretariat attached considerable importance to Deshmukh’s demand for probe into the charges of corruption and our Parliamentary group pursued the matter in both the Houses.

“In the recent controversy over the Auditor-General’s report regarding Defence Expenditure, our group has avoided entanglements with either of the two extreme positions, viz. the

fierce attack on the Auditor-General disregarding the findings of the report on the one hand and the defence of what the Auditor-General has done irrespective of palpable political motivations behind this business.

"While the political manoeuvres have to be exposed, the case of corruption and squandering of public money which is so common in defence services cannot be allowed to be sidetracked either.

"This line of approach was adopted by our Parliamentary group general body with four Secretariat members participating and agreeing.

"One or two other MP comrades, however, have some reservations and they seemed to be of the view that we should more or less take the position of Feroze Gandhi i.e. blind support to Menon and wholesale denunciation of the Auditor-General.

"There were political discussions in the general body on all important major questions and the stand taken in the Parliament has generally reflected the collective views of the group.

"Efforts have been made to utilise the services of Parliamentary group for the assisting of mass movements as was done in the case of anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab and the West Bengal food struggle. But with better planning and co-ordination much more can be done in this respect and for sending MPs for propaganda and campaign purpose to the States other than their own.

"Although every Saturday or Sunday the general body meets and takes necessary decisions, the Executive Committee ever hardly functions. It is difficult to get together or even the majority of the seven members present in Delhi at the same time. Besides, the general body itself practically discusses all subjects concerning the group and its work with the result that the Executive meeting is viewed as something unnecessary and redundant. But the failure on this score can hardly be justified for the discussions in the smaller body would be of greater help to the collective work. In the matter of attendance and discipline of the group, some comrades do not observe them properly.

"Huge arrears have accumulated during 1957, 1958 and 1959. While the arrears of levy were practically written off, the arrears

for the last two years amounted to about Rs. 20,000 (on the 1st of January 1960). The Secretariat and the general body took a firm stand this time with regard to arrears of 1958-59. This led to the realisation of the arrears from all except comrades whose names have been published in the New Age Weekly.

"It is felt by MP comrades that if the staff to assist the Parliamentary work were a little strengthened, our work would considerably improve. Things are so shaping out in Parliament that without assistance of the Party leadership and study of all matters of public importance and without continuous preparation, all the year round, it is not possible to effectively discharge the responsibilities. In this connection, the self-study of MPs also assumes great urgency.

"Parliament is the focal point of all India national policies and the best efforts on the part of the group and the most effective guidance of the Secretariat are what is called for. This has to be developed. Further, it will also be noted that when things go well with our group in Parliament, the entire Party feels happy and enthused and it helps the movement. And when things go wrong, the Party and the movement equally suffer.

"Detailed account of the work are given in the review."

(8) *Sub-Committees of Leading Comrades on the TU and Kisan Fronts:* These Sub-Committees were, of course, formed but their functioning was far from satisfactory. The decision of the Madras meeting of the National Council was that members of the National Council who are on the AITUC Working Committee should function as Sub-Committee. It, however, has not functioned. The attention of the Secretariat was drawn to it by Comrade Dange who wrote the following letter on 5th December 1959:

"The All-India Sub-Committee of the National Council on TU is practically a non-functioning body. It once met in Calcutta to discuss the problem of Iron & Steel and Coal.

"Thereafter, at the Trivandrum meeting of the National Council it met along with the AIKS group to discuss problems of unions of agricultural workers.

"Nothing was done to follow it up.

"At Meerut, there was a proposal to discuss some problems. But nothing could be done in the atmosphere there.

"Thus it is very plain that that Committee is not able to carry on its task. By its very nature, it cannot be a functioning body unless it can function as something like a Central Secretariat of the TU-wing. Even then I am doubtful.

"As I am the Convenor of that Committee, I am putting this matter before you. It is no use my being either Convenor or trying to function a body which by its very nature cannot."

Neither the Secretariat nor the CEC nor the National Council discussed what that body cannot, by its very nature, function and if so, what type of body can function and how?

The Kisan Sub-Committee has functioned better (Even here, however, all the members have not participated in all the meetings of the Committee). It was because of this that some improvement was registered in the functioning of the AIKS office which became a little more active in the recent period. But the problems of the kisan movement were never discussed in the Central organs of the Party.

Even the Draft documents which they prepared in pursuance of the directive of the Calcutta meeting of the National Council and circulated to the National Council members at the Bombay meeting could not be discussed.

(9) *Effective measures to be taken to overcome the neglect of the struggle for peace by Party units:* Despite the growth of the importance of the struggle for peace, for disarmament and in support of the anti-imperialist struggles of the peoples of Africa and elsewhere, the Party units at all levels have generally speaking continued to neglect the work for peace, friendliness with socialist countries and solidarity with the struggle for national independence.

Effective steps must be worked out at all levels to overcome this serious weakness.

(10) *Work Among Women:* The Party's neglect of work amongst women and lack of any programme and policy for organising and mobilising them stand out in glaring contrast.

True that since the Amritsar Conference a slight improvement is evident in the attitude of certain higher committees. For example, the Punjab P.C. Secretariat has paid special attention not only to its women cadre but also to the mass work they are expected to do; the Andhra P.C. has recently called a convention of Party women to discuss their problems and programme for the future. Tamilnad and Bombay Committees have paid serious attention to the activities of women Party members. In Kerala the Party devoted time and thought to setting up a province-wide women's organisation. Women have been elected to Provincial Councils after recent Party Conferences in the following provinces— Andhra, Kerala, Bengal, Tamilnad, Punjab, Bombay, Madhya Pradesh, Tripura and Delhi.

Nonetheless, it cannot be denied that the overall picture remains more or less the same. That is to say, the Party leadership still does not consider the work of organising women for the defence of democratic rights as a part of its responsibilities, has not devoted any time or attention to work out a correct perspective for the women's movement, continues to neglect the organisation for education and training of its women cadre and continues to look upon the problems raised by women Party members as an irksome burden. This weakness has to be overcome.

(11) *Work Among Students and Youth:* A National Sub-Committee on Students and Youth was formed at the time of the Madras National Council meeting. At that time there was no All-India Centre of these organisations but local and State units, the cadre working on these fronts were sharply divided on policy issues and confusion prevailed.

The National Sub-Committee held a leading cadres' meeting and formulated elementary policy documents which broadly unified the comrades and drew up a simple programme of action to initiate the revival of students and youth movements and activise the comrades working on these fronts.

A distinct revival after the earlier years of the confusion and passivity has taken place but it is very elementary and uneven.

After the leading cadres' meeting fairly successful All-India Conference of the AISF and AIYF were held, and thereafter their executives have met quite regularly.

Generally statewide and in some places district conferences are also held.

All-India Centres of these organisations have been set up but they are only contact centres rather than anything more developed. But the Party leadership at various levels does not give them enough attention and help.

A salient feature of both the student and youth movements is that it has grown to the extent it has been able to link up with the corresponding Party Committees and get their help.

(12) *Contact Between the Centre and States:* The major improvement registered in this regard during the last three years has been the attention paid by Party Centre to Kerala, both when our Ministry was in office as well as at the time of midterm elections. The Central leadership played its role in correcting some of the mistakes committed by the Kerala comrades during the tenure of the Ministry. All-India leaders also participated in the election campaign in Kerala. Above all, the Central Party leadership and the New Age played a great role in giving a fillip to the countrywide campaigns on the eve and after the dismissal of the Ministry.

Help was also rendered by the Centre to some other States, such as Assam at the time of the recent disturbances, the language question in the Punjab, the food movement in UP etc.

However, it cannot be said that even the limited tasks set in the Amritsar resolution such as "studying reports set by the State Committees prompt reply to their queries", etc. were carried out.

The biggest failure in the matter of giving leadership to the States, however, is the fact that the Central leadership was unable to organise and lead nationwide mass political campaigns (except on the issue of Kerala). The political resolution of the Amritsar Congress had given the direction in which such nationwide campaigning is to be organised. This, however, was not concretised on any issue except that of Kerala. The result was that

such glorious struggles as the anti-betterment levy struggle in Punjab, the food movement in Bengal, etc. of which every Communist in the Party should feel proud, were not taken to the higher level of issues for national-political campaigning: they remained within the confines of their respective States. Similarly, on such developments as the Assam disturbances, the Punjabi Suba agitation, the anti-constitutional agitation in Tamilnad, etc. the Central leadership did not arm and equip the Party with the slogans on the basis of which even genuine democratic demands (such as linguistic States, development of regional languages, economic and regional development of backward areas and regions, etc.) were given distorted, anti-national and anti-people forms. Similarly, the failure of the Party to give the organised kisan movement and the non-kisan democratic masses a proper lead for countrywide campaign against the attempted reversal of policies on land reforms has made our work among the peasants as well as among the general democratic masses extremely weak. Above all, the failure of the Central leadership in the matter of such a glorious countrywide action as the Central Government employees' strike was so serious that the Central Executive Committee itself had to own its failures and shortcomings in this respect.

The directive to start the Urdu weekly has been carried out. The Urdu weekly AWAMI DAUR was started on 6th December 1959.

(13) *Party Programme and Party History:* Nothing has been done to carry out these two tasks.

(14) *Organisation of Proper Party Life for Cadres Working in the Central Offices:* After the Madras meeting of the National Council, the comrades working in the Central Office were organised in one branch. One of the members of the Secretariat, Comrade Basavpunniah, was put in charge of the same. It has also a branch committee of 7 members. It has been having some political activities like political discussions, reports by leading comrades from the States when they come here, etc. The branch comrades were active at the time of the general campaigns such as

Kerala. But there is no noticeable improvement in the character of Party activity. As a matter of fact, the position remains more or less the same as at the time of Amritsar. The main reason for this state of affairs is the failure of the Secretariat members themselves.

(15) *Combating Individualism and Restoring Discipline:* The Organisational Resolution of the Amritsar Congress concludes with the laying down of a general task in the following terms:

"We have formulated the immediate organisational tasks before the Party. But past experience should teach us that all this will remain on paper unless a conscious and determined effort is made to bring about a change in practice.

"This has to start *from above*, from the Central and State leadership. It is these committees and their members who have to raise their own consciousness, overcome the divergence between decisions and their implementation, between profession and practice and set in every respect a model before lower units of the Party as a whole--modesty, tolerance, comradely behaviour, attention to criticism and above all, discipline without which not one of the tasks can be carried out. It is with the combating of individualism and strengthening of discipline is to be strengthened *primarily* by example from above.

'It has to be noted that, taking the Party as a whole, our leadership has not grown in maturity and ability as fast as the growth of the movement. This creates big difficulties for the Party Proper methods of functioning of committees can help to overcome this difficulty to a limited extent—but only to a limited extent. The leaders of the Party at all levels, especially in the Central and State leaderships have to increase their *individual efficiency* through self-study, specialisation and proper organisation of their own work.

"It is necessary to stress that the weakness and shortcomings from which the Party suffers cannot be overcome by certain procedural steps alone. These shortcomings and weaknesses are the product of continuous neglect of the fundamental principles of

Party organisation. With a view to removing them, this Extraordinary Congress of the Party calls upon all units of the Party, especially the National Council, the Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat—

- To conduct a campaign for improvement of Party work through a process of study, criticism and self-criticism. This campaign should be directed primarily towards the overcoming of individualism, restoration of discipline, bridging the gulf between word and deed and strengthening comradely relations.
- To set up appropriate machinery for preparation of Party programme.
- To conduct education throughout the Party on the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism.”

It was in carrying out this key task that the Central leadership of the Party failed to the utmost; and it is to this failure that every other failure is to be traced.

Not only did the members of the Central Secretariat, Central Executive Committee and the National Council fail to carry out the directive of the Party Congress “to conduct a campaign of improving Party work through a process of study, criticism and self-criticism” but they, through their own activities, exhibited the grossest examples of “individualism, lack of discipline, the gulf between word and deed and absence of comradely relations”, the overcoming of which, according to the Party Congress, should be the objective of the campaign of improvement. All the dangerous alien trends which were noted earlier as manifesting themselves in the Party as a whole (at the end of the last chapter) have made their appearance in the Central leadership itself. The manner in which the differences on the India-China border and other questions were publicly aired and the scandalous leakage of Party secrets to the press show the depths to which the state of the Party Centre has been reduced.

The major responsibility for this should, of course, be shouldered by the members of the Central Secretariat and of the Central Executive Committee. It should, however, be noted that even such a widely representative National Council composed as

it is of the best leaders drawn from all the States of India, could not either pull up the members of the Central Secretariat and of the Central Executive Committee or to replace them, shows the state of utter helplessness to which the Party has been reduced.

Political Unification and Organisational Cohesion—Their Interdependence

The state of affairs inside the Party as a whole, and particularly at the Party Centre described at length in the previous chapters, did not suddenly seize the Party after the Amritsar Congress. It was, on the other hand, the culmination of a deep-seated malady which had been noted at the successive sessions of the Political Bureau, the Central Committee and the Party Congress since 1952.

The August 1952 meeting of the Polit Bureau gave thought to the political and organisational implications of the 1952 general elections in which the Party came out as the major opposition in the country as a whole. It pointed out that—

“We have reached a stage when success in organising the popular movement is inseparably linked with and even *dependent upon* the planned organised growth of the Communist Party itself.” It drew pointed attention to the lag in the organised strength of the Party (as revealed in its membership) in comparison to the Party’s political influence among the people (as revealed in its electoral strength): “Even in Madras State, where we polled 2.6 million votes in the general elections and could have polled much more if we had contested more seats--even in this State our Party membership is far less than 1 per cent of the votes polled by us. A similar situation prevails in other States. And even this membership is not properly organised and only a fraction of it is ideologically-politically developed. This is the biggest single problem facing the Party” (as summed up by Comrade Ajoy Ghosh in his article “Some Of Our Main Weaknesses”).

Other weaknesses noted by the Polit Bureau at that time included “anarchistic concepts of inner-Party democracy”, lack of

reporting by higher committees to lower committees; absence of prompt and adequate reviews of campaigns and struggles; existence of "past prejudices, a legacy of the period of inner-Party struggle, which coloured the outlook in determining organisational questions"; planlessness in work; failure to co-ordinate activities on various fronts; tendency to entrust a few leading comrades with more work than they can do, etc.

The conclusions arrived at by the Polit Bureau at that meeting and summed up in the article "Some Of Our Main Weaknesses" were further discussed at the Centre and in the ranks and led to the formulation of an Organisational Resolution by the Central Committee in 1953. This, in its turn, was still further discussed and, after important modifications, became the subject of discussion at the Third Congress of the Party held at Madurai in December 1953–January 1954. That Congress itself entrusted the new Central Committee with the job of rewriting and finalising the Resolution in the light of discussions which took place at the Congress. It was thus that the April 1954 Central Committee Resolution on Organisation came to be adopted. That resolution pointed out a serious defect in Party organisation:

"Leading Party Committee—from the Central Committee to the District Committees—do not yet function as *leading Committees*, rapidly evolving slogans and policies in a fast-developing situation, helping the lower committees to solve the problems confronting them, guiding mass activities, consolidating the Party's influence in strong bases, extending to new areas and spheres in accordance with a definite perspective and plan. Quite often, meetings of committees are not properly prepared for, there is totally inadequate check up. Sometimes, sub-committees formed by Provincial Committees and fractions become virtually autonomous and tend to replace the Provincial Committee itself in relation to the front, which it is supposed to help the PC to guide. Similarly, in the Party Centre, individual comrades in charge of fronts tend to become autonomous and function on their own. All this results in lack of coordination, prevents consolidation and expansion, prevents effective leadership"

The resolution also laid down the lines on which these defects in the organisation should be sought to be overcome and, to that end, framed rules for the guidance of the Polit Bureau, Central Committee and PCs. Realising, however, that strict adherence to these rules of guidance will not, by itself, lead to a real improvement in the work of the Party, the resolution went in detail into the content of the work of these Party units and laid down the lines on which such items of Party activity as agitation and struggles, sustained mass activity, improvement in the quality of Party journals, ideological struggles, unhealthy attitude and practices that persist in many Party Units, the full unfolding of criticism and self-criticism, expansion of Party membership, etc. have to be carried.

The resolution was universally welcomed in the Party as an effective weapon in unifying, expanding and further strengthening the Party. However, two years after the adoption of that resolution, when the Fourth Party Congress met at Palghat the Report presented by the General Secretary stated:

"The Central Committee itself has not, during the last two years, carried out its tasks in relation to the activities of the Party - review them, draw lessons from them. The reasons are known to all comrades--inner-CC differences, which paralysed its work and prevented it from discharging its responsibilities".

Briefly examining the numerous struggles which took place in the country and in which the Party played an important and leading role, the Report added: "We must recognise that the success registered in every sphere is far less than what could have been. The struggles, by large, have remained on a local and partial place and have not been coordinated and developed into a power mass democratic movement. Mass organisations, though stronger than before, have not attained such strength as was both necessary and possible. Above all, the Communist Party, on whose strengthening depends the strengthening of the democratic movement, has not registered appreciable increase in membership, in ideological level, in the circulation of its newspapers and strengthening of its financial position. Effective

strength of the Party still remains confined to certain provinces and among certain classes and section. Above all, inner-Party differences have accentuated and the inner-Party situation is extremely serious".

Regarding the Central Committee and Polit Bureau, the Report said—“As collective bodies, they have hardly functioned. They have not carried out responsibilities laid down in the organisational resolution. They have not acted as a national-political leader, evolving the slogans and tactics in a fast-developing situation, reviewing actual events, giving concrete guidance, helping Party Committees to solve the political and organisational problems confronting them. Instead of acting as such collective bodies, the Central Committee and the Polit Bureau got sharply divided on political issues, which virtually paralysed them. They could not resolve these differences. It is this failure of the Central leadership of the Party that is mainly responsible for the present weaknesses of the Party and of the mass movement”.

The Fourth Congress, however, did not adopt any organisational resolution. An Organisational Note was submitted by the General Secretary in which the position of the Party, as summed up above, was explained in greater detail. A discussion followed. In the course of that discussion, several important points were made by the comrades. These were not clinched by the Congress. As a matter of fact, the whole Congress felt that the Organisational Note presented and discussion on it at the Congress were so unsatisfactory that it in the end, adopted a resolution asking the Central Committee to prepare a Report on Organisation to be submitted to an Extended Plenum of the Central Committee which was to be convened within six months of the Congress.

This decision of the Fourth Congress was not carried out, “due”, as the Organisational Report presented at the Amritsar Congress, held two years later, stated: “to the preoccupation of the Party Committees with the general elections. Almost all major State Committees requested postponement of the Plenum. The Central Committee, therefore, decided that the Extended Plenum

would be convened after the general elections were over. Later, in view of the changes proposed in the Constitution, the Central Committee decided to convene this special Party Congress".

Even at this Special Congress, however, the Report on Organisation, envisaged in the decision of the Fourth Party Congress, was not presented. The only aspect of Party work that was reviewed in the Report was the campaign for the enrolment of Party members. The Report, however, gave one section in which the "State of Party Centre" was reviewed. After giving a factual description of what the Party Centre did, the Report came to the conclusion: "Taken in its totality, the amount of work done by the Central leadership of the Party in the task of ideological-political leadership of the Party, guidance to mass activity and activity in Parliament, help to PCs, has been extremely meagre".

The reasons for these, as given in the Report, are five.
(a) Inadequate number of comrades available for Central work;
(b) non-functioning of the Polit Bureau with regard to which, it was stated "there has been no improvement since Palghat",
(c) failure of the Central Committee members to lock upon central work as part of their responsibility; (d) failure of even the few comrades who worked at the Centre to function collectively; (e) inadequate contact between the Party Centre and the State Committees.

It is significant that, among the reasons given for the non-functioning of the Party Centre in this period, one which was stated at the time of the Fourth Congress was missing--absence of political unification in the Central leadership. As a matter of fact, the period between Palghat and Amritsar witnessed a far better extent of political unification in the Party leadership than ever before. It, in spite of such relatively favourable political situation inside the Party, the Party Centre failed to function (if in this period "*most of the meetings of the Central Committee have been badly prepared--without proper drafts and without prepared agenda; many of the urgent problems of the mass movement have not been discussed by the Central Committee; on a number of matters, the decisions taken by the Central Committee have not been implemented; after the general elections, we have not been*

able to conduct any campaign in an effective manner on an All-India plane"), then it will become clear that there was something wrong with our organisation, which cannot be directly traced to lack of political unification.

It was this that made comrades a little cynical when the Organisational Report presented at Amritsar laid down certain tasks to be fulfilled by the Party as a whole and by the Party Centre in particular. The Report itself admitted that the question can legitimately be asked: "What guarantee is there that all this will be done? Especially when, despite assurances, despite all the experience of the past which shows how the entire work of the Party suffers in the absence of a functioning Party Centre, such a Centre has not come into existence? That there was no convincing answer to this was clear when the Report proceeded. "The only guarantee can be that the National Council which will be elected by this Party Congress deems it to be its duty to ensure that such Centre comes into existence not only by electing a proper and competent Central Committee and a Secretariat but by effective control over their work, by suggestions and criticism, not hesitating to remove those members of these bodies who fail to carry out their responsibilities and replace them by others"

Summing up this narrative of the discussion on Organisation which was initiated in 1952, one can see that there were the following main stages:

(i) *After the first General Elections to the Third Congress of the Party*: In this stage, it was thought that the source of the weakness of the Party lay in the inadequate realisation by most of our comrades that "organisation, more so than ever before, has become a major political factor It determines the tempo of the growth of the mass movement itself ("Some Of Our Main Weaknesses"). It was, therefore, thought necessary to restate some of the fundamental principles of Party organisation as they apply to the new period in which our tasks and responsibilities have grown manifold, since the mass movement is growing and political awakening spreading to new strata, new sections and new areas.

(ii) *Between the Third and Fourth Congresses*: This was the stage in which the tasks of restating the fundamentals of

organisation in the light of the new situation was fulfilled and the Party should, therefore, have made a big headway but did not do so "because the Central leadership was politically divided and its work paralysed" (as was stated in the Report presented to the Fourth Congress).

(iii) *Between Palghat and Amritsar*: This was the state in which the political division was overcome and, therefore, there was full justification to expect the Party to register an immense growth through the implementation in practice of the principles restated and applied to new conditions in the earlier phases, but in which actually there was no improvement at all.

(iv) *Amritsar to Vijaywada*: In this stage, as has been explained in the previous chapter, almost every single task laid down at Amritsar remained unfulfilled, though the possible argument regarding lack of political unification may at best be applied only to roughly half of this period, i.e., since the Party get divided on the India-China border issue.

This should be enough to prove that, while political unification is extremely important and an essential basis on which alone organisational cohesion and discipline can be brought about, there is no mechanical correlation between the two. The existence of political unification need not necessarily reflect itself in organisational cohesion and discipline. The latter has to be consciously brought about by the independent work of creating the necessary guarantees that each and every line in the chain of organisation is connected through unity of action which correctly reflects the unity of views. On the other hand, there may be occasions when there is no sufficient political unification to be transformed into organisational cohesion and discipline; there are different understandings and approaches to problems which have not yet been fully thrashed out in order to work out a unified line; under these circumstances, too, differences in understanding and approach can be properly thrashed out and a unified line worked out only if this very process of thrashing out differences is carried out within the framework of organisational cohesion and discipline. It was this idea that was expressed by the then Central

Committee in the Organisational Resolution adopted in March 1953 when it stated as follows:

“Political unification is achieved as the result of *collective work* by the Party, through Party *units* applying the general line of the Party to the given situation and further concretising, amplifying it in the course of activity, through constant discussion, criticism and self-criticism, through regular review of lessons and struggles, etc. And for this, strict adherence to Party forms and strict discipline are essential.”

It added that differences on many concrete questions “exist and will arise in future also, particularly in view of the rapidly developing situation which will pose new problems. They will have to resolved—not by glossing over the differences (as is very often done today) but by sharply formulating them and by means of discussion, by means of principled inner-Party struggle. But principled inner-Party struggle, inner-Party struggle that strengthens the Party can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms.”

The correctness of this theoretical proposition made by the C.C. nine years ago, has been amply proved by the practical experience of the last nine years when absence of properly functioning Party units from top to bottom actually has hampered the process of principled inner-Party struggle. For, while it is true that our Party has sometimes tended to gloss over differences, failed to sharply formulate them and to resolve them by means of inner-Party struggle (as was stated in the 1953 Central Committee Resolution), appearance of ideological-political differences and efforts at resolving them through inner-Party discussion has, in general, failed to acquire the character of “principled inner-Party struggle, and inner-Party struggle that strengthens the Party.”

The reasons are:

(a) That even when ideological-political issues were posed they were not issues concretely posed as issues arising out of and generalising the experience of the mass of our people, carrying on their daily struggles. It was not in the spirit of ‘learning from as well as teaching’ the masses that we undertook inner-Party discussions. The result was that, even though every ideological-political issues that formed the subject-matter of inner-Party

discussion was thrown up by the mass movement, the discussion was of a type which interests only a small minority of intellectuals within the Party. It is significant, in this connection, that although serious inner-Party discussions did take place more than once during the last 9 years, at no time did the Central Committee or the Party Congress undertake a concrete review of the achievements and failures of the mass movement led by the Party, particularly the trade union and kisan movements. Ideological-political discussion was thus divorced from the concrete problems of policy and practice which the broad mass movement of the working people has to face.

(b) This method of inner-Party struggle did not lead to real political unification. For, it did not enable the Party to come to conclusions on the issues posed on the basis of the living experience of the majority of our people who, after all, are and should be the final judges of what is correct and what is incorrect. Discussion, on the other hand, turned out to be as to which formulation is more correct from an abstract theoretical point of view. A decision one way or the other in such a struggle between two sets of formulations would not convince anybody and even when decided by a majority, would not lead to that unity of will which is the essential pre-requisite for the unity of action.

(c) Apart from this non-concrete character of the discussion the background of the inner-Party struggle was such that those who resorted to it failed to observe Party forms. As a matter of fact, the proposition made in the 1953 resolution of the Central Committee that principled inner-Party struggle "can take place only on the basis of observance of Party forms" has remained on paper.

The overcoming of these defects in the method of inner-Party struggle is of great importance today because only through principled inner-Party struggles can the Party strengthen itself in the present-day international situation. As the Moscow Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties has made it perfectly clear, the present is a situation which "a determined struggle on two fronts—against revisionism which remains the main danger and against dogmatism and sectarianism" is called for. Surrounded as the Party is by the manifold forms of the ideological activity of

the bourgeoisie, large sections of the Party are bound to be affected by revisionist ideas. On the other hand, the existence of an extensive area of petty-bourgeois revolt against the ruling class is taking up positions of dogmatism and sectarianism. These two dangerous distortions of the Marxist-Leninist line of advance towards peace, freedom, democracy and socialism are bound to manifest themselves in various ways inside the Party, particularly since the present international and national situation is so complex that new and unexpected developments may take place any time and upset all the calculations earlier made by the Party. It is, therefore, idle to imagine a state of such "political unification" will come into existence as does not require inner-Party struggle, sometimes taking extremely serious forms.

This need for an ever-vigilant attitude towards ideological-political questions makes it all the more necessary that the unity and discipline of the Party is maintained and preserved at all costs. As the 1953 CC resolution on organisation stated: "To argue that as long as 'full political unification' is not achieved, one should be permitted to violate Party forms, and Party rules should be held in abeyance or at least 'relaxed'—to argue like this is to betray utter ignorance of what political unification means and how it is achieved in a Communist Party." It should be borne in mind that anarchistic defiance of Party authority or liberal acquiescence towards those who resort to such defiance is as alien to Marxism-Leninism as is the bureaucratic suppression of the views of the rank and file. That is why the Moscow Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties points out:

"Marxist-Leninist Parties regard it as an inviolable law of their activity steadfastly to observe the Leninist standards of Party life in keeping with the principle of democratic centralism: they consider that they must cherish Party unity like the apple of their eye, strictly to adhere to the principle of Party democracy and collective leadership, for they attach, in keeping with the organisational principles of Leninism, great importance to the role of the leading Party bodies in the life of the Party, to work indefatigably for the strengthening of their bonds with the Party membership and with the broad masses of the working people, not

to allow the personality cult, which shackles creative thought and initiative of Communists, vigorously to promote the activity of Communists and to encourage criticism and self-criticism in their ranks."

Unfortunately for our Party, we have behind us a heritage of both forms of departure from the Marxist-Leninist principles, of democratic centralism. We have behind us the experience of a highly centralised and bureaucratic leadership which ensured an apparent unity of the Party from top to bottom, a unity which existed only because no initiative was permitted to the rank and file to raise problems and have democratic discussions on them. We have also the experience of virtual absence of a central leadership which guides, directs, controls and disciplines the entire Party—a state of affairs in which there is apparently abundant political activity in the form of "free discussion" of all issues (not excluding even the most fundamental tenets of Marxism) but a discussion which does not lead the Party or the people anywhere since it is neither concerned with the living problems of the people nor is it conducted in such a business-like way as to lead to any practical conclusions. The misfortune is that, although we have had the experience of both, although we have suffered from both, we have not yet learnt proper lessons from either, with the result that the traces of both these are still strong among us.

One of the factors contributing to this state of affairs was the big shock which the entire Party felt when the mistakes and shortcomings of Stalin in his last days were unveiled. These revelations undermined the faith of a large number of Party members in the international Communist movement. Ideas of questioning even what have, for long, been considered unquestionable truths became the order of the day. Among the ideas that came thus to be questioned were the need for the unity of the Party discipline, democratic centralism with its twin aspects of democracy and centralism as the sheet anchor of the strength of the Party, solidarity of the international movement, etc.

The recent Moscow Statement of the Communist and Workers' Parties has helped in restoring the balance not only by restating and applying to the present-day conditions the basic tenets of Marxism-Leninism but also by pointing out the way in which the

ideological-political issues of the international movement are to be further discussed and decided: while every national party will discuss and decide questions of national importance as a Centralised Party in which it is obligatory for the minority to submit itself to the majority and for the lower units to submit themselves to the higher units, the international relations of the world Communist movement are so arranged that "the Communist and Workers' Parties hold meetings whenever necessary to discuss urgent problems" and otherwise maintain the unity of the international movement. This would give us a clear perspective of the way in which the world Communist movement is growing and is arranging its affairs. This new conception of the unity of the world movement together with the new inspiring perspective of a grand march forward mapped out by the Moscow Statement, should help us a good deal in overcoming the consequences of the shocks felt by us after the Twentieth Congress.

However, there are certain concrete problems which we have to tackle if the new opportunity that has thus opened out before us is to be fully grasped. For the difficulties that we are today facing are the result not only of the shake up that the international Communist movement received when the mistakes and shortcomings of Comrade Stalin were revealed. Our difficulties had actually started much earlier. They had, in fact, started at the time of the inner-Party struggle which started in the post-Second World War period. The change of political line and of political leadership that took place first in 1948, then in 1950 and again in 1951-52 have all left their traces in our Party, both in the forms of different understandings as well as of the heritage of the organisational measures taken at the time of one or another change. We have to overcome the consequences of all these, have to get a unified understanding on the harmful consequences of one or another political line or organisational measure adopted by the Party leadership at one time or the other.

This was essentially the task laid down by the Amritsar Congress when it called on the new National Council to make a beginning in the direction of writing a Party history. This would,

of course, take time and cannot be expected to be finished even before the next Congress meets. There are, however, certain practical issues of Party building which cannot be properly discussed and clinched unless some of the remnants of these old political understandings or old organisational measures are touched upon. We would, therefore, try in the following pages to deal with the most important problems of Party organisation which have to be tackled today as practical questions but deal with them in relation to the actual position of the leading cadres of the Party at the Central Provincial and District levels.

V. Rectification Campaign

The need for what was known in the literature of the Communist Party of China as a "rectification campaign" was realised by the Amritsar Congress: although not using the term "rectification campaign", the Organisational Resolution adopted by the Congress called on "all units of the Party, especially the National Council, Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat" to conduct "a campaign of improvement of Party work through process of study, criticism and self-criticism" and said that this campaign "should be directed primarily towards the overcoming of individualism, restoration of discipline, bridging the gulf between word and deed and strengthen the comradely relations."

Such a campaign is all the more necessary now than it was three years ago. The virtual failure of the National Council, the Central Executive Committee and the Central Secretariat to carry out any of the tasks assigned to them by the Party Congress makes it all the more necessary to turn the torch of criticism and self-criticism towards the Party as a whole and towards its leading cadres in particular, with a view to improving the work of the entire Party.

This, however, cannot be done unless the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Party which, in the words of the Organisational Resolution of the Amritsar Congress "are the product of continued neglect of the fundamental principles of Party organisation" are related to the ideological-political roots from which this "neglect of the fundamental principles of political

organisation" arose. In other words, it is necessary to go back to the conditions in which the fundamental principles of Party organisation began to be neglected.

The beginning of this neglect should be traced to the days of the 1950-1951 inner-Party struggle when the fundamental principles of democratic centralism received a rude shock from the realisation of the harmful consequences of the bureaucratic distortions of the earlier period. Not only did Party ranks realise that implicit faith in Party leadership and blind obedience to its directives would weaken, rather than strengthen, the Party. Not only did they realise that the principles of internal democracy laid down in the Party Constitution were meant to be exercised and not to be allowed to remain on paper. At the same time, initiative was taken by leading cadres, both at the Party Centre and in the various States, to consciously defy all the principles of democratic centralism. Disobedience of the Party Centre, virtual establishment of a parallel Centre, independent circulation of documents by those who were not competent to do so under the Party Constitution—these and other forms of neglecting the fundamental principle of Party organisation, i.e., democratic centralism, became the order of the day.

These developments took place in the background of a keen ideological-political struggle. It was in the name of combating an extremely harmful political line, in the name of fighting for a correct political line, that the Party Centre (which was considered by some comrades to be pursuing an incorrect line) was defied. Soon, however, the tendency to ignore the role of centralised leadership began to grow stronger even among those who did not have serious political differences with the leadership of the time. That was why "The full restoration of Party forms and enforcement of discipline" was mentioned in the 1953 C.C. resolution as an urgent task. The resolution went on to outline basis on which democratic centralism is to be properly understood and applied in such a way that, while the leading committees of the Party, Central and Provincial Committees, are able to "help lower units with concrete political lead, prompt slogans and solutions of difficulties, coordinate and guide work, intervene

where necessary", this help and guidance should be rendered with the object of developing the initiative of the lower committees. It was thus that, it was pointed out, the twin dangers of restoration of the old bureaucratic centralism and of the continuing of the violation of forms can be avoided.

These ideas of the 1953 C.C. Resolution on organisation have formally continued to guide the activities of the Party. At every Party Congress since then, emphasis was laid on the need for "a strong Party Centre"—a Party Centre which will, on the one hand, foster the initiative of lower committees, while on the other hand, effectively coordinate, guide and lead them in their activities. This, however, has remained on paper, as we have seen earlier. Party Congresses have successively taken place at which the leadership admits its failure; yet it is re-elected with the injunction that the mistake of the past should be rectified and a strong Centre set up. If this tragic story is not to be repeated again, an effort should be made at this Congress to find out the ideological-political reasons why not only did the leadership fail again and again but why the same leadership was again and again re-elected by the delegates.

The ideological-political roots of the neglect of such correct principles of Party organisation as were laid down in successive Party documents since 1953 can be found in the new objective conditions that arose in our country since 1952. This, it may be recalled, is the period when the Party secured large number of seats in the Central Parliament and in State Legislatures with the consequent opportunity to function as an open Party recognised as the leading Party of Opposition.

As the 1953 C.C. Resolution on organisation said The Communist Party is looked upon today as the spearhead of the democratic opposition to the Congress, as the vanguard of the struggle against the Government as the unifier of the democratic forces. It has already acquired a key position in the political life of the country. In recent months, the Left Socialist Group, the UP RSP and a section of the Kamgar Kisan Party have joined the Party, thereby considerably strengthening the Communist movement and the position of the Party. Large numbers from the

Socialist Party and followers of the Congress have joined the Party, many more want to join. There is a big swing towards the Communist Party, and the Party has acquired great prestige and authority among the masses. It is already a major force."

This provided new opportunities for the Party to grow. It could go among the people and mobilise them and unite them on the basis of a concrete programme of defence of their interests and prepare them for the struggle for basic social transformations. It, however, involved the difficult task of mastering various forms of activity, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary. It required the re-education and training of all the old members of the Party in order that effective parliamentarians, competent administrators of local bodies, innumerable agitators and journalists who have re-educated themselves to deal with the concrete problems of the mass movement in new conditions, ever-growing number of competent cadres to man the mass organisations, etc. etc. It also involved the education of the tens of thousands of new members being enrolled into the Party and making them real Bolsheviks. It involved consistent and continuous struggle against various forms of corruption which are bound to make their appearance in the prevalent atmosphere of parliamentarism if the leadership and the ranks of the Party are not vigilant. In other words, the very growth and expansion of the Party, the very possibility of its becoming the leading Party of Opposition in the Central Parliament and the State Legislatures, made it all the more necessary for it to master the art of combining the parliamentary with extra-parliamentary forms of struggle so that, on the one hand, its parliamentary activities may help and strengthen its extra-parliamentary activity, while the latter helps it to increase its parliamentary representation as well as to give strength and sustenance to the activities of its parliamentarians.

Such an attitude was, however, lacking. On the other hand, the very fact that the Party suddenly found itself in the role of the leading Party of Opposition in the Central Parliament with the near possibility of its sharing power in one of the two State Legislatures (as in Travancore-Cochin and Madras in 1952) in a way helped the creation of Parliamentary illusions inside the

Party. Although nowhere stated in so many words, the practice of the leading committees and cadres of the Party came to be one of belief in the efficacy of the bourgeois Parliament and constitutional forms of struggle as the sole means of winning the confidence of the people. Ideas of a slow but sure growth of Socialist ideas among the people and, therefore, of the possibility opened out before the Communist Party to slowly but surely replace the Congress Governments by a combination of Leftist Parties and elements in the country came to dominate the thinking and activities of the Party. This led to a gradual shift of emphasis from mass work to Parliamentary work as the main activity of the Party. It in its turn led to a slow change in the outlook in the leaders and cadres of the Party to their own life and work.

Another factor which helped and further accentuated the weaknesses of the Party is the extremely un-Communistic social composition of Party leadership at all levels, the Central and Provincial leaderships in particular. While it was inevitable in the stages of the formation and initial growth of the Party for intellectuals coming from the bourgeois and petty-bourgeois social strata dominating in the composition of the Party, the further growth of the Party, its expansion into the working class and peasantry, the accession of its strength by the recruitment of large numbers of working class and kisan militants should have led to rapid promotion of these working class and kisan militants into Party leaders so much so that, after a few years, a good chunk of even the Central leadership should consist of cadres drawn from these two classes. Unfortunately, however, the development of the Party has been such that, till this very day, the entire effective leadership of the Party at the Centre and the overwhelming majority of cadres constituting State leaderships in most States are drawn from among the intellectuals who have their social origin in the petty-bourgeoisie, bourgeoisie and landlords. The Party has not so far formulated any effective policy of building its cadres, a policy which, on the one hand, absorbs and makes maximum utilisation of all the intellectuals who come towards it and which, on the other hand, ensures that a sufficiently high percentage of leading cadres at all levels are drawn from the working class and the peasantry.

It was the cumulative result of all this factors the legacies of inner-Party struggle, beginning with 1947-48; the Parliamentary illusions generated by the new opportunities opened out before the Party which was able for the first time to function not only as a legal party but as the leading opposition party on a national scale; and the extremely weak class composition of the Party leadership that led to—

(i) The particular type of “free and frank discussion”—the type that did not acquire the character of free, business-like and principled discussion of problems thrown up by the revolutionary movement but became scholastic debates on abstract questions drawn from text-books and thus having very little relevance to the thoughts, feelings and sentiments of the majority of the common people;

(ii) The habit of considering one's own views as superior to those of others, refusing not only to be convinced in argument but also to submit to the decision of the majority, failing to carry out the tasks assigned by one's own and by higher units of the Party, etc. etc.;

(iii) Such a pattern of political work as neglected the task of building the mass organisations of the industrial and agricultural workers of the entire peasantry, of the various strata of the middle classes, of the oppressed sections of society, such as scheduled and backward castes, religious minorities and woman, etc. but looked upon general political agitation and election campaigns as the sole form of political activity;

(iv) The neglect of the task of the Party building as the key task, failure in the fulfilment of which will make nugatory of all the achievements that may be registered by the Party in the course of its activity.

All these elements of weaknesses manifested themselves in the cadres of the leading bodies, with the result that individualism in its crudest form prevented the collective functioning of the Central leadership itself.

Only if these ideological-political roots of the shortcomings and weaknesses of the Party are realised; only if a sustained and

systematic assault is made against the Parliamentary-constitutional illusions that have been generated and against the anti-Party habits that have acquired deep roots in the Party since the days of the 1950-51 inner-Party struggle; only if the Party's face is turned to the working class and peasant masses; only if the intellectual elements that come into the Party are so educated as to turn themselves towards the working class and peasantry; only if the neglect of the task of building the Party as an independent task is exposed as a manifestation of the anti-proletarian trend trying to disarm, weaken and disrupt the Party as the vanguard of the working class; only if it is realised that all these are present in the Central leadership itself; only then can individualism, lack of discipline, the gulf between word and deed, lack of comradely relations in the Party, etc. can be exposed as manifestations of alien trends in the Party and liquidated.

Such a task would have been undertaken by the Party at the Amritsar Congress if only it had taken serious note of the warning given in the 12 Parties Declaration of 1957 which had stated: "The revisionists try to kill the revolutionary spirit of Marxism, to undermine faith in socialism among the working class and the working people in general. They deny the historical necessity for a proletarian revolution and the dictatorship of the proletariat during the period of transition. From capitalism to socialism, deny the *leading role of the Marxist-Leninist Party*, reject the principles of proletarian internationalism and *call for rejection of the Leninist principles of Party organisation and, above all, of democratic centralism, for transforming the Communist Party from a militant revolutionary organisation into some kind of debating society*. The experience of the international Communist movement shows that *resolute defence by the Communist and Workers' Parties of the Marxist-Leninist unity of their ranks and the banning of factions and groups sapping that unity is a requisite for successful solution of the tasks of the Socialist revolution for building socialism and Communism*." (emphasis added)

The present Congress should, therefore, give a stirring call to the entire Party to undertake a merciless exposure of all forms of

revisionism in the field of Party organisation which express themselves in the denial of the importance of the basic task of building mass organisations; in refusing to look upon the task of Party building as an independent revolutionary task; in disregarding the basic Marxist-Leninist concept that the strength of the working people lies in the unity and discipline shown by the Party of the working class: in counterposing the mutually supplementary principles of inner-Party democracy and the highly centralised Party organisation; in Party members individually or in groups putting himself or themselves above the rest and thus rejecting the principles of the minority submitting itself to the majority, the lower unit to the higher unit and the individual to the unit, etc.

There are also certain manifestations of dogmatism and sectarianism in the field of organisation. One manifestation of this has already been noted in the beginning of this report—sectarianism in the field of enrolment of Party members. It also manifests itself in that approach to Party organisation which confines the political and organisational activities of the Party into small circles of Party members and sympathisers. It fails to note that our own Party's work among the various sections of the people, the rapid disintegration of the Congress and other political parties and, above all, the gigantic growth of the world socialist camp headed by the Soviet Union—all these have helped to create a mass basis for our party's work in which it is possible for the Party to draw not thousands, not even tens of thousands, but millions into organised political activity. Party education, Party journals and publications, mass organisations led by the Party—all these have to be organised to cater to the need of raising the consciousness of and drawing into activity, these millions. Dogmatism and sectarianism, however, refuses to take advantage of such ever-widening opportunities and would confine the Party to narrow circles.

The struggle against revisionism, dogmatism and sectarianism in the field of organisation has naturally to be waged neither in the abstract nor in terms of certain theoretical formulations made by this or that comrade. It has to be waged in the actual

process of the political and organisational work in which every individual and unit of the Party is to be engaged from day-to-day and from issue to issue. It is waged basically by each unit assigning jobs to each of its members at every meeting and checking on the fulfilment of these jobs assigned at one meeting by way of a report made at the next meeting the higher and lower units reporting on their jobs to and checking on the work carried out by one to other. It is this process of constant check up on the work of individuals and units in implementing the collectively worked out decisions that the shortcomings and weaknesses mentioned above can be overcome.

We should now take up the question of what precise tasks are to be fulfilled by the leadership to be elected now and function between now and the next Congress. In doing so it should be borne in mind that the period between now and the next Congress will mostly be occupied by the general elections. All the activities of the Party by way of Party building (barring its activities in the trade unions, kisan sabhas and other mass organisations) will have to be oriented towards mobilising the entire Party and the masses for elections popularising the electoral programme of the Party and winning allies for it, forming united fronts whenever and with whomsoever possible building up the necessary organisation to secure for the Party as high a percentage of votes polled as well as the number of seats in Parliament and in the State Legislatures, etc. While the Party will naturally concentrate its attention on these tasks of successful electioneering work the Central and State leaderships of the Party should devise ways and means for consolidating as much of the results of these activities as possible into concrete and permanent gains to the basic tasks of Party building such as larger and more stable financial resources for the Party, better and more organised system of educating Party members and militants, more extensive sales of Party literature, more efficient functioning of Party units at all levels, more extensive enrolment of Party members and much bigger and more organised activity of the Party members inside the mass

organisations. It is to this end that certain general directives and tasks for the Central leadership and for the Party as a whole are given below:

(I) Education

A permanent Central or permanent State Schools will not be possible till after general elections since all units and active cadres of the Party will be immersed in election activities. It is, however, necessary immediately to have at the Party Centre a regular *department of Party Education* which will collect material about and coordinate the activities of lower Party units in the matter of Party education. The department should, however, help the State Committees to have evening courses intended to familiarise new recruits with the history of the international movement, the content of the Moscow Statement and of the documents of this Congress and finally, the basic principles and the concrete provisions of the Party Constitution. The course should be so prepared that they can be given both to new recruits who have been already taken into the Party, as well as to the militants sympathisers who have not yet joined the Party, the objective being to give them a basic idea regarding what the Party is and stands for.

The effort should be to give this course of training to as big a chunk of electioneering activists as possible so that the level of their political understanding may be raised (Among the new recruits may also be included those who have for long been in the Party but who have not had any type of schooling whatsoever).

Another job to be undertaken in this period with a view to its being used after the general elections is the preparation of simple courses of 7 to 10 lessons on the following subjects

1. *Marxist Philosophy* (including the Dialectical method, its application to society and the science of thought).
2. *Political Economy of Marxism*.
3. *Marxist Theory of State and Revolution*, together with the theory of Revolutionary strategy and tactics.

4. *History of the Indian Freedom Movement* and, as part of it, of the Indian working class movement, of socialism and Communism.
5. *History of the International Working Class Movement.*
6. *History of the Problems of the Trade Union Movement.*
7. *History and Problems of the Kisan Movement.*
8. *Principles of Party Organisation.*

Arrangements should also be made for translating into and publication in all the Indian languages of the Soviet text-book "Fundamental Problems of Marxism-Leninism" for use in schools after the general elections.

The object of the preparation of the above text-books is to facilitate the starting of permanent schools either at the State or district levels so that a continuing stream of Party members may be educated in the fundamentals of Marxism and that this training may become a routine work of the Party.

Special schools should also be run for Party activists working in each of the mass organisations. The objective of these courses should be not only to enable them to master the art of running the mass organisations but also to enable them to carry out the task of politicalising the masses organised in these mass organisations. It should, besides, give the theoretical basis of the importance attached to the task of building mass organisations.

Schools should also be run for functionaries of different levels of the Party organisation such as Group leader, Branch Secretary and Assistant Secretary, members and Secretaries of Intermediate units and district organisations, etc.

Other forms of organising Party education, such as the organisation of a permanent Central Party School, the starting of correspondence courses, etc. can be considered after some experience is gained in carrying out the above-mentioned tasks.

(II) Activisation of the Whole Party

Party education, however, is not a matter of merely running schools either permanent or short-term. Education of the Party members and cadres does, after all, involve the heightening of

their political consciousness; improving the content of their theoretical understanding; enriching their practical experience and giving it a theoretical form; doing away with all that is anti-party and anti-proletarian in their thinking, outlook and practice. All this can be done only if they are drawn into active political life, made to participate in the day-to-day activity of the Party, drawn into the discussion of the problems of the mass movement which are thrown up every day, review of struggles and campaigns led by the Party, etc. Such a process of education through activity, discussion and review of the work done by the Party requires the regular and uninterrupted organised activity of the Party from top to bottom.

As has been mentioned earlier, this aspect of Party building is extremely weak today. It will not be an exaggeration to say that, for the majority of Party units there is no activity except when there is some campaign like elections or struggles; even when such campaigns or struggles are led by the Party, not inconsiderable section of the Party members is found to be inactive. This is a situation far from what is envisaged in the principles of Party organisation, according to which the Party should at all times be active among the people, listening to their views, giving proper shape to them and thus leading and guiding them in their daily struggles and activities.

If an improvement is to be registered in this direction several concrete measures have to be taken. But before outlining these concrete measures, it should be pointed out that the activisation of the 17 State units of the Party functioning under the Central leadership, several district units functioning under each State leadership, several intermediate units and branches under each district leadership and, above all, over 2 lakh of individuals organised in the Party as a whole cannot be guaranteed if it is expected that they will spontaneously become active. Their activisation and that, too, activisation under a common plan of action and with a common direction, is possible without an apparatus which functions from top to bottom and which sees to it that, while there is the utmost possible degree of decentralisation

and initiative for the local units, the activities of these local units, and of individual members constituting them, are properly coordinated and directed towards the common objective set by the Centre.

Now the question arises: can the whole of the Central leadership or the provincial leadership or the district leadership take the place of this apparatus that ensures the activisation and checks up on the activity of these tens of thousands of Party members, thousands of Party branches, hundreds of intermediate units, scores of district units and over a dozen State units of the Party? They obviously cannot, because their hands are full with a number of jobs; the concrete guidance to and the checking up on the work of Party units and Party members (except in a very general way) can hardly be done by these leading committees as a whole, whose attention will have to be directed towards more general tasks. It is at the same time obvious that this apparatus should be part of and function under these leading committees.

It is from this consideration that we make the following suggestions to be tried to begin with so that the experience of work on this line can be reviewed at the next Party Congress:

(i) There should be an Organisation Department at the Party Centre with one of the Secretaries as head and four or five members of the National Council whose job it will be to collectively study the experience of activating the Party at all levels. They should so arrange their work that one of them attends every meeting of the State Executive Committee and of the State Council. They should so divide their work that each will specialise himself in the problems of a group of States, attend to letters received from all Party units and Party members from those States, call for reports and send answers to the State and District Committees, etc.

(ii) One of the tasks of the Organisation Department should be to run an *inner-Party Journal* which will help the exchange of experience and the posing of organisational problems. It may be mentioned in this connection that one of the reasons for the perpetual complaint of non-receipt of reports from the States is

that there is no faith on the part of the State leaderships that the problems posed by them will be given the attention due to them. Once it is known that not only are they attended to, but the Centre helps the exchange of experience between Party members in one State or district and another, the reason for complaint on this score will be considerably reduced.

(iii) It goes without saying that, at every meeting of the Central Executive Committee and the National Council, the Organisation Department will have to present a report on the state of the Party as it is able to learn from the reports received and from the visits of its members to States as well as posing problems before the Central Executive Committee and National Council for their decision.

(iv) A similar Organisation Department (of course, with necessary modifications) should be set up in all the major provinces. There is no sense in setting up such separate departments in provinces where both the Party membership and the number of lower units of the Party is relatively small. (Incidentally, it may be mentioned that it is ridiculous to apply the same yardstick to all the State units, as is unfortunately done in the present Constitution of the Party; it is fantastic, for example, that States like Gujarat with less than 1,000 Party members should have "A Secretariat of 7 or 9" not less than 7 - while it is difficult for them to have even a State Executive of more than 7 or 9.) In any case, the Party Congress should not bind the Central or State leaderships to the setting up of this department for all the States: this should be left for future discussion between the Central and State leaderships. It should, however, be made clear that there should be some mechanism at the State level also which will look after the work of activising and guiding the work of the entire Party; it may be one member or a Department or whatever other mechanism is found suitable.

(v) At the District and Intermediate unit levels, too, appropriate arrangements should be made to see that the activities of units working in their respective jurisdictions are checked up, coordinated and properly guided.

(vi) As for the Branch, the provision in the Party Constitution regarding the division of the Branch into groups of convenient size should be enforced. It should be the responsibility of the Group to function as a unit in allocating jobs to its members, checking up on their fulfilment and reporting on it to the Branch as a whole. The Group leader should, therefore, be a competent and capable comrade who is able to inspire and activise all the members of the Groups. It is for the Group as a whole, functioning through its leader, to take quotas for itself when the Branch holds its meeting, as well as to Report on the fulfilment of these quotas.

Without such a system of constant assignment of quotas and checking up on their fulfilment, beginning with the Group and Branch and going up to the highest unit of the Party, the activisation of the entire Party cannot be guaranteed. Such a system of fixing and checking on fulfilment of individual quotas by the units and unit quotas by the higher units alone will guarantee successful struggle against individualism and for restoration of discipline.

(iii) Question of Three-Tier Organisation

This raises the question as to whether the replacement of the Cell by the branch, the District, Provincial and Central Committees by the respective Councils has been correct. It is obvious that big branches having scores of members (sometimes going even up to 100 members or more) and Councils having up to 101 members have proved to be rather unwieldy bodies, if they are to do all the jobs which were expected to be done formerly by the cells and committees. Suggestions are, therefore, sometimes made that this new system of Branches and Councils be given up and the Groups and the Executive Committees be made the primary and the leading units of the Party.

We are of the opinion that this is a wrong suggestion. The formation of Branches and of bigger Councils was, in our opinion, a correct step. It conforms to the changed character, the mass character, of our Party; only in this way can the growing leaders of the Party at all levels be promoted into leaders known beyond

the confines of their respective areas of work. As for the Branch form, it helps a much more extensive participation of a much bigger section of Party members at the primary level of organisation.

There is, however, full justification for the criticism of the way in which the new organisational set up has actually functioned. It is obvious that, if the Branch is to do all that the cells were expected to do previously; if similarly, the District, State and National Councils are to do all that the former, district, State or Central Committees were expected to do, then the arrangement is sure to break down, as it has broken down. The mistake, in our opinion, was not the formation of these wider and more and more representative units, but shouldering them with such heavy and extensive responsibilities. We would, therefore, suggest the following modifications in the organisational set up laid down in the Party Constitution adopted at Amritsar.

(i) While "the highest organ of the primary unit shall be the general body meetings of the Party Branch" as envisaged in the Constitution, the respective functions of the Branch and Groups organised under it should be more clearly defined. (This should not be done in the Constitution itself but may be done through rules framed by the National Council. In the former case, if experience proves the necessity for any change, the whole Constitution will have to be changed and that at a Party Congress. In the latter case, it can be done by the National Council. And, after all, in such matters, a good deal of trial and error will have to be provided for, which cannot be done under a rigid constitution.) The function of the Branch, i.e., General Body, should be confined to the discussion of political questions, to the hearing of reports of the work done by the office-bearers and/or Branch Committees as well as of each group, to the taking of appropriate decisions on the basis of such reports and assigning tasks for each group and for the office-bearers and/or the Branch Committee. The assignment of tasks to individuals and check up on their fulfilment (except by way of report to the Branch as a whole) should be left to the group itself.

(ii) Similarly, at the District, State and National levels, too, the functions should be clearly demarcated as between the Council, the Executive and the Secretariat. It may roughly be on the following lines:

(a) The Council's function is to be confined to—

- (i) the discussion of new political developments and issues of such over-riding importance as can be dealt with only by the mere representative Council and not left to the Executive;
- (ii) hearing the report of and taking the decisions on the work carried out by the Executive Committee and each of its members, particularly to find out whether and how far the jobs assigned to the Executive as a whole and to its individual members have been carried out;
- (iii) if, in the view of the Council, the report finds the work either of the Executive as a whole or of its individual members unsatisfactory, remove such members from their position or remove the Executive itself and elect new members or new Executive.

In other words, the Council is to work as a body which lays down broad policies on general questions and reviews the work of the Executive. It does not go into the minute details of the political and organisational problems facing the Party.

(b) The Executive is to function like the old District, State or Central Committees, subject to the policy-making and reviewing functions assigned to the National Council in the above paragraph. In other words, they take decisions on day-to-day political and organisational questions which shall be final unless reviewed and reversed by the Council.

(c) The Secretariat shall not have any function of political leadership which shall be exercised only by the Executive. In this sense, the present Executive shall take upon itself all the political functions formerly discharged by the Polit Bureau. One argument likely to be advanced against this concept of the Secretariat being a purely "job-doing" body with no functions of political leadership is that some sudden political development may take place and pronouncements and decisions of the Party leaderships

cannot wait for a full meeting of the Executive. In such cases, the obvious course is to call an emergency meeting of the Executive. For, the very idea of forming the Executive was that a Polit Bureau of the old type and size cannot discharge all the political responsibilities assigned to it and it can be discharged only by a bigger and more representative body. If this ground is valid (and it is valid in our view), the price of having such a bigger leading body should be paid—arrangements being made for more frequent and emergent meetings. As for immediate pronouncements to be made, it can be done by the General Secretary or other office-bearers of the Party in accordance with the type of issue on which a pronouncement is required. This, however, will be purely on his individual responsibility and shall not bind the Secretariat as a whole.

(d) This will obviously put an end to the concept of the Secretariat as a collective unit. Each member of the Secretariat has to take personal responsibility for carrying out the task of a particular fraction or department and will report to the Executive which will give each of them specific assignments whenever it meets and will check up on the fulfilment of these assignments at its next meeting. This arrangement, of course, is liable to be criticised on the ground that there is no collective functioning. This is not true, since the Executive collectively discussed the work of each and assigns jobs. The only difference is that, instead of two collectives, the Secretariat and the Executive, there is only one collective, that is, the Executive. On the other hand this ensures individual responsibility.

Furthermore, for most of the office-bearers who are heads of one department or other, there will be a team of comrades working in the department. For example, the above-mentioned Organisation Department has one of the Secretariat members working with four or five members of the National Council who together form the collective in so far as that department is concerned. Similarly the Secretariat member who is the Editor of the Party organ will also function through a collective i.e. the Editorial Board.

This latter form of collective may not apply to the Secretariats at the State levels much less so at the district level. Even in their case, however, the collective element is provided by the Executive

as a whole, while the individual responsibility and the possibility of one being pulled up since one has to make one's own individual report to the Executive may be expected to help the combination of individual responsibility and collective functioning.

(IV) Division of Functions and Specialisation

Activisation of the entire Party on the above lines would make it necessary to put an end to the present style of work, according to which there are some Party leaders who are supposed to be "all-rounders". Whether it was correct or not at one stage of the Party's history for leaders to try to become jacks-of-all-trades, it is impossible, under the present set up for one to become master of several aspects of Party leadership simultaneously. If somebody tries to be simultaneously a mass agitator, the functionary of a trade union or kisan sabha or other mass organisation, a regular contributor to the Party press, a writer of pamphlets, a teacher in Party schools, a functionary of the Organisation Department of the Party, etc. etc. he is likely to fail in everything. We have to realise now that the bigger the Party, the more complex the problems, the more is specialisation needed.

All the more true is this at the level of leading Committees of the Party. Members of the Central and State Secretariats should not only periodically divide among themselves different aspects of the work according to convenience, but conscious efforts should be made to enable each of them to specialise in one aspect of the work and when that is done, allow him to do it to his fullest capacity. Similarly, around each member of the Secretariat should be built a team of comrades who will both help him in his work as well as themselves master the art of working that department. Only in this way can a functioning apparatus be built in which problems of Party education, the production and distribution of Party literature, Party finance, each of the various mass organisations, Party organisation etc. can be built up at the Central and State levels of the Party. Lower down, too, it is necessary to have a proper selection of comrades at every level who will be allowed to specialise themselves in such activities as are necessary for the full functioning of the Party and mass organisations.

This does not, of course, mean that, once a particular comrade is allotted to one particular field of activity he is to do that alone up to the end of his life. Periodical reviews of the requirements of cadres as well as the strong and weak points of particular comrades may lead to the transfer of one particular comrade, who has done well in a particular department and whose services are expected to improve the work of another department. Conversely, a comrade who has done particularly badly in the field assigned to him, may be given chance in another field and help to improve himself if there are reasons to believe that he was a misfit in the field originally assigned to him. But such transfers should not be lightly made and should be made only on the basis of a proper review of the work turned out by him.

(V) Whole-Timers and Their Wages

This has become an acute problem in all the States. A large number of comrades had to give up whole-time work because of financial and family considerations. The fate that overtook such comrades, together with the atmosphere of frustration and demoralisation that surrounds the Party now, is preventing the entry of new whole-timers into the Party. At the same time, even the work of wholimers that are in the Party now is not properly organised and utilised. This makes it necessary to make a thorough examination of the whole problem in a very concrete way, which unfortunately is not possible for us now because of the total absence of reports on it. We would, therefore, suggest that the new leadership should immediately examine this problem in consultation with the State leaderships with a view to (a) maintain all the wholimers that exist now and facilitate the solution of their financial and family problems; (b) make a thorough examination of the principles on which wholimers are paid by the Party or mass organisations led by the Party or commercial institutions run by the Party, with a view to evolving correct principles (this has become extremely necessary now in view of the fact that there are Party units, mass organisations and commercial institutions which sometimes pay 200-300 rupees for

some whole-timers, while there are others in whose cases payment of even 50 to 60 rupees is not being made. There are also cases in which Party members took jobs in commercial institutions run by the Party and are getting good salaries, but refuse to pay their levies. The case of some MPs, as well as some MLAs in some States is also scandalous. It is necessary to lay down correct principles which shall be in conformity with the actual position of the Party and the reasonable requirements of all whole-timers); (c) Examining the related question as to whether the number of whole-timers that are maintained now in the various States and districts is adequate, excessive or inadequate; also whether the social origin of the whole-timers at present is what should be for a Party of the working class, and in the light of this examination suggest necessary changes.

(VI) Party Finance

The State of Party finance is, to put it mildly, exploratory. On the one hand, the Party is not having enough stable collections to maintain its regular organisation in normal times; it gets funds only during election or other campaigns. On the other hand, there is no proper machinery to see that whatever is collected is properly spent for the purpose for which it was collected. Under these circumstances, complaints are bound to be there, even though some of these complaints may be baseless. It is, therefore, necessary to remove all room for complaint and to put the whole Party finance on proper rails and without any ground for suspicion. The following measures are suggested to this end:

(a) The Party Constitution should be amended, rules framed and other steps taken to make it obligatory on every Party member to pay a levy on his or her income on a graded scale. Failure to pay levy should lead to his or her name being removed from membership register. The method of collection too should be made so flexible that every Party member is able to pay as and when he gets his or her income. Monthly collection from those who get their monthly wage or salary, half-yearly or annual collections from peasants who take single or double crops, etc. The levy may be such that the highest income group is made to

pay 5 per cent of their income, while the lowest income group pays 1/2 per cent.

(b) It should be the job of every Party unit, from the Group at the Branch level up to the National Council to see that every member within its jurisdiction pays levy in time. It should be one of the functions of the Organisation Department to check up every month, half-yearly and yearly on how many Party members have paid their dues and levy and the reasons why the rest have defaulted. While this would be one of the indications of the extent to which the entire Party is activised (for, after all, regular payment of the dues and levy is one of the indications of the interest shown by the Party members and, therefore, of their being activised). Its strict enforcement will be a regular and stable source of income for the Party at all levels. Suppose, for example, the membership is raised from the present less than two lakhs to the modest figure of three lakhs and membership dues and levy combined comes to an average of Rs. 2 per head (this is a conservative estimate if the above basis of 1/2 per cent at the minimum and 5 per cent at the maximum is fixed as the levy), then the annual collection on this account alone will come to Rs. 6 lakhs; 10 per cent of this i.e., Rs. 60,000 will then be the quota due to the National Council and for such major provinces as Kerala, Andhra and Bengal which, let us say, raises their membership to 65,000, 50,000 and 25,000 respectively, will in their turn get Rs. 52,000, Rs. 40,000 and Rs. 20,000 respectively. It goes without saying that if the membership is still further raised as is suggested in the following paragraphs, these incomes will be still higher.

(c) Even such an augmentation of collection by way of Party dues will not solve the problem, because the expenditure of the Party will also be correspondingly higher. If, for example, all departments that we have in view are to be set up at the Party Centre, then the expenses are bound to be double of what it is today. It is, therefore, absolutely necessary that other ways and means of raising finance are also devised. Any number of them can be evolved, provided the whole Party from top to bottom takes it as one of its jobs to bridge the gap between expenditure

and income by raising incomes. Without going into these, it may be suggested as another source of income that an annual drive for Party funds should be launched during which the mass of people are asked to contribute towards the maintenance of the Party. This should be an occasion on which the policies and achievements of the Party are widely popularised and the entire Party cadre is thrown into this activity.

(d) Such an extensive drive for the realisation of levies from Party members and donations from sympathisers can be organised only if there is rigorous check up on expenditure and strict accounting of whatever is collected. To this end, the following measures should be taken.

(i) Every meeting of the Executive and Council at higher levels and every general body meeting of the Branch should have before it the accounts of income and expenditure for the period under review. This should also give the names of those who are defaulters in their dues to the Party as well as to the cases of excessive or irresponsible expenditure incurred by the Party with the persons who are responsible and the circumstances in which such uncautious expenditure was incurred.

(ii) Once every year, a representative of the higher unit should audit the accounts of all the units immediately lower to it (a representative of the National Council auditing the accounts of every State Council, a representative of the latter auditing every District Council, etc.) and submit his report to the unit of which the accounts have been audited. An abstract of such reports, together with the report of its own accounts, should be published in the Party press or by way of bulletins by every Party unit.

(iii) Every Party unit at the level of its policy-making and reviewing body (Councils at the higher levels and general body meetings at the primary level) should prepare its own body which should guide the expenditure of its executive body.

(VII) Expansion of Party Membership

In the earlier chapters of this report, we have shown how the present Party membership is totally inadequate, how it is very much lagging behind the political influence of the Party; we have

found therein that, if the proportion of Party members to the electoral strength of the Party is to be raised even to the lowest level reached by three of the highest mass Communist Parties in the capitalist world, of Italy, Indonesia and France, we should raise it to no less than a million. If this is considered too ambitious in the present state of the Party, we may put a more modest initial target of raising the present membership of less than 2 lakhs to a minimum of 5 lakhs before the next Party Congress. This should be the target that goes out from this Congress with the following break ups for the States:

The usual argument advanced against an expansion of Party membership is that the present state of the Party organisation is such that fresh enrolment would do damage, rather than improve and strengthen the Party. This argument will hold water in the background of the suggestions that have been made above. The drive for enrolment is not a separate drive. It is part of the many-sided improvement suggested above—campaign for rectification, suggested in the beginning of this chapter; the running of schools both for the new recruits as well as for the old members of the Party; activisation and further tightening of the discipline of the Party; division of functions and specialisation, drive for finance, etc. Furthermore, all this is taking place at a time when, if properly approached, the overwhelming majority of the 2 lakhs of present Party members and several lakhs of new sympathisers and militants drawn into the political campaign of the Party at the time of elections will be fully activated. Combining such a many-sided activisation of the Party with the enrolment campaign will guarantee its success.

There is one point that should be particularly borne in mind in this respect. It is not enough to have a general slogan of enrolment of Party members. Special attention should be paid to the enrolment of the best elements from such classes and categories of people as will give the required tone and spirit to the Party—industrial and agricultural workers, poor and middle peasants, working intelligentsia, members of the scheduled and backward castes, members of religious minorities and women. Efforts

should also be made to draw students and youth who are active in the field of ideological struggles and cultural campaigns.

(VIII) A Radical Change at the Party Centre

The suggestions made in the preceding pages are intended to improve the work of the Party as a whole and to make a turn towards bringing organisational unity, cohesion and discipline in the Party. They would, however, remain on paper unless sufficient guarantees are created to ensure that they are fulfilled. These guarantees are the creation of such a leading committee of the Party and their day-to-day working apparatus as take upon themselves the job of taking effective measures to get decisions implemented.

A beginning should, however, be made with the all-India Centre of the Party—the National Council, the Central Executive Committee, the Secretariat and the group of comrades who assist these elected bodies of the Party in their day-to-day work; this all-India Centre should in its turn pay attention to the State Councils, State Executive Committees, State Secretariats and the group of comrades who are to assist these elected bodies in carrying out day-to-day work.

A radical change has to be made in the very conception of the Party Centre—what it is to be, what are its functions, how and out of what type of cadres to choose for it, how to constitute it and how it should function.

For nearly a decade, the conception of the Party Centre has been that it should confine itself to doing "minimum job". Such important activities of the Party as the running of a Central Daily paper; the giving of all-India leadership and guidance on national-political and mass issues; the running of Central Party schools and otherwise coordinating and guiding the educational activities of State and District Committees, the organisation of appropriate departments and groups through which the intellectual sympathisers and supporters of the Party are drawn into the work of research and other academic work which will be of use to the Party; guidance in the matter of building the mass movement of the students, youth, women, art and cultural workers etc. all these

activities have generally been dismissed as "too ambitious" and beyond the reach of the "minimum Centre" which confines itself to the "limited tasks" of running a weekly and monthly organ, giving guidance to mass fronts, etc., the "more ambitious" items of activities can be taken up.

This idea has been proved wrong even from the end of the virtue claimed for it i.e., that of being "eminently practicable though modest" confining itself to limited tasks. On the other hand, failure to undertake the "more ambitious" tasks has meant that large numbers of people who are anxious to get the support, co-operation and guidance of the Party have been disappointed.

The question will then arise: Why did this experiment fail? Is it because of some inherent weaknesses in the individuals that constituted the Party Centre in these days? Would another group of comrades, more efficient at the job, make the Party Centre work better? Or was there anything wrong in the conception itself?

It goes without saying, of course, that the individuals who constituted the Party Centre had their weaknesses and shortcomings. That, however, would be quite inadequate as an explanation of the failure. We should examine why it was that the idea of the "minimum Centre" came up. Was it because the Party in its present position cannot undertake the proper and so-called "more ambitious" tasks?

The answer, according to us, is that the concept of the "minimum central" arose out of particular notion as to how the Centre should function: The Centre was conceived of as just a collection of the elected all-India leaders of the Party, either two-tier (PB and CC) or three-tier (Secretariat and CEC and the National Council). The Centre was supposed to take up only such jobs as the 3 or 5 or 7 or even 9 members of PB or Secretariat under the guidance of the CC or the CEC and National Council can personally carry out. The Centre, as the collective whole, including in it the fractions and departments on the one hand and the PB/CC or the CEC/National Council on the other, was not in the picture. There was no idea of decentralisation of authority as between the PB and CC (or Secretariat, CEC and the National

Council) and as between these elected bodies and the other arms of the apparatus.

If this conception is to continue, then, of course, the Centre should be "modest", undertake only "minimum jobs". On the other hand, if this idea of the elected leaders of the Party holding in their hands all the authority of the Party Centre with no decentralisation of authority is to be given up and a proper method of division of authority and of coordination were brought about, then the so-called "more ambitious tasks" can themselves be brought into the field of practicability. As a matter of fact, if these wider and so-called more ambitious tasks are undertaken with the necessary decentralisation of authority, then the outlook of the comrades working at the Centre would itself become broader and appropriate to the Central leadership of guiding and developing a mass Party.

Take, for example, the task of starting a daily paper at least in Hindi. This would force the Party Centre to react immediately to current developments; the mental outlook of the comrades working at the Centre, both the elected leads as well as the comrades of the staff, will necessarily become alert. While the leading functionaries working at the Centre will have to apply their minds to current developments and problems on which they have to express themselves, the work for the daily will also provide sufficient opportunities for the leading bodies of the Centre, CEC and the National Council, to have a check up on their work. The problems of an organisational nature which are bound to face the Party Centre when such a daily paper is started (the organisation of teams of correspondents, feature writers, sales agents, advertisement canvassers, etc.) will also force the Party Centre to have some sort of day-to-day contact with various States and Districts of the country.

The paper in Hindi has, of course, its disadvantages, since its circulation will be mainly restricted to the Hindi regions. It has, however, two advantages. It will be cheaper, it will enable the Party Centre to facilitate the development of the movement in regions where it is the weakest. Furthermore, if this is combined with a well-organised news service which will everyday send

English versions of the editorials and other despatches to the provincial papers, it can also feed the provincial papers as well.

Similarly, the organisation of a regularly functioning team of research workers rallied round the Party is also possible provided the elected leaders of the Party do not arrogate to themselves the ability to give concrete and detailed guidance to them.

In other words, the undertaking of these more ambitious jobs depends not on the number of elected leaders of the Party, but on the extent to which other Comrades are drawn into the work authority is decentralised among them, keeping in the hands of the elected only the bare minimum amount of authority which is necessary for general guidance.

It is, therefore, suggested that, as has been indicated in the preceding pages, the Central Secretariat as a collective unit giving leadership on all sorts of questions should be put an end to; in its place should be set up a team of Secretaries, each of whom will be responsible to the CEC personally in the carrying out of the work of a particular department or fraction. Each of these Secretaries should be working through their respective departments or fractions which will be composed partly of the members of the National Council and partly of comrades drawn from outside. The element of collective functioning will be two-fold—(a) Carrying out the day-to-day jobs through the fraction or department; and (b) periodical assignment of jobs and the fulfilment of their implementation by the CEC. Under this conception, the idea of a Secretariat consisting of 7 or 8 members will be given up. In its place will be elected as many Secretaries as are required for the proper discharging of the responsibilities of the Centre. With this idea in mind, it is suggested that there should be one Secretary for each of the following departments:

(a) Organisation; (b) Education; (c) Party paper (weekly or daily if the latter is to be started); (d) Publications; (e) International; (f) Parliament.

These departments are connected with those activities of the Party Centre which are not connected with the work of mass organisations. There should besides be leaders of fractions for TUC, Kisan Sabha, SF, Youth Organisation, Women's

Organisation, Peace and Afro-Asian relations. The leaders of these fractions need not be designated Secretaries though their functioning in relation to the CEC will be the same as that of the Secretaries. One of the Secretaries will, of course, be the General Secretary, who will come before the people as the authoritative spokesman of the Party. But he will not be the "all-rounder and coordinator" as he is supposed to be today; in his relations to the other Secretaries and the CEC, he will be only one of the Secretaries and shall take up the specific jobs of the department entrusted to him.

According to this conception, not only will the number of Secretaries be reduced, but there will be a difference in the criteria on the basis of which they are selected. They need not necessarily be the best and most competent political and mass leaders of the Party, they should, however, be competent to discharge the responsibility entrusted to them and also prepared to take personal responsibility for carrying out the jobs assigned to them.

In other words, the Secretariat as a body giving general political guidance on all issues and all types of activities and composed of the best, most competent and most respected leaders of the Party this has to be replaced by a team of Secretaries each of whom, though second in rank in the matter of political leadership, are capable of leading a particular department and would personally give an account of themselves before the CEC. The lack of such a group of "job-doer leaders" personally responsible to and giving an account of themselves before the CEC has been one of the major reasons for the failure of the Party Centre to function for the last 9 years.

It should be the responsibility of each Secretary and the head of each fraction to submit written reports of the work of his department or fraction every time a meeting of the CEC is held.

This conception of the Party Centre is likely to raise two objections: (a) That this being a collection of "job-doer" Secretaries, it is likely to lead to a neglect of the most important work of the Party Centre - political leadership; it will be argued that there is nobody responsible for the study of political developments in the country and to raise these political questions

within the Central leadership of the Party; (b) That there is nobody to coordinate the work of the various individuals who work as Secretaries and heads of fractions and departments.

A moment's consideration would show that the first objection has no basis in reality. For, all the above-mentioned departments are, in their respective ways, connected with political problems: Organisation Department being concerned with the study of developments in the various States is bound to familiarise itself with political problems as they reflect themselves in the activities of the Party in the various States. The Department of Education, too, will have to concern itself with the ideological problems that are posed in the day-to-day activity of bourgeois ideologues. As for the Secretaries in charge of Party paper, publications and Parliament, they are everyday faced with political problems. The International Department too has to tackle political problems to the extent that they influence the activities of Government and the people in regard to foreign policy. As for the comrades in-charge of fractions in mass organisations, they too have to deal with political problems as they are thrown up in these organisations.

It is, therefore, obvious that if each Secretary or Head of Department and fraction does his job of posing the problems which his department or the field of his activities has to face and solve, then he will have to pose before the Central Executive Committee political problems. The advantage of posing political problems in this way, i.e., in relation to the activity of the Party in a particular department or field of activity, will be that the political problems will be posed in the concrete and not in an abstract way.

As for coordination, the barest minimum job of technical coordination of the activities of the various Secretaries and heads of fractions and departments will certainly have to be done either by the General Secretary or by the Secretary of the Organisation Department. This, however, will only be in the sense of making the proper technical preparations for the meetings of the CEC, i.e., collection and if necessary, editing of the written reports of the various Secretaries and heads of departments and fractions, preparation of the agenda and other technical jobs. What is to be

guarded against is one of the Secretaries so coordinating as to take upon himself the "political organisational leader" over the other Secretaries.

The Secretaries and heads of fractions, together with a few leaders of all-India stature—all together coming to between 15 and 20—should constitute the CEC.

Being the political leadership of the Party Centre, the CEC will have to meet oftener but in a more businesslike way than now. This businesslike way of its functioning can, however, be guaranteed only if the Secretaries and heads of departments start functioning in the above manner. If, however, they do so, there will be noticeable improvement in the quality of work turned out by both the Central Executive Committee and by the National Council.

Report of The Central Control Commission of The Communist Party of India*

(April 1958 to March 1961)

We are presenting the report of our work since the last Party Congress held at Amritsar in April 1958

The present Central Control Commission was elected at this Congress and consisted of the following five members

S V Ghate, P Narayanan Nair, Hajrah Begum, Abdul Halim and U Ramam At its first meeting held at Amritsar, the Commission elected S V Ghate as Chairman

The C C C next met in June, 1958 and at that meeting framed certain rules for its own guidance as well as that of the States and circulated them to the State Committees (vide Appendix 'A') When, later, the State Control Commissions were set up, these rules were made available to them also

During the past three years, about fifteen cases were referred to the C C C, some of which were referred back to the State Committees concerned and 11 were taken up by the Commission, investigated and the appeals dealt with

The following is the division of the cases Statewise

Madhya Pradesh	1
U P	4
Bengal	2
Rajasthan	1
Punjab	3
Bihar	1

Of the eleven cases referred to us, 3 were appeals by the lower units of the Party against the organisational decisions of the State Committees, one was the case of a suspected intelligence man, and the rest were appeals of individual comrades against disciplinary action taken against them

In one instance, the National Council referred to the C.C.C. this was the case of investigation into the leakages of inside information regarding the Party and the publication of the same in the press.

Apart from meetings of the C.C.C. from time to time, the Control Commission members visited different places in the course of their enquiry and took down statements of witnesses and the committees concerned. The following comrades made these enquiries:

Madhya Pradesh—Ghate and Narayanan Nair; Haldwani—Ghate and Hajrah Begum, Aligarh—Hajrah Begum; Rajasthan—Ramam and Ghate; U.P.—Ghate.

Out of the cases considered, the appeal from Bihar was referred to the State Control Commission but since that unit could not complete its enquiry due to the absence of its Chairman who was ill, the C.C.C. decided to investigate the case and came to the conclusion that the decision of the State Committee against which an appeal had been made, should stand and need not be interfered with.

The appeal from Gurdaspur, Punjab was also referred back to the State Control Commission, which decided after enquiry that the complaint did not fall under the purview of the Control Commission. The relevant papers were therefore forwarded to the Party Central Office for being placed before the National Council.

In the other cases, after careful consideration, the C.C.C. gave its decisions concerning the appeals made to it, and forwarded these decisions to the State Committees concerned. In all cases, the decisions of the C.C.C. were accepted by the State Committees and implemented by them. These decisions are appended herewith (Appendix 'B').

The C.C.C. spent considerable time over enquiring into the cases of leakages of inside information and prepared a report on this question which was placed before the National Council at its meeting at Delhi in February 1961.

The C.C.C. has also helped the State Control Commissions in discharging their duties by giving such advice from time to time as was sought for regarding the scope and function of Control Commissions or interpretations of the Constitution.

During the course of its work, the C.C.C. came across certain practices and violations of the Constitution which made

investigation into disciplinary actions difficult and complicated. We are referring to them herewith the hope that steps might be taken to avoid them in the future.

In the first place, we have found that there is usually an inordinate delay both in the State Committees disposing of a case which comes up before them as well as in their replying to the queries made by us once the appeal has been made to us.

Secondly, in almost all cases, there was violation of the Constitution [Section 1(e). Art. XIII] regarding the rights of members to be heard in person before action is taken against them. Not only were such persons not called to make their reply, but, in some cases, proper charges were not given to the persons accused before disciplinary action was taken.

Thirdly, according to the Constitution (Section 7, Art. XXIX) disciplinary action of a lower Party Committee become operative on confirmation by the higher Party Committee. We found however that invariably, the higher committees failed to carry out this directive of the Party Constitution. Disciplinary actions by lower committees, when forwarded to the State or even District Committees, were not commented upon and not formally confirmed. In such cases, we decided that, after a reasonable time had lapsed between the decision of the lower committee and the appeal to us (about one month), we took it as a confirmation by the higher body and proceeded to deal with the appeal before us.

In certain cases complaints of irregularities of functioning and violation of the Constitution were also referred to us. In some of these references, we gave our view on the question concerned but we consider that a change in the Constitution is necessary to empower the C.C.C. with wider powers of enquiring into all references including those arising from political differences with a view to expediting complaints promptly.

It is our opinion that the C.C.C. function should not be restricted only to hearing appeals against any particular action, but if the implementation of the Constitution is to be ensured and the rights of Party members to be safeguarded then the Control Commission should be authorised with greater responsibility and wider scope of action.

Sd/- S.V. Ghate,
Chairman, C.C.C.

APPENDIX 'A'

**Communist Party of India
Central Control Commission**

7/4, Asaf Ali Road,
New Delhi,
April 21, 1958

To

All State Committees

The following rules of procedures were adopted at a meeting of the Central Control Commission held on 20th April and it was decided to circulate them to the State Committees for information:

Article XXVII of the Constitution

- 1 **Section 5:** The Central Control Commission shall take up:
 - (a) Cases referred to it by the Central Executive Committee or the Secretariat;
 - (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken by the State or Provincial Executive Committee or the State or Provincial Council;
 - (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the Comrade concerned;
 - (d) Cases against which an appeal has been made to the State or Provincial Control Commission and rejected.

Section 6: The decision of the Central Control Commission shall ordinarily be final. The Central Executive Committee may, by two-thirds majority, stay the implementation of a decision of the Central Control Commission, who shall refer it at the first available opportunity to the National Council for final decision.

Section 7: In all cases, there shall, however, be the right to appeal to the Party Congress.

Article XXVIII

Section 4: The State or Provincial Control Commission shall take up:

- (a) Cases referred to it by the State or the Provincial Executive Committee or its Secretariat;
- (b) Cases where disciplinary action has been taken up by the District Committee or the District Council;
- (c) Cases involving expulsion from the Party decided upon by any Party Unit against which an appeal has been made by the Comrade concerned.

2. Immediately on receipt of any complaint, members of the Central Control Commission should be informed with a brief note on the case.

3. (a) Chairman should contact parties concerned including the Secretary of the concerned Committee or Committees.

(b) The reports from the States, or Districts or concerned parties should reach the Central Control Commission Office within a fortnight of the receipt of the letter from the Central Control Commission. In case, the Committees concerned want more time for preparing their reports, they should immediately intimate to the C.C.C., informing them what time they would require for their report. In special cases, the Chairman is empowered to give them further time according to the conditions in the State.

4. Chairman should place their reports before the meeting of the C.C.C. and decide the case according to merits.

5. Ordinarily at least two weeks' notice should be given for convening a meeting of the C.C.C. But, in emergency cases, three days' notice will be sufficient.

6. Three will form a quorum for any meeting.

7. Pending the disposal of an appeal, the Chairman would advise the Party and the Committee concerned not to do anything which would further complicate the issue.

8. The reports and information submitted before the Control Commission shall ordinarily be treated as confidential.

9. Ordinarily, the Central Control Commission will meet once in two months, in advance of the Central Executive Committee meeting, so as to facilitate the placing of the C.C.C. decisions before the Central Executive Committee. If the C.E.C. does not decide to stay the decision of the C.C.C., then the C.C.C. would immediately release it to the parties concerned.

APPENDIX 'B'

**Cases Decided by the Central Control Commission
since Fifth Party Congress—1958**

1. *Juggan Khan*—Ujjain—Madhya Pradesh—1958: Juggan Khan had appealed against the decision of the Madhya Pradesh Committee, releasing him from all Party responsibilities and asking him to leave Ujjain and return to U.P. from where he was called to work. He was accused of individualism, factionalism and bureaucratic behaviour which seriously disrupted the Party's work and its organisation.

The C.C.C. agreed with the findings of the P.C. Commission and confirmed its decision, except the point of its leaving Ujjain. Instead C.C.C. suspended him from the Party for a period of six months.

2. *Hardasilal & Others*—Haldwani—U.P.—1958: Hardasilal, Ramsharan Shant, Jhingan and Kallu Shah had appealed to the C.C.C. to enquire into the functioning of National D.O.C. and accused those functioning as D.O.C. of factionalism and individualism.

The C.C.C. recommended the dissolution of the Nainital D.O.C. and that its reorganisation and enrolling fresh Party membership be taken in hand by the Uttar Pradesh P.C.

3. *Ganesh Pal Singh*—Aligarh—U.P.—1958: Ganesh Pal Singh had appealed against his expulsion from the Party. He was accused of flouting Party mandate, lowering of Party prestige, exploiting his position in the Party to threaten others with disciplinary action, etc.

The C.C.C. recommended his re-admission be considered in the light of his activities since his expulsion and on his expressing regret against his earlier attitude.

4. *Bhoop Singh*—Aligarh—U.P.—1958: Bhoop Singh had appealed against his expulsion from the Party by his village unit in 1956 on his refusal to return silver ornaments which his Harijan Tenant had kept with him as security for the loan advanced.

The C.C.C. recommended to set aside his expulsion and restore his membership in view of the fact of his continued work as a Party sympathiser and participation in the Kisan Sabha campaigns during the last two years.

5. *Ramsurat Singh*—Calcutta—West Bengal—1959: Ramsurat Singh had appealed against his expulsion by the P.C. on his taking money from the management of a firm without consulting either the Union or the Party, the amount being Rs. 3,600/- out of which he could not account for Rs. 300/- to Rs. 500/-.

The C.C.C. confirmed the P.C. decision of expulsion, but recommended that the P.C. may review his case after two years if they find him still working honestly and if he desires to become a Party member.

6. *Mohammad Ahmad*—Moradabad—U. P.—1959: Mohammad Ahmad had appealed against his expulsion from the Party on the suspicion of his having links with police.

The C.C.C. disagreed with the findings of the U.P.P.C. Commission and his expulsion was set aside and membership restored.

7. *Sohan Singh Gian & Hazuri Singh*—Phagwara—Punjab—1959: Sohan Singh Gian and Hazuri Singh had appealed against the disciplinary action taken by the Punjab Committee on the charges of indiscipline, factionalism, non-submission of accounts and adverse moral behaviour. Both were suspended from the Party membership for 3 months and for one year respectively.

The C.C.C. confirmed the decision of the Punjab Committee on those two comrades. The C.C.C. also commented that in such cases the P.C. should not take more time as it did in the present case.

8. *Sobhagmal, Radhavallabh & Others*—Jaipur—Rajasthan—1960: Sobhagmal, Radhavallabh and others were expelled from the Party for participating in the 'High Court' Agitation in defiance of the Party's mandate. They were expelled by the Jaipur City Committee and this decision was confirmed by the Rajasthan P.C.

The C.C.C. considered the statements of these comrades, admitting breach of Party discipline and their mistake in violating Party's mandate and recommended to the P.C. to restore their membership.

9. *Prof. Satin Chakraborty*—Calcutta—West Bengal—1960: Prof. Satin Chakraborty had appealed against his suspension from the Party for a period of one year and against his holding any elective post in any public organisation. He disregarded P.C.'s mandate as certain charges against him were still under investigation and got himself elected as Secretary to West Bengal Calcutta University Teachers' Association.

The C.C.C. confirmed the State Control Commission's decision of suspension from the Party membership but reduced the period of suspension to the period already elapsed.

The C.C.C. also suggested to the State Control Commission to expedite the hearing of the original case arising from the complaint of Piyush Das Gupta against Prof. Satin Chakraborty.

10. *Jagajit Singh Anand*—Jullundur—Punjab—1960: Jagajit Singh Anand had appealed against his suspension from the Punjab State Executive of the Party of which he is a member for three months. He was accused of divulging news of the inner-Executive discussions during a loose talk with a correspondent of *Tribune*.

The C.C.C. rejected Jagajit Singh Anand's appeal and confirmed the decision of the Punjab State Council suspending him for three months from the Punjab State Executive.

11. *Debasis Sarkar*—Hazaribagh—Bihar—1960: Debasis Sarkar had appealed against the disciplinary action of censuring him by the State Secretariat and approved by the State Executive Committee for factional work in the Hazaribagh district.

The C.C.C. did not consider it necessary to interfere in the decision of the Bihar State Executive Committee and rejected the appeal of Debasis Sarkar.

Report of the Credential Committee Elected by the 6th Congress of The Communist Party of India*

On behalf of the Credential Committee, we are submitting the following report.

Representing a membership in 1959 of 1,77,501 in all 424 delegates were elected in the various provincial and State conferences held in preparation for this Congress. This was in accordance with the decision of the National Council which had decided that the provincial and the State conferences should elect one delegate per 400 party members. This number also includes five delegates elected by the conference of Party units working at the Party headquarters. Besides this, there are 25 CEC members and five members of the Central Control Commission who are entitled to participate as full delegates according to the Party Constitution. Then there are the 9 members of the National Council who have not been elected delegates from their respective provincial organisations and who can participate in the Congress without voting rights according to the Party Constitution.

Besides this, there were 10 observers from the Central all-India mass organisations. These were invited to attend as observers. One alternate delegate from UP was allowed to attend as observer by the Presidium.

Out of these 454 voting delegates and 20 non-voting delegates and observers who were entitled to participate in the Congress in their respective capacities, the actual attendance at the Conference was 439 voting delegates and 17 non-voting delegates and observers. This means over 96 percent of the total number of delegates elected and entitled, attended the Congress. Nearly 90 percent of the observers and non-voting delegates attended.

*The report was placed before the 6th Congress of CPI held at Lumumba Nagar, Vijaywada, 7-16 April, 1961

Though Credential Committee's forms were issued to all the delegates and observers present, we received only 434 forms duly filled in. The information obtained from these 434 forms was tabulated. We are presenting herewith the general conclusions and the tabulated statistics obtained from these forms.

Age Groups

The bulk of the delegates, i.e., 338 out of 434 are between the age limits of 30 and 50 years. Youth below 30 were only 16. Full figures of the age distribution of delegates are as follows:

Up to 25	2	Between 41 & 50	171
Between 26 & 30	15	Between 51 & 60	68
Between 31 & 40	167	Over 60	10

(One did not state his age)

The youngest delegate is 23 years old. He is P. Raman from PHQ as observer and Com. T.N. Prabhakaran from Kerala is 25. Our oldest veteran is BABA GURMUKH SINGH from Punjab who is 74 and Com. MUZAFFAR AHMAD, one of the founders of our Party is 72.

Duration of Party Membership of Delegates

Bulk of the delegates, i.e., 353 out of 434 have been Party members for 10 to 25 years. The details of figures showing duration of Party membership of the delegates are as follows:

Up to 2 years	1	10-15 years	85
2-5 years	4	15-25 years	268
5-10 years	38	Over 25 years	38

Class Origin of Delegates

Working Class	38	Middle-Class	63
Agri Labour	9	Landlords	29
Peasant	88	Small Traders	6

Not mentioned 1

Education of Delegates

Graduates and higher academic qualifications	173
Intermediate	68
Matric	103
Under-Matric	80
Primary	5
Not mentioned	5

Front-wise Distribution of Delegates

Party Organisation	158	Party Journals, Agit prop	20
Kisan Organisation	104	Parliament, Legislatures	15
Agri. Labour Orgn	17	Culture	2
TU Organisation	90	Peace	3
Youth Organisation	6	C C C	2
Women Organisation	7	Miscellaneous	9

Not mentioned 1

Positions Held by Delegates in Mass Organisations

Kisan Sabha	120	Youth	8
Agri Labour	20	Women	6
Trade Unions	143	Miscellaneous	17

Nil 120

Comparing the figures given under this head with those given under the previous head, we find that comrades having positions of office bearers in kisan and TU organisations are not found working mainly in those respective fronts. For instance, while 120 delegates state that they are office bearers of kisan organisations, only 104 are working mainly on the kisan front similarly, while 143 delegates are office bearers in trade unions, only 90 delegates are working mainly on the TU front.

The bulk of the delegates, i.e., 408 out of 434 are wholetime workers of the Party. Only 22 have mentioned that they are part-timers and 4 have not mentioned anything.

As for the positions which the delegates hold in the Party organisation, the distribution is as follows:

CEC 17; National Council 71; State and Provincial council members 239; District council members 80; local committee's members 22.

Among the delegates, 120 out of 425 are elected members of Central and State Legislature, municipalities, local self-government bodies and other public organisations. The distribution is as follows:

M Ps	12	Municipalities	14
M L As	56	Panchayats	9
Territorial Council	4	Co-op & Development Bodies	28
Nil 311			

The information supplied by the delegates about the years they spent in prison and underground life as a result of their participation in the national liberation and peoples' struggles can be summed up in the following figures.

Total imprisonment undergone by the 425 delegates—1494 years 10 months 28 days.

Total underground life is 998 years 9 months.

The longest imprisonment undergone is 25 years by Com. Swami Kumaranand of Rajasthan and 24 years by Com. Ganesh Ghosh from Bengal. The longest period of underground life is that of Baba Gurmukh Singh from Punjab which is 19 years.

Only one case of dispute about their representation of a delegate was referred to us. This was from Uttar Pradesh. Com. Babu Khan who was elected as an alternate delegate, third in priority, by the UP State conference was asked to come to Vijaywada by the PC Secretary, in place of one regular delegate who was not expected to be able to attend the Congress. He came here and attended the Congress for 3 days. Thereafter, the regular delegate arrived, after which Com. Babu Khan was asked to make way for the regular delegate. Com. Babu Khan appealed to the Credential Committee, claiming that injustice was done to him.

The Credential Committee held unanimously that the regular elected delegate having arrived, his right to participate as such could not be taken away So, the decision to give him delegate's card was upheld At the same time, the Credential Committee requested the Presidium to allow Com Babu Khan to attend the Congress as an observer, he having come all the way to Vijaywada on the instructions of the PC Secretary The Credential Committee, in its written report on this case, recommends that in order to avoid such difficult and unpleasant situations in which an alternate delegate is replaced after attending the session of the Congress for some days, the National Council should frame definite rules about alternate delegates

G Adhikari
¶ C N Nambiar
Des Raj Chaddha

14th April, 1961

**Statement Issued by
Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, CPI
on Chinese Patrolling of Indian Territory,
November 21, 1961**

I have read with surprise and regret the information given by the Government of India about the recent patrolling by Chinese soldiers in Indian territory. It is also reported that new checkposts have been established by the Chinese even beyond the territory shown in their own map of 1956.

Such acts, especially in the context of the dispute already existing, cannot but heighten tension, create deep resentment among the Indian people and further embitter the relations between the two countries.

We demand that the Government of the People's Republic of China must immediately put an end to such acts. We demand also that effective measures must be taken by them to ensure that such things do not occur again.

Press Conference Addressed by Ajoy Ghosh, General Secretary, CPI on India-China Border Dispute New Delhi, December 16, 1961*

At a Press Conference held in New Delhi on 16 December 1961, Comrade Ajoy Ghosh answered a number of questions on the CPI's attitude to developments in the India-China border dispute and on Chinese assessment of the situation in India. In reply to a question seeking clarification of the Soviet stand on the dispute, Comrade Ghosh observed that he was not in a position to elaborate the Soviet stand any further. But, he stated, the basic Soviet position was clear enough—it desired that the dispute be settled through peaceful negotiations. This position he fully appreciated.

Regarding the so-called Chinese threat to cross the McMahon line he stated that, he had read the Chinese Note very carefully. He did not find in it any threat to cross the line. He felt that the mention of crossing it in the Chinese Note was only used as an illustration and an argument. He hoped that no attempt would be made by the Chinese forces to cross the McMahon line.

If, however, the Chinese did cross the McMahon line then 'the Government of India would be justified in taking all measures to repel the Chinese forces. In such a situation the Communist Party of India would support all the measures taken by the Government of India'.

When he was questioned regarding the latest Chinese Foreign Ministry Note and the comments in the *People's Daily* regarding the foreign policy of the Government of India, Ajoy Ghosh stated:

I do not agree with the Chinese position and I might mention

*The report of this Press Conference as published in NEW AGE, Weekly December 24, 1961, is reproduced here

here that as the General Secretary of the CPI, I do not speak in a personal capacity but as its authorised spokesman.

We have our criticism of the Government of India's foreign policy. This criticism has been clearly stated in our Election Manifesto. We believe that the Government of India's foreign policy does suffer from weaknesses. There are external and internal pressures which cause vacillation and inconsistency; American aid is one of them. A glaring example was the failure of the Government of India to take a clear-cut stand of condemnation of the US plan of invasion of Cuba. Other examples can also be given.

But our basic assessment is that the Government of India's foreign policy is a policy of peace, non-alignment and anti-colonialism. As such we extended and even now extend our support to this foreign policy.

Comments in the Chinese press give the impression that their basic assessment is different. They seem to think that India has almost gone over to imperialism. This is not only totally contrary to facts but shows a lack of sense of proportion. Evidently, our views differ radically from those of the Chinese Government regarding the foreign policy of the Government of India.

Ajoy Ghosh then firmly stated:

I would add that as regards the Indian situation and the policies of the Government of India we, Indian Communists, are better judges than any other Party in the world, including the Communist Party of China.

Asked about the criticism made against him personally in the *People's Daily*, he said,

I am answerable for my utterances and statements to the Communist Party of India. I had criticised the Chinese position and they have criticised me. [Midst laughter, he added] 'I can assure you that I do not propose to make any diplomatic protest'.

Regarding the reported negotiations between China and Pakistan on the border issue, Ajoy Ghosh said that he did not know what China exactly proposed to do. But he did not think that

there was going to be any such negotiations and any settlement between those two countries and he sincerely hoped that there would be none.

Clarifying the Party's position in the matter, he said:

It is quite clear that the only border between China and Pakistan is part of Jammu and Kashmir. And the whole of Jammu and Kashmir belongs to India. If any settlement is reached between China and Pakistan on the so-called boundary question, this settlement would be totally illegal and invalid.

Appendix (i)

1957 Election Results of C.P.I.*

**Candidates—in Lok Sabha and State Assemblies.
Summary of votes polled. Statement of Jyoti Basu
in protest against post-election terror created in
West Bengal.**

KERALA

Nemom—Total Votes 53,914, Votes Polled 42,092

A. Sadasivan (CPI): 15,998; PSP 14,159 Congress 11,933

Aryananad—Total Votes 54,053 Votes Polled 33,454

R. Balakrishna Pillai (CPI): 16,728; Congress 6,967 RSP 5,351
Independent 4,383

Kottayam—Total Votes 59,014, Votes Polled 45,662

P. Bhaskaran Nair (CPI): 23,021; Congress 20,750 Independent 1,886

Kunnamangalam—Total Votes 59,557 Votes Polled 35,896

Ottavil Chathunni (CPI) 11,814 Congress: 13,598; Independents (2)
10,482

Varkom—Total Votes 63,183 Votes Polled 51,001

C K Vishwanathan (CPI) 25,164, Congress: 25,818;

Pathupally—Total Votes 53,777, Votes Polled 42,001

I M George (CPI) 19,000. Congress: 20,396; PSP 1,406 Independent
1,192

Ullur—Total Votes 55,634 Votes Polled 39,862

V Sreedharan (CPI): 16,904; PSP 14,182 Congress 6,445 RSP 1,921
Independent 409

Vilappil—Total Votes 53,865 Votes Polled 38,277

V Surendranath (CPI) 14,278, PSP: 18,221; Independent 5,771

Neyyatinkara—Total Votes 67,005, Votes Polled 47,370

O. Janardhanan Nair (CPI): 18,812; PSP 16,558, Congress 3,499

Trivandrum I—Total Votes 56,118, Votes Polled 37,865

Veli Krishnan Nair (CPI) 13,418, PSP: 15,466; Congress 5,945

Trivandrum II—Total Votes 63,380, Votes Polled 42,263

K Anirudhan (CPI) 17,082. PSP: 21,816; Congress 3,358

Parassala—Total Votes 57,793, Votes Polled 41,196

N Rathnaswami (CPI) 5,816, Congress: 16,742; PSP 8,338

(Reproduced from NEW AGE Weekly dated 10.3.1957 17.3.1957 24.3.1957
31.3.1957 21.4.1957)

MADHYA PRADESH

Indore East—Total Votes: 43,692; Votes Polled: 27,605
Homi Daji (CPI): 16,702; **Congress**: 10,903.

MYSORE

Panemangalore—Total Votes: 54,150; Votes Polled: 33,315
M. H. Krishnappa (CPI): 13,782; **Congress**: 19,533.

Bangalore South (Double-Member)—Total Votes: 83,089;
 Votes Polled: 65,497

GENERAL: Krishnamaraju (CPI): 2,509; **Congress**: 13,702; **PSP**: 2,610;
 Independents (3): 21,014.

PUNJAB

Pakka Kalan (Double-Member)—Total Votes. 1,13,896; Votes Polled.
 1,19,021

GENERAL: Jangir Singh Joga (CPI): 26,806; **Congress**: 30,268.
RESERVED: Jangir Singh (CPI): 26,655; **Congress**: 30,183.

Samrala (Double-Member)—Total Votes: 1,12,226; Votes Polled. 1,31,506
GENERAL: Sardar Mall Singh (CPI): 21,451; **Congress**: 29,765;
PSP: 12,207.

Rupar (Double member)—Total Votes: 1,03,243; Votes Polled: 1,29,975

GENERAL: Dr. Piara Singh (CPI): 9,154; **Independent**: 34,096; **Congress**:
 25,866

RESERVED. Sardar Raja Singh (CPI): 9,679; **Congress**: 25,142;
 Independents (2): 23,984

ASSAM

Patharkandi (Double-Member)—Votes Polled: 54,476

RESERVED. Gopesh Namasudra (CPI): 22,768; **Congress**: 19,850.
 Independents (2): 11,858.

Nalabari West—Total Votes: 49,964; Votes Polled: 28,515

Tarun Sen Deka (CPI): 16,121; **Congress**: 12,394.

Rangiya (Double-Member)—Total Votes: 80,998, Votes Polled: 64,456

GENERAL: Praneshwar Hazarika (CPI). 8,083; **Sidhinath Sharma, PWD Minister (Congress)**: 19,400; **Independent**: 2,327.

RESERVE: Bisnu Prasad Rabha (CPI): 9,353; **Congress**: 21,847;
 Independent: 3,442.

Lakhimpur North (Double-Member)—Votes Polled: 60,752

GENERAL: Bisnu Bora (CPI): 12,065; **Congress**: 19,456.

RESERVED: Nameswar Pegu (CPI): 11,448; **Congress**: 17,783.

Digboi—Total Votes: 39,038; Votes Polled: 16,618

Binoy Chakraborty (CPI): 3,057; **Congress**: 10,899; **Socialist Party**. 1,107.
 Independent: 1,187; **Bolshevik Party**: 367.

Goalpara (Double-Member)—Total Votes: 53,012; Votes Polled: 95,183

RESERVE: Sarat Chandra Rabha (CPI): 5,703; **Congress**: 23,232.

PUNJAB

Una—Total Votes: 72,585; Votes Polled: 34,693

Ram Kishan Bharolian (CPI): 16,581; **Congress**: 12,970; **Jan Sangh**: 5,141.

Garhshanker (Double-Member)—Total Votes: 1,57,017;

Votes Polled: 1,28,974

GENERAL Dr. Bhag Singh (CPI): 36,425; Congress 32,702, Jan Sangh 10,712

Dhuri (Double-Member)—Total Votes 1,18,553, Votes Polled 1,18,034

GENERAL Harnam Singh Chamak (CPI) 22,846, Congress: 27,611.

RESERVE. Jangir Singh (CPI): 24,233; Congress. 22,211, Independents (3) 22,238

Sirhali—Total Votes 66,362, Votes Polled 47,898

Gurjeet Singh (CPI) 13,506, Pratap Singh Kairon (Congress): 34,392.

Bear—Total Votes 55,479, Votes Polled 36,827

Makhan Singh Tarsika (CPI) 8,738, Congress: 19,425.

Patti—Votes Polled 36,961

Ajjan Singh Mastana (CPI) 11,004, Congress: 21,507; Independent 4,450

Rajpura—Total Votes 70,212, Votes Polled 39,215

Baba Sunder Singh (CPI) 11,091, Congress: 21,741; Jan Sangh 6,383

Ludhiana South—Total Votes 63,217, Votes Polled 32,738

Sant Singh Sekhon (CPI) 7,839, Congress: 23,015; Independent 1,879

Mansa (Double-Member)—Total Votes 1,19,091, Votes Polled 1,30,093

GENERAL Dharam Singh Fakkar (CPI) 19,719, Congress: 41,295.

RESERVE Hatchand Singh (CPI) 18,783, Congress: 39,930; Independent 4,527

Sultanpur—Total Votes 63,419, Votes Polled 27,556

Jasjeet Singh (CPI) 7,083 Congress: 20,466.

Phagwara—Total Votes 53,794, Votes Polled 41,353

Master Hari Singh (CPI) 13,070, Congress: 18,663; Scheduled Castes Federation 9,606

Zira (Double-Member)-- Total Votes 1,13,463, Votes Polled 1,35,868

GENERAL Des Raj Talwandi (CPI) 12,651, Congress: 27,412; Independents (3) 29,417

RESERVE Sarwan Singh (CPI) 11,271, Congress: 32,555; Independents (3) 15,364

Sri Gobindpur—Total Votes 65,620 Votes Polled 37,098

Gurnam Singh (CPI) 8,291, Congress: 17,822.

Kangra—Total Votes 61,800, Votes Polled 29,572

Fulsi Ram (CPI) 6,953, Congress: 15,352; Independent 7,267

Barnala—Total Votes 77,741, Votes Polled 36,863

Mukundlal (CPI) 4,506, Congress: 16,002; Independents (2) 16,299

Hassanpur—Total Votes 63,353, Votes Polled 45,406

Pat Ram Palwal (CPI) 5,319, Congress: 25,935; Jan Sangh 2,943, Independent 11,211

Narnaul—Total Votes 62,943, Votes Polled. 26,398

Han Ram (CPI). 1,680, Congress. 10,458; Jan Sangh: 13,168; Independent 1,082

RAJASTHAN

Beawar—Total Votes: 41,703; Votes Polled: 25,584

 Swami Kumaranand (CPI): 10,400; **Congress: 10,750.**

Jodhpur I—Total Votes: 40,278; Votes Polled: 18,725

 Radha Krishan Bohra (CPI): 1,527; **Congress: 8,540;** Independents (9): 8,613.

Jodhpur II—Total Votes: 44,537; Votes Polled: 21,324

 H. K. Vyas (CPI): 4,463; **Congress: 9,160;** Independents (6): 4,101.

BOMBAY STATE

Doraji (Saurashtra)—Total Votes: 57,237; Votes Polled: 25,496

 Chiman Mehta (CPI): 9,754; **Congress: 15,742.**

ANDHRA

Ibrahimpatnam—Total Votes: 55,354; Votes Polled: 23,794

 C. Hanumantha Reddy (PDF): 8,125; **Congress: 11,031.**

MADHYA PRADESH

Ujjain South—Total Votes: 48,276; Votes Polled: 21,157

 Ram Singh (CPI): 6,345; **Congress: 10,546;** Jan Sangh: 3,546; PSP: 625; SCF: 96.

Tikamgarh—Total Votes: 55,796; Votes Polled: 20,662

 Phulchand Bhadora (CPI): 4,082; **Congress: 8,534;** Jan Sangh: 2,155; Independents (2): 5,891

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KERALA

Alleppey—Electorate: 69,989; Votes Polled: 49,720

 T. V. Thomas (CPI): **26,542;** Congress: 22,278; PSP: 304.

Varkala (Double-Member)—Electorate: 1,08,069; Votes Polled: 1,09,409

 GENERAL: T. A. Majeed (CPI): **41,683;** Congress: 20,870; RSP: 9,555; Independent: 2,333.

RESERVE: K. Sadasivan (CPI): **31,454;** Congress: 15,464; PSP: 9,855; RSP: 14,578; Independent: 3,617.

Mattannur—Electorate: 70,221; Votes Polled: 46,092

 N. E. Balaram (CPI): **23,540;** Congress: 13,089; PSP: 9,463.

Kayamkulam—Electorate: 68,247; Votes Polled: 50,467

 K. O. Ayisha Bai (CPI): **27,067;** Congress: 13,138; PSP: 10,262.

Pathanapuram—Electorate: 64,844; Votes Polled: 50,048

 N. Rajgopalan Nair (CPI): **24,499;** Congress: 14,440; PSP: 9,993; RSP: 1,109.

Chadayamangalam—Electorate: 53,528; Votes Polled: 37,273

 K. Bhargavan (CPI): **19,375;** Congress: 6,663; PSP: 9,143; RSP: 2,082.

Eravipuram—Electorate: 55,153; Votes Polled: 42,870

 P. Ravindran (CPI): **19,122;** Congress: 7,467; PSP: 8,762.

- Iellicherry**—Electorate 69,968 Votes Polled 42,553,
V. R. Krishnan (CPI-supported Independent): 27,318; Congress 15,234
- Nadapuram**—Votes Polled 33,710
C. H. Kanaran (CPI): 18,533; Congress 15,177, Muslim League 13,626
- Kottarakkara**—Electorate 57,207, Votes Polled 44,739
E. Chandrasekharan Nair (CPI): 23,298; Congress 14,307 PSP 7,101
- Chengannur**—Electorate 55,988 Votes Polled 37,218
R. Shankaranarayanan Thampi (CPI): 19,538; Congress 13,546 PSP 4,134
- Badagara**—Electorate 62,498 Votes Polled 43,195
M. K. Kelu (CPI): 17,123; Congress 10,623 PSP 15,448
- Attungal**—Electorate 61,792 Votes Polled 41,404
R. Prakasam (CPI): 22,328; Congress 7,919 PSP 11,151
- Perambra**—Electorate 71,128 Votes Polled 49,063
M. Kumaran (CPI): 17,838; Congress 15,827, Muslim League 15,386
- Vedumangad**—Electorate 56,182 Votes Polled 34,091
N. N. Pandarathil (CPI): 20,553; Congress 3,700 PSP 7,888
 Independents 2,754
- Kasargode**—Electorate 64,540 Votes Polled 26,868
 N. Ganapati Kamath (CPI) 6,479 Congress: 10,290; PSP 10,096
- Quilandy**—Electorate 70,295 Votes Polled 46,235
 Padmanabhan Master (CPI supported Independent) 9,935 Congress 16,622 PSP: 19,668.
- Fittumannur**—Electorate 53,947 Votes Polled 41,912
 C. S. Gopala Pillai (CPI) 19,930 Congress: 21,423; Independents 2,479
- Ithodupuzha**—Electorate 50,788, Votes Polled 35,082
 K. N. Kumaramangalam (CPI) 11,680 Congress: 22,149; PSP 1,252
- Balussery**—Electorate 53,701 Votes Polled 38,845
 A. Alukoya (CPI) 11,514 PSP: 15,789; Congress 11,536
- Poonjar**—Electorate 50,458, Votes Polled 30,773
 Jacob Vallikappan (CPI) 9,045 Congress: 21,279; PSP 449
- Hosdrug**—Electorate 60,335, Votes Polled 36,528
 K. Madhavan (CPI) 11,209, PSP: 14,150; Congress 11,162
- Karikode**—Electorate 44,496, Votes Polled 27,557
 Augustine Vazhuthanapalli (CPI-supported Independent) 12,084, Congress: 14,669; PSP 776
- Karunagappally**—Electorate 60,709, Votes Polled 50,463
 Jinaradana Kurup (CPI) 11,369 Congress: 13,709; PSP 43,063, RSP 12,307
- Kuthuparamba**—Electorate 74,967, Votes Polled 51,060
 P. K. Madhavan (CPI) 14,858, Congress 14,660, PSP: 21,540.
- Moovattupuzha**—Electorate 57,681, Votes Polled 33,836
 Karuvilla Mathai (CPI) 14,993, Congress: 16,820; PSP 2,019

Ramamangalam—Electorate: 52,761; Votes Polled: 38,857

Parameswaran Nair (CPI): 13,588; **Congress**: 20,086; Independent: 5,180.

Mattancherry—Electorate: 63,140; Votes Polled: 35,673

T. M. Abu (CPI): 13,046; **Congress**: 20,086; PSP: 3,007; RSP: 512.

Quilon—Electorate: 59,821; Votes Polled: 46,947

J. Chitharanjan (CPI): 11,817; **Congress**: 20,367; RSP: 12,571; Independent: 2,154.

Chevayyur—Electorate: 59,955; Votes Polled: 44,308

P. C. Raghavan Nair (CPI): 17,319; **Congress**: 20,683; PSP: 6,306.

UTTAR PRADESH

Baghpat—Electorate: 82,070; Votes Polled: 39,942

Bharat Singh (CPI): 10,110; **Congress**: 22,145; Independent (2): 7,676.

Tappal—Electorate: 91,864; Votes Polled: 45,003

Harpal Singh (CPI): 10,163; **Congress**: 24,080; Independent: 10,780.

Kadipur—Electorate: 1,47,951; Votes Polled: 1,09,163

Jagram (CPI): Reserve: 18,679; **Congress**: 23,577.

Bikapur East—Electorate: 76,998; Votes Polled: 36,012

Parasnath Tripathi (CPI): 3,344; Congress: 7,037; **Independent**: 16,882; Independent: 8,733.

Ujhani—Electorate: 73,935; Votes Polled: 32,280

Narottan Singh (CPI): 4,989; **Congress**: 24,779; Independent: 2,491

Bikapur West—(Double-Member) Electorate: 1,57,046; Votes Polled: 86,907

GENERAL: Rajbali Singh (CPI): 7,437; **Congress**: 18,186; Jan Sangh: 15,770; RESERVE: Mithalai (CPI). 7,255; Congress. 17,139; Jan Sangh. 15,187

Sirauli—Electorate: 80,346; Votes Polled: 38,320

Har Sahai Singh (CPI): 5,573; **Congress**: 18,935; PSP: 13,783.

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KERALA

Mararikulam—Electorate: 59,100; Votes Polled: 46,507

C. G. Sadasivan (CPI): 28,153; Congress: 18,350.

Karthikapally—Electorate: 64,677; Votes Polled: 47,812

R. Sugathan (CPI): 20,978; Congress: 14,887; PSP: 8,520; RSP: 3,419

Cannanore I—Votes Polled: 43,962

C. Kannan (CPI): 17,464; Congress: 17,410; Muslim League: 9,082.

Madai—Electorate: 68,319; Votes Polled: 47,061

K. P. R. Gopalan (CPI): 24,390; Congress: 12,169; League-PSP-Independent: 10,465.

Punalur—Electorate: 50,228; Votes Polled: 37,954

P. Gopalan (CPI): 20,455; Congress: 16,366; RSP: 1,130.

Devikulam (GEN.)—Electorate: 1,41,609

Rowamma Punnoose (CPI): 33,809; Congress: 24,123; Independent: 11,799; RSP: 7,098; Independent: 6,204.

RESERVED K Karuppiyah (Ind supported by CPI) 26,576, **Congress:** 31,887; RSP 6,540, Independent 8,759

Mavelikara—Electorate 1,13,226, **GEN K. C. George (CPI):** 39,617; **Congress** 18,799, PSP 11,877, RSP 3,928

RESERVED P. K. Kunjachan (CPI): 44,638; **Congress** 21,901 RSP 7,661 PSP 5,233, Independent 4,040

Nileswaram—Electorate 1,18,286

GENERAL E. M. S. Namboodiripad (CPI): 38,090; PSP 24,202, **Congress** 2,938

RISERVLD Kallalan Vaidyar (CPI): 44,754; **Congress** 19,712

Ranni—Electorate 59,404, Votes Polled 44,037

M Thomas (Ind supported by CPI) 20,722 **Congress:** 23,308.

Sherthalai—Electorate 60,931, Votes Polled 48,847

K. R. Gouri (CPI): 26,077; **Congress** 22,756

Palluruthy—Electorate 62,454 Votes Polled 45,511

P Gangadharan (CPI) 19,848 **Congress:** 23,666; PSP 1,993

Narakkal—Electorate 62,065 Votes Polled 48,539

K K Ramakrishnan (CPI) 22,321 **Congress:** 24,253; PSP 1,964

Tirur—Electorate 65,329 Votes Polled 37,691

P Gopalan (CPI) 8,850 **Muslim League:** 15,400; **Congress** 13,231

Vroor—Electorate 58,350 Votes Polled 46,256

Avintha Tharakan (Ind supported by CPI) 22,296, **Congress:** 23,956.

Perumbavoor—Electorate 56,076 Votes Polled 43,414

P. Govinda Pillai (CPI): 21,679; **Congress** 20,780, PSP 949

Pathanamthitta—Electorate 64,461, Votes Polled 50,359

P. Bhaskaran Pillai (CPI): 29,001; **Congress** 21,353

Ithakazhi—Electorate 59,375, Votes Polled 43,531

Vughese Vardyan (CPI) 16,480, **Congress:** 21,940; RSP 5,105

Haripad—Electorate 58,861 Votes Polled 43,251

V. Ramakrishna Pillai (Ind. supported by CPI): 20,184; **Congress** 1,812 PSP 6,249

Kozhikode I—Electorate 65,916, Votes Polled 43,630

H Manchunatha Rao (CPI) 16,079, **Congress:** 17,388; PSP 10,157

Cananore II—Electorate 65,134 Votes Polled 46,494

K. P. Gopalan (CPI): 21,493; **Congress** 18,776, PSP 6,210

Irikkur—Electorate 62,032, Votes Polled 43,352

I. C. Narayanan Nambiar (CPI): 24,518; **Congress** 11,052, Independent 7,774

Arakkula—Electorate 56,715, Votes Polled 39,805

M C Vasudevan (CPI): 18,630, **Congress:** 18,895; PSP, 2,277

Kothakulangara—Electorate 55,952, Votes Polled 42,019

A P Kurian (CPI): 15,246, **Congress:** 24,133; Independent 2,636

Ernakulam—Electorate: 18,627; Votes Polled: 44,214

V. Ramankutty Menon (CPI): 18,172; **Congress**: 23,857; Independents (2): 2,185.

Kozhikode II—Electorate: 71,179; Votes Polled: 40,580

P. K. Balan (CPI): 10,767; **Congress**: 18,586; Independent: 11,211

Parur—Electorate: 57,455; Votes Polled: 43,428

M. Sivan Pillai (CPI): 19,997; Congress: 17,909; PSP: 5,520.

Changanasseri—Electorate: 57,725; Votes Polled: 42,238

M. Kalianakrishnan Nair (CPI): 22,539; Congress: 19,693

Kundotti—Electorate: 55,901; Votes Polled: 34,951

P. K. Muhamed Kunhi (CPI): 4,101; **Muslim League**: 18,981; Congress: 11,866.

Kanayannur—Electorate: 60,500; Votes Polled: 42,754

T. K. Ramakrishnan (CPI): 21,292; Congress: 17,506; PSP: 3,955

Cranganore—Electorate: 62,168, Votes Polled: 46,476

E. Gopalakrishnan (CPI): 20,385; Congress: 18,894; PSP: 7,184

Vadakkekkara—Electorate: 54,057; Votes Polled: 41,231

K. A. Balan (CPI): 23,385; Congress: 17,844.

Trikkadavur—Electorate: 1,04,590

GENERAL: P. K. Sukumaran (CPI): 28,602; Congress: 26,193.

RESERVED: K. Karunakaran (CPI): 33,782; Congress: 32,596.

Kallupara—Electorate: 53,558; Votes Polled: 39,243

N T. George (CPI): 10,843; **Congress**: 17,874; PSP: 9,456. Independent 1,068

Kunnathur—Electorate: 1,08,506

GENERAL: P. R. Madhavan Pillai (CPI): 41,569; Congress: 29,389,

PSP: 10,542; RSP: 8,092

RESERVED: R. Govindan (CPI): 37,321; Congress: 25,982; PSP: 5,136. RSP: 11,698.

Vazhur—Electorate: 53,140, Votes Polled: 40,124

N. Raghava Kurup (CPI): 20,022; **Congress**: 20,102.

Wynad—Electorate: 1,18,878

GENERAL: P. Sankai (CPI): 14,560, **Congress**: 31,993; PSP: 21,292

RESERVED: A. Gopalan (Ind. supported by CPI): 16,648;

Congress: 29,296; Independent: 16,800.

Guruvayoor—Electorate: 60,312, Votes Polled: 37,085

P. K. Koru (Ind. supported by CPI): 16,722; Congress: 14,087.

PSP: 6,259.

Kuttipuram—Electorate: 61,260; Votes Polled: 31,952

T. Raghavan Nair (Ind. supported by CPI): 6,030, **Muslim League**: 15,495; Congress: 10,424.

Kozhalmannam—Electorate: 58,868; Votes Polled: 34,143

K. V. John (Ind. supported by CPI): 19,437; Congress: 14,689.

Irinjalakuda—Electorate: 62,341; Votes Polled: 46,320

C. Achutha Menon (CPI): 24,140; Congress: 21,480; Independent: 678.

Nattika—Electorate: 63,787. Votes Polled: 45,655

P K Gopalakrishnan (CPI): 22,039; Congress: 23,594.

Alathur—Electorate: 62,288. Votes Polled: 34,841

R. Krishnan (CPI): 19,203; Congress: 13,317, Independent: 2,288.

Mankada—Electorate: 58,268; Votes Polled: 27,913

Raghava Pisharoti (CPI): 6,849; Muslim League: 11,854; Congress: 8,338. Independent: 869.

Parintalmanna—Electorate: 59,149. Votes Polled: 30,511

P. Govindan Nambiar (CPI): 13,248; Muslim League: 9,398, Congress: 7,861

Kunnamkulam—Electorate: 59,989. Votes Polled: 42,736

T. K. Krishnan (CPI): 21,161; Congress: 18,788, PSP: 2,766

Tirur—Electorate: 70,406. Votes Polled: 42,664

K Mahammed Naha (Ind supported by CPI): 8,365, Muslim League: 17,622; Congress: 16,670

Alwaye—Electorate: 62,713. Votes Polled: 44,851

M C Varkey (Ind supported by CPI): 21,142, Congress: 23,707.

Manaloor—Electorate: 60,647. Votes Polled: 47,205

Joseph Mundassery (CPI): 23,350; Congress: 21,755, PSP: 2,486

Trichur—Electorate: 61,206. Votes Polled: 44,606

A. R. Menon (Ind. supported by CPI): 23,531; Congress: 21,045.

Tiruvella—Electorate: 61,817. Votes Polled: 45,383

G. Padmanabhan Thampi (CPI): 22,978; Congress: 20,347, PSP: 2,058

Elapulli—Electorate: 61,207. Votes Polled: 28,357

A. K. Ramankutty (CPI): 16,758; Congress: 11,516

Mannarkad—Electorate: 61,805. Votes Polled: 30,269

K. Krishna Menon (CPI): 12,375; Congress: 9,665, Independents (2) 7,252

Malapuram—Electorate: 63,179. Votes Polled: 34,025

K Kunjanujan Raja (CPI): 4,566, Muslim League: 17,214; Congress: 12,243

U.P.

Pilibhit—Electorate: 80,279. Votes Polled: 35,430

Natis Ahmed (CPI): 4,329; Congress: 9,664; PSP: 6,524; Jan Sangh: 6,865, Independents (2), 8,039

Azamgarh—Electorate: 76,833. Votes Polled: 33,631

Bacheylal Shastri (CPI): 2,648; PSP: 14,231; Congress: 8,437, Jan Sangh: 6,497.

Kaisarganj—Electorate: 80,697. Votes Polled: 39,372

Ram Singh (CPI): 4,447; Congress: 23,393; Independent: 11,519.

Baberu—Electorate 83,011, Votes Polled 28,296

Bhagwat Prasad (CPI) 4,718, Congress: 13,166;
PSP 5,853, Independent 4,557

Tanakpur—Electorate 67,139, Votes Polled 23,674

Tikaram (CPI) 590, PSP: 9,948; Congress 9,435, Jan Sangh 1,968
Independents 1,656

LIST OF SUCCESSFUL CANDIDATES OF CPI IN 1957 ELECTIONS

(Legislative Assembly)

ASSAM

- 1 Gaurishanker Bhattacharya (Gauhati)
- 2 Larun Sen Deka (Nalbari West)
- 3 Gopesh Namastuda (Patharkandi Res)
- 4 Nilmani Borthakur (Dibrugarh)

ANDHRA

- 1 Ananta Reddy (Dommat)
- 2 Ranganath Rao (Adilabad)
- 3 G Laxma Reddy (Maidaram)
- 4 I Anand Rao (Metpally)
- 5 Amitlal Shukla (Sirgilla-Gen)
- 6 K Narasiah (Singilla Res)
- 7 Ch Rajeswar Rao (Choppadanti)
- 8 P Chokka Rao (Indurti)
- 9 S V K Prasad Rao (Channur)
- 10 S Rajeswari Rao (Mulug)
- 11 K L Narasimha Rao (Yellandu-Gen)
- 12 Namavarapu Peddanna (Khammam Res)
- 13 B Narasimha Reddy (Suryapet-Gen)
- 14 U Malsoor (Suryapet Res)
- 15 K Ramchandra Reddy (Ramannapet)
- 16 Ravi Narayan Reddy (Bhongir)
- 17 Arutla Kamla Devi (Alair)
- 18 L Venkat Reddy (Nalgonda)
- 19 B Dharmendra Bhiksham (Nakrakal)
- 20 D Ida Narsayya (Huzurnagar)
- 21 C Venkata Reddy (Miryalaguda)

22 G Gopal Reddy (Jangaon Gen)
(No elections took place in the Andhra (old) part for the Assembly where mid term elections had taken place in 1955. The Communist Party held 13 seats in that Assembly. The total strength of the Communist PDI in the new Andhra Assembly now stands at 35.)

BIHAR

- 1 Ganganath Mishra (Pipra)
- 2 Karyanand Sharma (Surajgarh)
- 3 Bhola Manjhi (Jamui Res)
- 4 Prabhu Narayan Roy (Biharpur)
- 5 Maniram Singh (Gopalpur)
- 6 Shree Bhagwan Singh (Manci)
- 7 Kedar Das (Jamshedpur)

BOMBAY

- 1 S G Patkar (Sewri)
- 2 Bapurao Jagtap (Byculla Gen)
- 3 Haribhai Nimbalkar (Phaltan-Gen)
- 4 V D Chitale (Kashapeth-Poona)
- 5 S G Tambekar (Chiplun)
- 6 N G Avad (Pathardi)
- 7 Eknath Bhagwat (Shevgaon)
- 8 Bhaskar Rao Patil (Shirdi)
- 9 B T Auti (Parner)
- 10 S N Bhalerao (Jalgaon)
- 11 Dr R B Choudhuri (Dhulia South)

- 12 P L Goverdhan (Igatpuri)
- 13 Phakir Rao Daoker (Dindori Gen)
- 14 R P Bagul (Dindori Res)
- 15 Kikasaheb Wagh (Niphad)
- 16 Kaka Desai (Bhudargad)
- 17 A B Bairdhan (Nagpur City)
- 18 C D Choudhury (Gangapur)
- 19 V D Deshpande (Nanded)
- 20 Bhupendra Mody (Broach) Gujarat
- 21 Devanti Kumar Pandha (Baria) Gujarat

MADHYA PRADESH

- 1 Homi Daji (Indore East)
- 2 Shikir Ali (Bhopal)
- 3 Runchandra Sarwate (Gwalior)

MADRAS

- 1 M Kalyanasundaram (Trichinapalli)
- 2 N K Palaniswami (Perundurai)
- 3 Marudachalam (Coimbatore II Res)
- 4 V Kodandaraman (Gudiyattam Gen)

MYSORÉ

- 1 M C Narasimham (Kolar Gold Fields Gen)
- 2 T K Gireti Reddi (Chintamani)

ORISSA

- 1 Govind Pradhan (Bhadrak-Gen)
- 2 Soma Naik (Bargarh Res)
- 3 Harinar Das (Aska)
- 4 Natabar Banchhor (Bhadrak)
- 5 Narendrakumar Naik (Angul Res)
- 6 Prananath Patnaik (Khurda)
- 7 Mohan Das (Kakatpur-Gen)
- 8 Bharat Das (Kakatpur-Res)
- 9 Loknath Choudhury (Ersama)

PUNJAB

- 1 S Achhar Singh China (Ajnala)
- 2 Jangir Singh Kumbherwal (Dhuri-Res)
- 3 Pt Ramkishen Bharolian (Luna)
- 4 Dr Bhag Singh (Garhshanker Gen)
- 5 Ch Phool Singh (Jhajjar-Res)
- 6 Hukam Singh Sonepat (Rai)

RAJASTHAN

- 1 Lachu Ram (Mandawa)
- 2 Mohar Singh (Churu-Gen) Kisan Sabha
- 3 Muktilal Mody (Berat) Ind supported by CPI

UTTAR PRADESH

- 1 Sanjeevan Lal (Hasanganj Gen)
- 2 Bhikha Lal (Hasanganj Res)
- 3 Mulla Prasad Hans (Satipur Res)
- 4 Jharkhau Rai (Ghosi)
- 5 Chandraseet Yadav (Mohammedabad Gohna Gen)
- 6 Udal (Kolaslah)
- 7 Pabbai Ram (Ghaziabi)
- 8 Sarju Pandey (Mohammedabad Gen)
- 9 Raghubir Ram (Mohammedabad-Res)

KERALA

- 1 O Janardhanan Nair (Neyyattinkara)
- 2 A Sadasivan (Nemom)
- 3 V Sreedharan (Ullur)
- 4 R Balakrishna Pillai (Arananad)
- 5 N N Pandarathil (Nedumangad)
- 6 R Prakasam (Attingal)
- 7 T A Majeed (Varkala Gen)
- 8 K Sivadasan (Varkala-Res)
- 9 P Ravindran (Eravipuram)
- 10 P Karunakaran (Trivakkadavur-Res)
- 11 G Karthikeyan (Krishnapuram)

12. K. O. Ayisha Bai (Kayamkulam)
 13. R. Sugathan (Karthikapalli)
 14. K. C. George (Mavelikkara-Gen)
 15. P. K. Kunhachan
 (Mavelikkara-Res)
 16. P. R. Madhavan Pillai
 (Kunnathur-Gen)
 17. Govindan (Kunnathur-Res)
 18. E. Chandrasekharan Nair
 (Kottarakkara)
 19. K. Bhargavan
 (Chadayamangalam)
 20. N. Rajgopalan Nair
 (Pathanapuram)
 21. P. Gopalan (Punalur)
 22. Thoppil Bhaskaran Pillai
 (Pathanamthitta)
 23. G. P. Thampi (Thiruvalla)
 24. R. Shankaranarayanan
 Thampi (Chengannur)
 25. T. V. Thomas (Alleppey)
 26. C. G. Sadasivan (Mararikulam)
 27. K. R. Gowri (Sherthalai)
 28. A. M. Kalyanakrishnan
 Nair (Changanacherry)
 29. P. Bhaskaran Nair (Kottayam)
 30. Rosamma Punnoose
 (Deviculam-Gen)
 31. T. K. Ramakrishnan
 (Kanayannur)
 32. P. Govinda Pillai (Perumbavur)
 33. N. Sivan Pillai (Parur)
 34. K. A. Balan (Vadakkekara)
 35. E. Gopalakrishna Menon
 (Kodungalloor)
 36. P. K. Chathan (Chalakudy-Res)
 37. C. Achuta Menon (Irinjalakuda)
 38. Joseph Mundassery (Manalur)
 39. T. K. Krishnan (Kunnamkulam)
 40. C. C. Ayyappan
 (Wadakkanchery-Res)
 41. K. Govindankutty (Andathode)
 42. E. T. Kunhan (Ponnani-Res)
 43. R. Krishnan (Alathur)
 44. P. Balachandra Menon
 (Chittoor-Gen)
 45. A. K. Ramankutty (Elapulli)
46. C. K. Narayanan Kutty (Parli)
 47. K. Krishna Menon (Mannarkkat)
 48. P. Govindan Nambiar
 (Perintalmanna)
 49. P. V. Kunhunni Nair
 (Oottapalam)
 50. E. P. Gopalan (Pattambi)
 51. M. Kumaran (Perambra)
 52. M. K. Kelu (Badagara)
 53. C. H. Kanaran (Nadapuram)
 54. N. E. Balram (Mattannur)
 55. C. Kannan (Cannanore-I)
 56. K. P. Gopalan (Cannanore-II)
 57. K. P. R. Gopalan (Madar)
 58. T. C. Narayanan Nambrar
 (Irirkur)
 59. E. M. S. Namboodiripad
 (Nileswaram-Gen)
 60. Kallalan Vaidiar
 (Nileswaram-Res)
 61. Ramakrishna Pillai (Haripad)
 Ind. supported by CPI
 62. Dr. A. R. Menon (Trichur)
 Ind. supported by CPI
 63. K. V. John (Kuzhalmannam)
 Ind. supported by CPI
 64. P. K. Koru (Guruvayoor)
 Ind. supported by CPI
 65. V. R. Krishnan (Tellicherry)
 Ind. supported by CPI

WEST BENGAL

1. Bhadra Bahadur Hamal
 (Jore Bungalow)
2. Satyendra Narayan Majumdar
 (Siliguri-Gen)
3. Mangru Bhakat (Mal-ST)
4. Basanta Lal Chatterjee (Itahar)
5. Gobardhan Das
 (Rampurhat-Res)
6. Turku Hansda (Suri-Res)
7. Radhanath Chattaraj (Labhpur)
8. Harekrishna Konar (Kalna-Gen)
9. Jamadar Manjhi (Kalna-Res)
10. Benoy Chowdhury (Burdwan)
11. Bijoy Krishna Modak (Balagar)
12. Manoranjan Hazra (Uttarpura)

- 13 Tarapada Dey (Domjur)
- 14 Samar Mukherjee
(Howrah North)
- 15 Shaymaprosanna Bhattacharya
(Sankrail)
- 16 Amal Kumar Ganguly (Bagnan)
- 17 Saroj Roy (Garbeta Gen)
- 18 Sudhir Panda (Bimpur-Gen)
- 19 Jamadar Hansda (Bimpur-Res)
- 20 Narayan Choubey (Kharagpur)
- 21 Bhupal Panda
(Nandigram South)
- 22 Ganesh Ghosh (Belgachia)
- 23 Binodranath Sen (Maniktola)
- 24 Niranjan Ch. Roy (Vidyasagar)
- 25 Jagat Bose (Beliaghata Gen)
- 26 Ruma Sanker Prosad
(Beliaghata Res)
- 27 Dhriten Dhar (Faltolla)
- 28 Abu Asad Md Obaidul Ghany
(Entally)
- 29 Binodendri Nath Majumdar
(Balliyunge)
- 30 Somnath Lahiri (Alipur)
- 31 Monikuntala Sen (Kalighat)
- 32 Shaikh Abdulla Faruqui
(Garden Reach)
- 33 Robin Mukherjee (Behala)
- 34 Sudhir Bhandari (Maheshtolla)
- 35 Binkim Mukherjee
(Budge Budge)
- 36 Provash Ch. Roy
(Bishnupur Gen)
- 37 Dr. Robin Roy (Bishnupur-Res)
- 38 Khagendra Kumar Roy
Chowdhury (Baruipur Gen)
- 39 Gangadhar Naskar
(Baruipur-Res)
- 40 Hemanta Kumar Ghoshal
(Hasnabad)
- 41 Jyoti Basu (Baranagar)
- 42 Sitaram Gupta (Bhatpara)
- 43 Gopal Bose (Naihati)
- 44 Niranjan Sen Gupta (Bijpur)

- 45 Ajit Kumar Ganguly (Bongaon)
- 46 Panchu Gopal Bhaduri
(Serampore)
- 47 Tahir Hussain (Hirapur) Ind
- 48 Hiren Chatterjee
(Chandernagore) Ind
- 49 Golam Yazdhami (Kharba) Ind

TERRITORIAL COUNCILS

MANIPUR

- 1 Tongbram Kundo (Lamlai
Keirao)
- 2 Athokpam Thabi (Sagolmang)
- 3 Khoisnam Heitombi (Salam
Khumbong Kontoujam)
- 4 Kh. Itocha Singh (Kakching
Wangjing)

TRIPURA

- 1 Promode Ranjan Das Gupta
(Mohanpur)
- 2 Sudan Chandra Deb Barma
(Agartala Sadar III)
- 3 Hemanta Deb (Old Agartala)
- 4 Aghore Deb Barma (Charilam)
- 5 Atiquil Islam (Sonamura North)
- 6 Hlura Aung Mag (Matihipur)
- 7 Nripendra Kumar Chakravarty
(Khowai)
- 8 Rabindra Chandra Debbarma
(Kalyanpur)
- 9 Dharmaroy Debbarma
(Kulaihour)
- 10 Gokulchand Singha ('1105)
- 11 Mahendra Debbarma (Biriganj)
- 12 Ramcharan Debbarma
(Teliamura)
- 13 Birchandra Debbarma
(Ganatniric) Front
- 14 Serajul Haque Choudhury
(Bishalganj) Front
- 15 Padmakumar Rankhal
(Dumburnagar) Front

Analysis of Election in West Bengal: 1952 and 1957
NEW AGE, Weekly, 14.4.1957.

LOK SABHA

Final Party Position from West Bengal

Total seats: 1952—34; 1957—36

Party	Seats won in 1952	Seats won in 1957
1 Congress	24	23
2 CPI	5*	6
3 PSP	Nil	2
4 FB	Nil	2
5 RSP	1	1
6 Lok Sevak Sangh	Nil	1
7 Independent (supported by Left)	1	1
8 Jan Sangh	2	Nil
9 Hindu Mahasabha	1	Nil

* Later on the CPI won one seat from the Jan Sangh in a bye-election

WEST BENGAL STATE ASSEMBLY

Final Position of Congress and Five Main Opposition Parties

Party	Seats won in 1952		Votes polled (1952)	Percentage of votes polled (1952)	Seats contested (1957)	Seats won (1957)	Votes polled (1957)	Percentage of votes polled (1957)	Gain (+) or loss (-) over 1952
	Congress	CPI	PSP						
Forward Bloc (FB) (Marxist)	12	506,274	68	7	2	85,983	44	-24%	
NIL	61,927	09	12	3	185,673	17	+0.8%		

Votes Polled by the Major Political Parties in the Elections to the Various State Assemblies, 1957

	Congress Party	Communist Party	PSP	Jan Sangh	Independents and others	Total votes polled
1. Andhra	17,20,507	9,41,319	2,11,587	—	8,15,366	36,88,769
2. Assam	13,94,372	2,44,437	2,49,842	—	5,74,811	24,63,462
3. Bihar	44,07,787	5,34,535	16,94,915	1,31,475	36,37,668	1,04,06,380
4. Bombay	78,97,050	8,67,520	15,07,040	2,91,692	57,92,301	1,63,55,603
5. Kerala	22,56,712	21,56,012	6,39,585	—	8,55,492	59,07,801
6. Madhya Pradesh	36,03,778	1,27,524	9,66,613	7,19,305	20,65,500	74,82,720
7. Mysore	33,43,644	1,39,814	8,87,928	83,734	20,99,350	65,54,470
8. Orissa	16,35,290	3,61,595	4,44,867	—	18,26,079	42,67,831
9. Punjab	35,89,322	10,36,795	94,564	6,51,040	21,68,266	75,39,987
10. Rajasthan	22,01,386	1,40,502	1,73,947	2,94,434	21,53,526	49,63,795
11. Madras	52,80,203	8,89,443	3,00,165	—	49,90,496	1,14,60,307
12. UP	93,91,481	8,42,939	31,72,265	21,45,363	71,84,092	2,27,36,190
13. West Bengal	48,30,430	18,84,723	10,29,575	1,02,477	26,14,026	1,04,61,231
Total.	5,15,51,962	1,01,67,198	1,13,72,893	44,19,520	3,67,76,973	11,42,88,546

* The vote of the Independents in Kerala includes 2,36,928 votes polled by 14 Independents supported by the Communist Party, five of whom were elected.

**Votes Polled and Seats Won by Communist Members in
the Elections to the Lok Sabha—1957
State by State**

		Seats contested	Seats won	Votes polled
1	Andhra	19*	4	21 89 004
2	Assam	3	—	2 35 044
3	Bihar	13	—	5 03 715
4	Bombay	9**	4	11 96 312
5	Delhi	1	—	38 236
6	Kerala	15†	9	22 67 888
7	Madhya Pradesh	1	—	31 424
8	Madras	13	2	11 01 340
9	Mysore	2	—	2 69 382
10	Orissa	5	1	2 14 903
11	Punjab	11	1	12 07 600
12	Rajasthan	4	—	2 23 426
13	UP	9	1	4 33 975
14	West Bengal	14	6	19 86 181
15	Tripura	2	1	2 48 422
6	Manipur	1	—	19 294
Total		122	29	1 21 66 150

Notes In the Telangana part of Andhra 8 members of the Communist Party fought the elections on the ticket of the People's Democratic Front

*In the Gujarat part of the Bombay State 3 members of the Communist Party fought for the Lok Sabha on the ticket of the Maha Gujarat Janata Parishad

†In addition to this the Communist Party supported 3 Independents one of whom has been returned to the Lok Sabha. The votes polled by these 3 Independents come to 365 010. These votes are not, however, included in the total votes secured by the candidates of the Communist Party.

Jyoti Basu's Indictment*

Comrade Jyoti Basu, MLA, has issued the following statement on behalf of the West Bengal Committee, Communist Party of India:

"Enraged by the fact that the toiling people of Calcutta and the industrial suburbs have clearly given their verdict against the present Congress regime, sinister attempts are being made to disrupt the unity of the toiling people by trying to fan communal sentiments, by trying to incite majority community against the minority and by a campaign of terror and intimidation against those who have worked for the victory of the left candidates. The most horrible and menacing part of this is that notorious anti-social elements are being used in this game by the ruling party.

"The Ananda Bazar Patrika acting as the mouthpiece of the ruling party is playing an important role in this conspiracy. It is not surprising that this should be so because this paper has always acted as the mouthpiece of the vested interests in West Bengal and has been amply rewarded for this by the nomination of its editor to a parliamentary seat.

"It is alleged by this paper that the slender margin by which Dr. Roy has won is to be explained by the fact that the Communists roused communal sentiments.

"But the facts prove exactly the opposite. In Bowbazar itself Muslims are a minority in the constituency even though a large minority non-Muslim voters outnumber Muslim voters by several thousand as will be proved by an examination of the voters list. Analysis of voting figures in every polling station indicate that a section of the Muslim voters in Muslim areas of this constituency did vote for the Congress. If in spite of this the margin has been so slender, it is because a large section of the non-Muslim toiling people who form the bulk of the voters voted against Dr. Roy.

* Published in NEW AGE, Weekly, 31.3.1957

"If anyone gave a communal turn to the situation it was the ruling party. It was Dr. Roy and not the Communist candidate who visited the Nakhoda Mosque and had prayers organised in his favour by Muslim Mollahs.

"It was Dr. Roy who called upon the Hindu voters not to vote for a Muslim candidate.

"Not only in Bowbazar but in many other constituencies the use of Pirs, Mollahs and Moulavis in support of Congress candidates is known to all. Nowhere have any left candidates used religion as a part of their election campaign.

"Reports published recently in Calcutta also prove clearly that Hindu and Muslim voters belonging to the toiling and wage-earning sections of the people have voted solidly for left candidates.

"In Taltolla area the defeat of Sri Naresh Mukherjee at the hands of a Communist candidate is a significant fact. In this constituency where the Communist candidate was not a Muslim but comes of a conservative Hindu family the toiling Muslims have voted along with the Hindus in favour of Sri Dhiren Dhar.

"And is it only Muslims who are voting for left candidates—what about the rout of the Congress in the Barrackpore belt where Muslims are an insignificant part of the whole population but where the working class and middle class employees form the vast majority of voters?

"What about the defeat of the Congress candidates in Ballygunj, Kalighat, Cossipore, Vidyasagar, Shyampukur and other areas?

"In fact it would be well to remember that in the last general elections the Muslim population of Calcutta voted solidly for the Congress and this Muslim vote accounted for many of the successes of the Congress. But noting the fact that the majority community especially the masses of the toiling people were swinging towards the left the Muslims have decided to follow in their footsteps. This is only natural. When the Muslims voted for the Congress was it not communalism? But when they vote left the cry of communalism is raised.

"We want also to draw the attention of the people to the serious menace to democracy that is emerging as a result of the open use of notorious anti-social elements by the ruling party.

"These elements were very much in evidence on the day of Dr. Roy's counting. They are being used today to intimidate and victimise Hindu and Muslim voters alike especially the latter, because it is easier to intimidate the minority community. The ground for this direct offensive is being prepared by the sinister propaganda of newspapers like Ananda Bazar Patrika.

"If democratic opinion does not assert itself and force the Government to abandon these methods the future of democracy will be dark indeed. But we have confidence that the democratic forces will foil this conspiracy once more as they have foiled similar attempts in the past."

Appendix (ii)

Draft Programme for Discussion

(Document placed before the 6th Congress of the C.P.I. held at Lumumba Nagar, Vijaywada, 7-16 April, 1961, and circulated to all Delegates of 6th Congress)

B. Gurmukh Singh

Experience of the International Movement shows that whenever the danger of anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist trends, revisionist or dogmatic arise and penetrate in the Communist movement and when Communist Parties deviate from their basic tasks of the seizure of power which is the key instrument for final emancipation of the working class to liberate itself from exploitation, and enable it to march forward for democracy, socialism and peace, the international leadership of the Communist movement comes into action to give correct direction to the movement, define its correct strategy and tactics.

Besides innumerable international documents, colonial thesis of the third International, Popular Front slogan of the 7th World Congress, our Programme of 1951, Twelve Parties Declaration of 1957 and 81 Parties Documents of 1960 were written and circulated to rectify the various types of anti-Marxist, anti-Leninist trends in the International Communist movement, and to give correct direction to it by defining the tasks before the Parties in various countries, of different social set up.

It is very unfortunate that during our struggle for freedom against the British imperialism, we could not master and digest the colonial thesis and the Popular Front slogan, nor could we apply them in the concrete situation of India. Warnings about the compromising Reformist Role of the Bourgeoisie and the task of establishment of the hegemony of the working class in the national movement were not only opportunistically distorted but badly ignored. Not going in details of our mistakes during that period the fact must be admitted that we have been at the tail of the bourgeois leadership, and at the same time taking pride in its meagre class achievements.

Post-Independence Period

Immediately after transfer of power in 1947 we met in Calcutta in 1948, when we formally saw to our mistakes, but instead of drawing correct lessons we jumped to the Left Extreme which soon after resulted in confusion alround. We all know the consequences of that line.

It was to clear off this confusion and channelise the C.P.I. activities on correct lines that the Programme of 1951 came in. Characterising the Nehru Government, this Programme of 1951 tought us in very clear and unambiguous terms that Nehru Government will not and cannot carry out to completion the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of our movement. The Government will never solve the land problem, crux of the colonial backwardness and the Party will have to snatch the land of the landlords through force and divide it amongst the peasantry. We all agreed to the formulations in the said Programme.

Instead of moulding our organisation to carry on the tasks as enumerated in the said Programme, and put this in a day-to-day practice, we said good-bye to this Programme in Madura. There we boosted the Parliamentary Democracy because of the adult franchise and gave slogan of capturing state after state.

Reaching Palghat we appreciated the Plans of the Government supported the 'progressive policies' and gave slogan to change direction, of the reactionary and anti-people policies of the Government. Here we again slipped in the mud of reformism, declaring ourselves as Party of the Opposition, and leaving our class position as Party of the working class. Class viewpoint was altogether missing from our analysis of the Government policies. The anti-feudal, anti-imperialist tasks of the movement were burried deep in Palghat.

Right reformism within our ranks was further supported and strengthened after the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. wherein mention of the 'newly liberated countries' comes in along with 'a number of capitalist countries' when discussing the possibility of peaceful revolution. The formulation was clarified and corrected.

in the 12 Parties Declaration of 1957 wherein the words 'newly liberated countries' were eliminated.

We in India gathering in Amritsar well appreciated the 12-Party Declaration, but did not note the improvement it made over the 20th Party Congress of the C.P.S.U. formulation, and when on our own way.

Here we ignored the warning given in the Twelve-Party Declaration, about the penetration and domination of Right Revisionism, in the International Communist movement. We could not see this deviation amongst ourselves, nor could it be cleared from amongst our leadership and ranks.

Practically from Madura, onward, we have been going on without Programme, strategy and tactics, groping in the dark, not knowing our friends and enemies, without striking at the enemy, and winning the allies. It is in this sad state of affairs that 81 Parties Documents have come. We need to chalk out our Programme and plan of work in the light of this.

On previous occasions whenever any international document has come we have been unanimous in welcoming it and agreeing with it and also unanimous in not learning from them and putting them in practice. This unanimity in both ways, has been always superficial and opportunistic, flowing from the class origin of the leadership. But now in case of the 81-Party Documents, in preparation of which our leadership had the good luck to participate, we are neither unanimous in its interpretation, nor unanimous in its implementation in the concrete conditions of India. This is a new development in our Party, development towards the international documents. Still as I understand, I am giving a few important and relevant extracts from these documents, which give us valuable lessons and which must become the basis of our future work and line of action.

"In the course of this struggle all the democratic and patriotic forces of the nation come together in a united front fighting for the victory of revolution aimed at achieving genuine national independence and democracy, which create conditions for passing on to the task of social revolution."

"The big monopolies encroach on the interests of the working class and the people in general all along line."

"At the same time the difficulties experienced by the small and middle urban bourgeoisie are growing more acute."

"All sections of the people are now growing more pronounced along with the sharpening of the basic class contradiction of bourgeoisie society than between labour and capital."

"Dictatorial methods of the Government are combined with fictitious parliamentary practices, stripped off democratic content and purely formal in character."

"It is the primary duty of the working class and its vanguard to head the economic and political struggles of the people for democratic reforms and the overthrow of the power of the monopolies, and assure its success."

"The Communists advocate general democratisation of the economic, social scene and of all the administrative, political, cultural organisations and institutions."

"Communist regard the struggle for democracy as part of the struggle for socialism. In this struggle they continuously strengthen their bonds with working people increase their political consciousness help them to understand the tasks of the socialist revolution and realise the necessity of accomplishing it. This sets the Marxist-Leninist Parties completely apart from the reformists who consider the reform within the framework of the capitalist system as the ultimate goal and deny the necessity of socialist revolution."

"The decisive role in the struggle for the capitalist countries for the tasks is played by the alliance of the working class and the working peasantry which represent the main motive force of the social revolution."

"In the struggle for the improvement of the living conditions of the working people, the extention, and preservation of their democratic rights . . . and also in the struggle to win power and build socialism."

"The Marxist-Leninist Parties head the struggle of the working class and the working people for the accomplishment of the socialist revolution and the accomplishment of the dictatorship of

the proletariat, in one form or another. The form and course of development of the socialist revolution will depend on the specific balance of the class forces in the country concerned, on the organisation and the maturity, of the working class and its vanguard, and on the extent of the resistance put up by the ruling classes."

"Wherever form of the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, it will always signify an extension of democracy—a transition from formal bourgeois democracy to democracy for the working class."

"The Declaration points out that the working class and the vanguard—the Marxist-Leninist Party—seek to achieve the socialist revolution, by peaceful means. This would accord with the interest of the working class and the people as a whole, with the national interests of a country."

Warning About Exploiting Classes: "In the event of the exploiting classes resorting to violence against people, the possibility of non-peaceful transition to socialism should be borne in mind."

"Leninism teaches us and the experience confirms that the ruling classes never relinquish power voluntarily in this case the degree of bitterness and the forms of the class struggle will depend not so much on the proletariat, as on the resistance put up by the reactionary circles to the will of the overwhelming majority of the people, on these circles using force at one or another stage of the struggle for socialism."

Warning About Revisionism: Right-wing opportunists, which mirrors bourgeois ideology in theory and practice distorts Marxism-Leninism, robs it of its revolutionary essence, and thereby paralyses the revolutionary will of the working class. It disarms and de-mobilises the workers and all working people in their struggle against oppression by the imperialists, and the exploiters for peace, democracy and national liberation for the triumph of socialism."

Leaving the official resolution aside, I will take up the Minority Resolution, sponsors of which claim to represent the left trend in the Party. We should test their stand and the solution of

the various issues—said to be the issues of the differences—in the light of the above quotations. This will show how their stand leads us to future Programme without which we have been groping in the dark.

Foreign Aid: Discussing the influx of foreign monopoly capital, and concessions to the foreign private capital and establishing the Government shift to the right, the solution proposed is:

"The task of the working class is to defeat the reactionaries who are demanding more concessions in this direction, to unmask the imperialists who are pressing the Government, to move further towards acceptance of their demands, and to halt the conciliatory trends. in the Government by mobilising the popularity against it."

They do not see the class character of the Government from which flows this policy of conciliation wjth the foreign capital. Actually the policies of the Government create the feeding ground for reaction and strengthen it.

Foreign Policy: Analysing the foreign policy, laying bare the vacillation, inconsistencies, and hesitations of the Government in this field, the resolution says:

"The pressure from the right reaction has grown in recent months . . . It will be wrong to underestimate the strength of these reactionary forces."

The task our left leaders evolve is:

"It becomes the task of the working class and all the progressive forces to wage resolute struggles against insidious manoeuvre of right reaction, and other enemies of the Indian foreign policy, expose and isolate them."

From the above extracts it is clear that according to this resolution, all weaknesses of the foreign policy, vacillations, hesitations, and inconsistencies, are caused by the pressure from the right reaction. This policy will be corrected as soon as the pressure from the right is fought out and removed.

Thus the resolution sinfully ignores the class character of the Government, source of all vacillations, hesitations and the inconsistencies.

Detailed analysis of thirteen years' foreign policy of the Government will prove that weaknesses in the foreign policy are not only caused by the pressure from the right, but it is in the very nature of the Government.

Since 1947, the year of transfer of power, up to Bandung this Government was moving very close in the imperialist circles. It was only after experiencing their desperate efforts to preserve colonial exploitation in new forms by new methods and whipping up the cold war hysteria, by the imperialists, that the shrewd and clever circles of the Indian bourgeoisie, smelled danger for its newly won position in India. These circles of the Indian bourgeoisie were ambitious enough to utilise the state power for strengthening their class position vis-a-vis democratic movement within and imperialism without, and for this they wanted peace, and gain time to do it. With this class aim in view, the Government took the cover of neutrality and peace.

Accordingly, there was a shift in their attitude towards the imperialists, and moving closer to the countries of the socialist camp, for aids and trade. Forgetting the class character, we became victims of the illusions and made Nehru staunch disciple of peace.

With completion of the 5 years plan class position of the Indian bourgeoisie has strengthened to some extent. At the same time, because of the growing strength of the socialist camp, and other allied reasons the possibilities of maintaining world peace and averting war have increased. Therefore, the Indian bourgeoisie is again inclining towards imperialism, and this has caused vacillations and inconsistencies in its foreign policy, its attitude in issues of Congo, Algeria, Cuba, etc.

Thus the see-saw in the foreign policy of the Indian Government is rooted deep in the class composition of the Indian Government. To see it as an effect of pressure of the Right is very superficial. It is bankruptcy of the class understanding and class analysis.

What is Nehru: Most of the important leaders of the Party see in Nehru a super-class individual, disciple of peace, true national democrat, fair and just.

All such understanding about Nehru is purely abstract and idealistic, far from the materialistic understanding of a class and its individuals.

Nehru is essentially a leader of the Indian bourgeoisie, with a creditable past of high position, in the freedom movement, and that too, thanks to our mistakes of that period. Having remained in the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement, he knows the sentiments of the people, which is his great asset. While doing things and serving the interests of the Indian bourgeoisie, he does things in a way the old illusions about him are strengthened and further now illusions are created. Ideological weakness and lack of class consciousness amongst the masses give him opportunity to play his class game. He will continue in the same way till the masses acquire the necessary class understanding to see things for themselves. It is our task to educate the masses on these lines, but instead we indulge in boosting Nehru, and causing further illusions.

Assessment of Economic & Political Situation: Talking of the emergence of the right reaction and shift to the right in the Government policies, the resolution says:

"Therefore a determined and sustained ideological and political battle has to be waged against the extreme Rightists. Their political slogans have to be laid bare as being anti-national, anti-people and diametrically opposed to the traditions of our national movement as well as interests of the people."

"The working class and the Communist Party, must not adopt a complacent attitude to the emergence of right reaction in our country. Every efforts must be made to isolate and defeat it with the aid of all progressives including the Congressmen."

"But even when opposing those policies and measures of the Government we must take every care to unmask the extreme right and isolate it by mobilising the masses in support of the progressive features of the Government policies, which the right reaction attacks, by mobilising them to support and strengthen the anti-imperialist features of our foreign policy, the working class must defeat the attempts of reaction to move the Government towards the Right."

It does not give any new light in the changed situation, but only dittoes the Palghat Stand.

Writing about mass misery and mass discontentment, and practical mass struggles, the resolution, advocates:

" . . . a resolute defence of the interests of the masses by broadest possible mobilisation, is essential, both to protect the masses as well as to bring about the change in the Government policies."

Note the change in policies, not the change in Government.

Coming to the tasks in the present political situation, the Resolution says:

"The Party will devote its energies to unite all patriotic and Democratic forces for defending and strengthening all progressive aspects of the Government policy."

"In view of this (compromise with domestic reaction and the imperialists) it becomes all the more necessary to mobilise the people, on the basis of the broadest possible unity, to bar the way to such tendencies, on the part of the Government and press it forward."

The resolution further suggests:

"Every effort must be made to draw Congressmen in particular in the common fight for defence of progressive policies, against reaction and for resisting the anti-popular policies of the Congress Government."

In spite of the trumpeted differences, on these points the resolution sponsored by our left leaders, talks of only strengthening the progressive policies, fighting and resisting the reactionaries and their manoeuvres, in our political life and change direction of the Government policies to the left in the interests of the people. Government is left safe by these lefts, no talk of its removal or replacement. Their suggestion and solution to the disease of mass poverty and deprivation is palliative at its best and not the least curative.

In flow of left phrases and under heat of demogogy, if they ever speak of removal of the present Government, they only talk of replacement through peaceful parliamentary means, a method which has been rejected, time and again, in the international

documents as not the only method for the newly liberated countries. Programme of 1951, 12 Parties Declaration of 1957 and the 81 Parties Documents of 1960 must be gone through.

Coming to the positive suggestions and proposals on my part, I submit as under:

Documents of the 81 Parties have given a new light showing new opportunities, and possibilities for advance of the International Communist movement. We must draw correct lessons from it and chalk out our programme and plans of activity in its light.

Speaking about the recently liberated countries as ours, the Document says:

"The urgent task of national rebirth facing the country that have shaken the colonial yoke, cannot be effectively accomplished unless a determined struggle is waged against the imperialism and the remnants of feudalism by all the patriotic forces of the nation, united in a single National Democratic Front.

Enumerating the tasks of national rebirth, it lays full stress on the agrarian reforms, in the interests of the peasantry, elimination of the survivals of feudalism, the uprooting of the imperialist economic domination, and restriction of foreign monopoly capital, and their expulsion from the national economy, etc. In nutshell, these tasks are anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks.

Relying on the Communist literature since Lenin and learning from our own 13 years' experience of the rule of the bourgeoisie it can be safely said that the present Government because of its very class character and content, cannot carry on the tasks of the national rebirth, the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks.

Not only because of its past relations with the imperialists but because of its class character and class interests, it can never take a position consistently against imperialism. Not to talk of expulsion of the foreign monopolies, it cannot and will not put any restriction on their activities in our economy. Similarly, it cannot carry on the agrarian reforms, as forfeiture of the land of the landlords, and distribution of the same amongst the peasantry ex-gratis. Its constitution safeguards and defends the right of propertied classes. In every sense and spirit it is a class

Government using the State machinery and the repressive apparatus to defend and extend the class interests. There is not a single word for the propertyless classes whom we represent.

Land problem has always been a crucial problem of the colonial and semi-colonial countries. The solution of the peasant problem which directly effects the interests of the vast majority of the people is of utmost importance for us.

Similarly, the restrictions and eliminations of the foreign monopolies is essential to free our country's economy from the stranglehold of imperialism and make it stand on its own feet.

Not only that these tasks remain unsolved during the 13 years rule of the Congress Government, on the contrary, there has been a constant food crisis, and huddles and halts in the alround industrial progress and development. Workers, peasants, and the middle-classes have been the victim of the capitlaist development, the path pursued by our Government. Propertied classes are flourishing and fattening at the expense of the people, who are being lulled with the slogans of Public sector, national progress and increase in the national income, etc. These big words are used to conceal the misery, blood and tears of the people. The concept of nation is distorted by the bourgeoisie, pandits and our leadership harps the same tune.

Because of the class policies pursued by the present Government laying all burdens of development on the common man, through direct and indirect taxes, etc., and while the main benefits are being reaped by the few rich, disparity in income of the various strata of society is daily growing. People have tasted the bitter fruits of capitalist path of development.

We must understand and it is easy to convince the people in the background of their self-experience that without the radical agrarian reforms in the interest of the peasantry, it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism, which fetter the development of the productive forces in our agricultural and industrial fields. At the same time we must know as cited above that the present government will not do this because of the class character.

Working class must raise the slogan of land to the tiller, rouse the peasant masses, and mobilise them around this slogan. Along with the fight for the partial demands on economic issues, working class and peasantry must be made conscious and politicalised to form the worker-peasant alliance and win those parts of the national bourgeoisie, who are genuinely anti-imperialist and anti-feudal and are interested in the tasks of national rebirth.

It is through this process that a national front under the leadership of the working class based on the worker-peasant alliance, along with the national bourgeoisie, will crystallise which will replace the present Government and carry to completion the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks of national rebirth.

1. This Government of the alliance of the worker-peasant and the national bourgeoisie, will solve the land problem, by carrying out radical land reforms in the interests of the peasantry and the agricultural masses and thus release the productive forces in agriculture and industry, for further development.

Along with giving land to the tiller, and clearing off the survivals of feudalism, privy purses to the ex-feudal princes will be stopped. This state will cancel all usurious debts of the peasant masses and rural poor. Peasants will be supplied better seeds, up-to-date, implements, machinery and cheap loans for development. Peasants exploitation in the market, when selling their produce, and purchasing the industrial goods, will be stopped through fixation of the price line and ensuring the sale and supply accordingly.

Co-operatives will be organised on voluntary basis, in agriculture and will be given full help and guidance in their daily tasks, simultaneously, educating the peasant and agricultural masses, raising their political consciousness to carry on the tasks facing them and the nation as a whole. Crop insurance and all facilities of education and medical aid will be provided at the state expenses.

Agriculture will be organised in a manner to meet the needs of our rising and expanding industry, and at the same time providing an extensive home market for the industrial goods.

2. This Government will uproot the U.S.A. and U.K. imperialist economic domination, restrict the foreign monopoly capital and arrange their expulsion from the national economy, through erection of a State sector, based on the democratic management. Workers will be given the opportunity for participation on the Management. Along with the end of the economic domination of the imperialists, membership of the British Commonwealth, a black spot on the face of our great nation, will be withdrawn.

Thus clearing the ground from foreign economic and political domination, opportunities will rise to take up the non-capitalist path for our further development, and reconstruction, with free friendly and full help of the socialist countries.

To whip up the speed of progress, coal, mica, mines, oil refineries, steel and cement, banking and all other establishments under control of U.S.A. and U.K. foreign capital will be nationalised.

Present State sector will be democratised, enlarged and expanded, further to make our economy self-sufficient and independent of imperialist influence and intervention.

Small and medium sized industries will be helped through loans, supply of raw materials and marketing facilities, co-ordinating their records and with the people of the State sector and safeguarding them from the competition of the big business, crisis of sale and production.

Guarantee of permanent job, living wage to the workers, and recognition of trade union rights including the right to strike will be given. Participation in the management affairs of the industrial establishments and all cultural facilities will be ensured, enabling the working class to play its leading role in all Government organs and in all fields of life.

Fixation of price line through control of profit, in the interests of the consumers will be effected.

Foreign Policy: This Government will pursue the policy of peace and friendship, based on Pancha Sheel. It will establish trade relations with all the nations on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. It will support the national liberation struggles.

recognise and establish relations with new-born national Governments. It will condemn aggressive bourgeois nationalism, as whipped up by the present Government, and solve all border issues and territory disputes, through negotiations, relying on peaceful methods of settlement.

All foreigners who become Indian nationals will be given equal rights along with the native born Indians.

This state will take appropriate measures to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu. It will help in development of its neighbouring States— Sikkim, Bhutan and Nepal. Through expanding trade relations it will forge close links with the countries of the socialist camp.

4. State Structure: Completion of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks, and organisation of our agriculture and industry, on the above lines, will further strengthen the leadership of the working class and its alliance with the peasantry, within the front. Now we shall be in a position to proceed on further towards the reorganisation of the state on full democratic lines. There will be Federation of different nations of India, in the Centre, with village panchayat as primary unit. All officials, executive or judiciary, from lowest to the highest, will be elected on the basis of adult franchise, with right to recall. Government servants, military or police, will have the right to form panchayats and participate in day-to-day administration, activities of nation-building.

Punjabi-speaking and Haryana States will be formed to complete the reorganisation of states, on linguistic basis. Tribal and the centrally-administered areas, will be either adjusted in the neighbouring provinces, or will be given democratic set-up, with autonomous rights, and preferential treatment in the developmental programmes.

Powers of the Centre will be well-defined, giving all the undefined, and residuary powers to the states. Upper houses in the states will be abolished and the present Rajya Sabha will be replaced by house of the nationalities, giving equal representation to all the nationalities making India.

Backward layers of our society, as Harijans, Scheduled Castes, Tribes, Gonds, Bheels, Nagas, etc., survivals of the medieval ages

will be given special facilities and privileges, in matters of education, their economic uplift through guarantee of job and employment and representation in state organs as long as they do not catch up the pace of the social progress.

Freedom of religion and worship will be guaranteed to every citizen of his choice and will.

Form of the Struggle to Capture State Power: An academic struggle has been going on in India within our ranks since the 20th Congress of the C.P.S.U. about the path of our revolution. Much reliance has been placed on the peaceful means through parliamentary majority. The poor side of these discussions has been that these discussions are not linked with the daily past experience of our movement.

No doubt that of all the classes the working class is the most peace-loving class. Throughout its history of struggle for power it has always striven for peaceful means. It is only on the initiative and offensive of the ruling classes, that the working class has been forced to defend its interests, against the bourgeois repression. Similarly, we in India strive for peaceful means to replace the present Government and will do our best to achieve our aim through peaceful means.

But besides the warnings in the international documents to keep us vigilant, in this connection we must draw appropriate lessons from our past history and experience.

Not going very far and only recalling the events of the past three years and having a retrospective look over them will help us in our discussion on the subject.

*We noted the attitude and response of the Government to the struggle of the workers in the steel city of Jamshedpur where military was called in and used to suppress the peaceful economic struggle of the working class.

*We experienced the police lathis and bullets, during the anti-betterment levy struggle of the Punjab peasantry, which was only a partial struggle and all peaceful.

*We saw with our own eyes the suppression of the Government employees strike and use of military personnel to disrupt and

destroy the unity of the Government employees. The striking employees were all peaceful and calm.

*We have recorded 80 innocent lives killed during the Food struggle in Calcutta. Similar has been the experience of the partial struggles in all other provinces.

*In Kerala, Communist-led Government was formed through elections and it was functioning, observing the Constitution of India, like all other states of India. Still the fate it met from the hands of the Central Government including Nehru is fresh for us all. It should have jolted us and put us to rethinking.

In the light of our experience during the partial struggles only on economic demands, we must imagine and visualise the attitude of our Congress Government of non-violence, when we raise and near the slogan of capture of power.

Does our bitter experience teaches us to blindly rely on the peaceful means, and parliamentary methods, and get complacent and oblivious of the bourgeois state machine and its repressive apparatus?

We must strive for peaceful means to replace the present Government and make every effort to this end, but at the same time we must not be forgetful of the class character of the Government, its machinations, means and resources, to preserve and strengthen its class rule as our international documents give us direction.

As for the means and methods, peaceful or otherwise, to a certain extent it depends on the organised strength of the working class and peasantry, the level of their class consciousness and the influence they wield over the other strata of society. But still much it depends on the attitude of the ruling class.

Whether it is ready to submit and surrender to the will of the people. In these circumstances while making serious efforts sincerely for peaceful transformation, we must be prepared to face the situation otherwise. Lenin emphasised without cease that,

"... the proletariat must master every form of struggle peaceful or not. To achieve its aim, the revolutionary class must master all forms or aspects of social activity without exception. It must be

prepared for the fastest and most unexpected change from one form to another". (Vol. 31, page 76).

This principle continues as hitherto to lie at the root of the approach that Marxist-Leninist parties adopt to the problem of the ways in which the working class may win power.

Present Tasks: Reading through the misery of the people and the mass discontentment, and the struggles waged during the last years it is evident that the objective conditions for the call of the removal of Government are ripe. Misfortune is that the subjective force is not mature, influential and effective enough to give the call and lead the people to the desired end. For this we must have a party, armed with revolutionary theory, organised on the principle of democratic centralism, functioning on the principle of the collective leadership, well-disciplined and deeply implanted in the masses, having its hands on the pulse of the people and influential to command the peoples forces. A party steeled and tempered through mass struggles

Endless efforts have been made, discussions opened, forum started, congress held, and still we have been swinging from right to the left and vice versa. Why? Because we have been always subjective and superficial during all these formalities. We must remember the words of Comrade Khrushchov "the scum which polluted the pure fount of the Communist movement rises to the surface in the heat of the struggle and is discarded."

We in India discuss policies and build our organisations without regard of the heat of the struggles and do not locate the scum and discard it. That is why inspite of all Right and Left deviations, same leadership is continuing since decades. So first thing is to launch struggles of the peoples on economic and political issues and bring forth tried, tested and tempered leaders of the struggles discarding the scum.

As to the issue of preparing for these struggles we must remember Comrade Lenin's great behest "to go deeper among the masses, to work wherever there are masses, to strengthen the ties with the masses, in order to lead them—must become a major task for every Communist Party.

To put this behest in practice and honour it properly we must activise the existing trade unions, kisan sabhas, youth leagues and women organisations, bring the unorganised mass into their fold, extend and strengthen them through partial struggles on economic and political demands, and raise their political class consciousness.

Day-to-day mass activity, on various front, their sympathetic actions, for each other and co-ordinated activity will raise their understanding, self-confidence, mutual reliance and fighting potential. Popularisation of the slogans of re-birth and call of action on these slogans, will rouse them to unite in a single front and march forward for replacement of the present Government to open the way for completion of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal tasks and take up the non-capitalist path to pass on to people's democracy and socialism.

Appendix (iii)

Draft Resolution on the Party Programme and the Current Political Situation in the Country*

E.M.S. Namboodiripad

I am one of the four members of the National Council who remained neutral when votes were taken as to which of the two draft political resolutions should be taken as the basis for discussion in the Council. After the voting, I got the permission of the National Council to move a third draft if I find it necessary after studying the majority and minority drafts in their final form. Subsequently when the Kerala State Council heard a report on the meeting of the National Council and discussed the resolution adopted by the National Council by a majority (the alternate draft in its revised form had not yet reached us when the State Council was meeting), comrades supporting both the drafts expressed their feeling that the manner in which the drafts came to be written was unfortunate. After a round of discussion in the State Council, the Council unanimously decided that an effort should be made to make a third draft which will try to bring about the maximum possible degree of political unification in the Party, without concealing or patching up serious ideological differences. To this end, the Council authorised Comrades M N Damodaran, Achuta Menon and myself to try to make a draft.

Since we were all engaged in some work or other, we could not have full meetings of this committee. But, we had several discussions both before the draft was made, as well as on the draft when it was made. The comrades who participated in these discussions are Comrades A K Gopalan, Unniyappa, M N Damodaran, Achuta Menon and myself. But neither Comrade M N nor Unniyappa could see the full draft when it was ready (they

*Placed for discussion before the 6th Congress of the CPI held at Eumumba Nagar, Vijaywada 7-16 April 1961 and circulated to all Delegates in the 6th Congress.

had seen the first half of it and made their comments). Comrades Gopalan, Damodaran and Achuta Menon saw the full draft and made their comments and suggestions.

The draft was changed in the light of these comments and suggestions. They, however, have not been able to see and approve the draft as finally amended. Nevertheless, all of us agreed that it would be worthwhile to place the draft in this form for discussion in the Party Congress, even though some of us may have their reservations on it. I am, therefore, taking personal responsibility for the draft in its present form and propose to move it at the Party Congress as a combined alternative to the political resolution and the Party Programme.—[EMS].

The National Council, at its February session, adopted by majority a draft political resolution for discussion by the Party units and for final adoption by the Party Congress with necessary amendments. 21 members of the National Council who did not agree with the stand taken in this resolution prepared an alternate draft resolution. This was also circulated among the Party units for their discussion.

The National Council further decided to circulate two drafts for the Party Programme—drafts made by the majority and the minority in the Commission appointed by the National Council at the December meeting. The drafts, however, were not discussed in the National Council which, therefore, did not adopt either of them, but thought it worthwhile to have both the drafts discussed in the Party.

All these documents have been before the Party for the last several days. They have been subjected to criticism from various angles in the Party units.

These discussions in the Party have revealed that, while there is a fundamental unity of outlook in the Party, there are serious divergences of approach to some basic problems of ideology and divergent assessments of the current political situation in the country. It has, therefore, become necessary for the Party to seriously apply its collective thought to these differences in approach with a view to forging a unity of outlook, approach and action.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of India is convinced that this task can be fulfilled only by making earnest efforts to assimilate, digest, concretely apply to Indian conditions and further elaborate the profound conclusions arrived at in the statement adopted by the 81 Communist and Workers' Parties of the world, held in Moscow in November last. The Congress is confident that, if the entire Party starts with firm determination to make an objective study of the basic problems of Indian economy, politics and culture, as well as the everchanging economic and political situation in the country, on the basis of the fundamental principles laid down in the Moscow statement, and if it continuously reviews the work of the Party from time to time with a view to drawing lessons from them, the differences can be resolved and a unity of outlook, approach and action forged.

The Congress notes that, in the discussions that have taken place in the National Council and in the other units of the Party, questions connected with the fundamental programme of the Party for the present stage of the revolution and questions connected with the assessment of the current situation and the tactics to be pursued have got mixed up to a certain extent. This is inevitable in view of the fact that the concrete problems posed by the movement are connected with both the main direction in which India's economy, politics and culture are developing, as well as with the several concrete problems, arising out of temporary shifts in the policies of various classes in the country. It has, therefore, become necessary to bring together at one place the various major issues that have cropped up in the court of these discussions find solutions for these problems and then leave it to the leading bodies of the Party to further elaborate and concretise the ideas thus evolved, with a view to the working out of a fundamental Party programme and resolutions on current political situtation.

II

The Moscow statement has given to humanity a new perspective. It has given to the working peoples of the whole

world, to the progressive sections in all countries and all classes of society, supreme confidence that this is a "time of transition of more peoples to the socialist path, of the triumph of socialism and Communism on a world scale Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society, that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society".

Analysing the changes that are taking place in the world as a whole, the Statement comes to the conclusion that "*A New stage has begun in the development of the general crisis of capitalism* This stage is distinguished by the fact that it has set in not as a result of the world war, but in the conditions of competition and struggle between the two systems, an increasing change in the balance of forces in favour of socialism, and a marked aggravation of all the contradictions of imperialism. It has taken place at a time when a successful struggle by the peace-loving forces to bring about and promote peaceful co-existence has prevented the imperialists from undermining world peace by their aggressive sections, and in an atmosphere of growing struggle by the broad masses of the people for democracy, national liberation and socialism".

As a result of such a change in the balance of forces in favour of democracy, national liberation and socialism, the Statement concludes "the time has come when the attempts of the imperialist aggressors to start a world war can be curbed".

This assessment of the world situation as a whole is of profound importance for the Communist Party of India in elaborating the fundamental programme of the Party. It points out to us the possibility of drawing increasingly larger numbers of people in the struggle against imperialism.

Even in advanced capitalist countries, it is pointed out, it is possible to draw the "middle urban bourgeoisie", along with the working class, peasantry, intellectuals and the petty bourgeoisie, in the struggle "for abolition of monopoly domination". As for the colonial, dependant and under-developed countries, it outlines the task of "waging a determined struggle against imperialism and feudalism", for which it lays down "the national democratic tasks on the basis of which the progressive forces of the nation can and

"should unite". Around such a programme of "national rebirth" are to be united not only the working class and the peasantry who together constitute "the most important force in winning and defending national independence, accomplishing far-reaching democratic transformations and ensuring social progress", not only the intelligentsia, petty bourgeoisie and other sections of the working people and intermediate strata, but also the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles and all the patriotic forces, all elements of the nation prepared to fight for national independence against imperialism. The statement lays before us the perspective of uniting "all the patriotic forces" of the nation in a "single national Democratic Front".

While warning against the unstable character of the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles, its "inclination to compromise with imperialism", the statement underlines the possibility of drawing these sections of national bourgeoisie into the struggle for the realisation of the programme of national rebirth. The steady weakening of the imperialist camp and the slow-but-sure strengthening of the socialist camp make it possible for the national bourgeoisie, unconnected with imperialist circles to fight the machinations of imperialism, and to this end, depend on the assistance and cooperation of the socialist camp.

Out of this assessment of the world situation in general and of the situation in colonial, dependant and underdeveloped countries in particular has emerged the idea that it is possible under favourable circumstances, to establish states of national democracy.

The tasks in the struggle for national democracy include consolidation of political independence, enactment of agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry and the abolition of the remnants of feudalism, eradication of foreign economic domination, restriction and ejection of foreign monopolies from the economy, promotion of national industry, improvement in the living standards of the people, democratisation of public life, pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy and the development of the economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist countries and other friendly countries. These are general

democratic tasks and hence the overwhelming majority of the people can and should be united to fulfil them.

The states of national democracy will be based on the unity of all patriotic forces of the nation and pledged to carry out the programme of national rebirth. This is not a programme of building socialism; it is a programme of building an independent national economy which does not go out of the framework of the laws of capitalism but which prevents the development of monopoly capital. It is a programme of building a democratic state within the framework of a bourgeois parliamentry constitution, but of preventing its actual fuctioning as the organ of bourgeois dictatorship over the working people. It is, therefore, a social and state system in which the mass of the working people share power with the national bourgeoisie on the basis of a consistent application of the principles of anti-imperialism and democracy for the people, thus opening the prospect for the non-capitalist path of development.

The struggle for the establishment of such stage of national democracy and their functioning after they are established involved (a) the struggle of the entire nation, including the national bourgeoisie, against imperialism and feudalism in order to build a state and social system based on the programme of national rebirth; and (b) a struggle between the national bourgeoisie and the democratic masses because the former wants to utilise the democratic front and the state of national democracy to build a capitalist economy and a state of bourgeois dictatorship, while the latter are interested in so developing the activities of the front and of the state of the national democracy that national development goes along the non-capitalist path. It is to the extent to which the unity of the working class and the broad peasant masses is built up and becomes the most important force in the struggle for carrying out of the programme of national rebirth that the compromising tendency of the national bourgeoisie can be effectively combated and the nation is enabled to rapidly carry out of the tasks of democratic revolution and lay the basis for its transition to socialism.

The concept of the non-capitalist path of development is not new. It is as old as the Second Congress of the Communist

International when Lenin pointed out that "The Communist International must lay down and give the theoretical grounds form the proposition that, with the aid of the proletariat of the most advanced countries, the backward countries may pass to the Soviet system, and after passing through a definite stage of development, to Communism, without passing through the capitalist stage of development." It was included in the document of the 6th Congress of the Communist International on the revolutionary movement in the colonies and semi-colonies which took account of "the presence of the objective possibility of a non-capitalist path of the development for the backward colonies, the possibility of the 'growing over' of the bourgeois democratic revolution in the leading colonies into proletarian socialist revolution with the aid of the victorious proletarian dictatorship in the other countries. Under favourable conditions, this possibility is converted into reality."

The significance of the Moscow statement consists in the fact that the adoption of the non-capitalist path is not a mere theoretical possibility as it was then. No more is it possible for the imperialist powers to intimidate, and use force against, the newly liberated peoples of the colonial, semi-colonial and under-developed countries who are carrying on their struggle to overcome their backwardness and liquidate the remnants of imperialist and feudal exploitation. No more is it possible for imperialism to "export counter-revolution" and suppress the development of independent national democracies, if the working class and peasantry, together with all the patriotic forces of the nation and in alliance with the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles, undertake to carry out the tasks of national rebirth. Under these circumstances, conditions are far more favourable in several countries to transform the possibility, theoretically envisaged by Lenin and the Communist International a few decades ago, into a realisable practical objective.

The strengthening of the socialist camp has made it difficult for imperialism to intervene and prevent the efforts of the newly liberated peoples to advance their national economies and achieve economic independence. It helps the under-developed

countries not only to overcome their backwardness and strengthen their position in the international arena, but also to create favourable conditions to unite all patriotic forces for the establishment of national democracies and march forward along the non-capitalist path. For, the tremendous advance registered by the countries that have taken the path of socialist development in all fields of human endeavour is attracting to itself over larger numbers of adherents all over the world.

Particularly attractive is this system to the overwhelming majority of patriotic peoples in the colonial, dependant and under-developed countries who have to liquidate the remnants and heritages of centuries-old feudal oppression, as well as decades-old imperialist exploitation and national humiliation. Under these conditions, the statement points out, "after winning political independence, the peoples seek solutions to the social problems raised by life and to the problems of reinforcing the national independence. . . . People begin to see that the best way to abolish age-long backwardness and improve their living standard is that of non-capitalist development"

The statement, however, points out that successful advance along the non-capitalist path of development, is by no means, easy. For "as social contradictions, grow, the national bourgeoisie inclines more and more to compromising with domestic reaction and imperialism". This tendency of the national bourgeoisie, i.e., that section of the bourgeoisie which is "unconnected with imperialist circles" and is, therefore, the objectively interested in the accomplishment of the tasks of anti-imperialist anti-feudal revolution", together with the treacherous role played by that section of the bourgeoisie which is completely connected with imperialist circles and by the feudal elements, create difficulties for the common people in their advance along the non-capitalist path of development.

The working class and its party, therefore, have to mobilise the broad peasant masses and other sections of working people and intermediate strata against the vacillations and the compromising tendencies manifested by the section of the bourgeoisie which is objectively interested in the accomplishment of the principal

tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution. They have, however, to concentrate their main fire against (i) the intrigues of imperialism; (ii) that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles and is, therefore, exhibiting its treacherous tendencies; and (iii) the feudal elements who are averse to the free and full development of democracy. It is to the extent to which the unity of the working class and the broad masses of peasants are mobilised against imperialism and internal reaction that the compromising tendency of the national bourgeoisie can be checked and broad national unity built.

The Moscow Statement is thus an effective weapon in the struggle against revisionist as well as dogmatic-sectarian distortions of the Marxist-Leninist strategy and tactics of building the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal unity of the nation, drawing the national bourgeoisie into the front and of enabling the working class and the broad peasant masses to play the leading part in the unity of the National Democratic Front.

It is a powerful weapon against dogmatic-sectarian under-estimation of the role of the national bourgeoisie in the country's transition from the underdeveloped to the developed state of our nation. Equally does it enable us to effectively fight the revisionist ideas and practices of centering the whole democratic movement around the bourgeoisie and failing to make the working class and the broad peasant masses the basis of the Party's activity.

It enables us to effectively combat the over-simplified sectarian understanding that, after the attainment of independence, the national bourgeoisie will go on making compromise after compromise with imperialism, thus denying the possibility of halting and reversing the inherent tendency of the bourgeoisie to compromise with imperialism, provided the alliance of the working class and the broad peasant masses is built up. Equally does it enable us to effectively combat the revisionist over-simplification of the inherently anti-imperialist and democratic character of the national bourgeoisie, thus denying the reality that the national bourgeoisie will be naturally inclined towards compromise with imperialism as social contradictions grow in the post-independence years.

It enables us to effectively combat the dogmatic-sectarian idea that, once political independence is won and the bourgeoisie installed in power, the task of the working class and the broad peasant masses is to fight the bourgeoisie for the establishment of the socialist society, thus virtually denying the role that the national bourgeoisie, unconnected with imperialist circles can play in the task of overcoming the economic, political and cultural backwardness of the nation. Equally does it enable us to combat revisionist under-estimation of the enormous harm done to the cause of national reconstruction by the class character of the policies pursued by the bourgeoisie; under-estimation of the role which the working class and the broad peasant masses, together with the other sections of the working people and intermediate strata have to play in checkmating the games of the national bourgeoisie which, while objectively interested in the development of an independent national economy, pursues policies not only contrary to the interests of the working people, but also create difficulties for the free and rapid development of the national economy.

Rejecting both the dogmatic-sectarian concept of the inter-twining of the bourgeois democratic and socialist stages of the revolution, as well as the revisionist concept of a prolonged period of capitalist development, the Statement gives us the perspective of our national reconstruction taking the stages of (a) liquidating the remnants and heritages of the continued domination of imperialism and feudalism; (b) laying the basis for a relatively rapid-transition from the phase of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal struggle to the phase of the struggle for building socialism; and (c) initiating the process of building of the socialist society. While the character of the basic tasks to be fulfilled at each stage is fundamentally different from one another, the world-wide victory of the socialist camp and its ever-growing superiority over the capitalist system lay the basis for a quickening of the tempo and a shortening of the period for the transition from one stage to the other.

III

Such a profound analysis of the class forces operating in the world in general and in the colonial, dependant and under-

developed countries in particular, and the grand strategy flowing from it are valuable contributions to the understanding of our country's developments in the economic, political and cultural fields during the last 14 years.

When power was transferred to India in 1947, it went into the hands of the bourgeoisie as a whole without a strict demarcation as between its two sections. While that section of the class which was connected with imperialist circles had kept away from the freedom movement and was, therefore, opposed to the Congress in those days, the approach of independence and particularly the transfer of power brought that section of the bourgeoisie too into the Congress. Furthermore, large sections of the feudal classes too had to and did renounce their old pre-British positions and joined or supported the Congress.

It was in this manner that the Congress began to represent all sections of the ruling classes (The Congress, however, is essentially the political party of that section of the bourgeoisie which is objectively interested in the carrying out of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal tasks.) Its policies and practices, therefore, did not fully meet the requirements of the other sections of the ruling classes. The basic approach of the Congress Party and its Government towards imperialism and feudalism being one of compromises with, rather than surrender to, imperialism and feudalism, they took measures which amounted to putting serious curbs on the feudal classes as well as resisting imperialist pressure. This therefore, led to the emergence of differences between the feudal and bourgeois sections of the ruling classes, as well as between the two sections of the bourgeoisie itself--these connected and unconnected with imperialist circles.

These differences within the ruling classes expressed themselves in different attitudes to and different policies on the issues to be tackled by the Government. Those who adopted these different attitudes and advocated these different policies began to pull the ruling party and Government in different directions, while the most far-seeing representatives of the class tried to unify them all on the basis of a common class approach to

international as well as national, economic as well as political questions. Whether to participate in the cold war or to adopt a really independent foreign policy; whether to eliminate the remnants of princely rule in the political life of the country and feudal landlordism in its economic life; whether the development of national economy should be planned by the State and the people of the country, whether it is to be left to the sweet will of the private property-holders; whether the basic direction of national economic development is to be along the path of rapid industrialisation with heavy industry as its basis, or whether the industrial backwardness of the country should be allowed to continue; whether the political and cultural life of the country should be dominated by religious obscurantism and superstitious social practices, or whether it should take the direction of secularism and democracy—these and other questions posed themselves as development proceeded in the various fields of public activity.

It was these conflicts in relation to basic approach and concrete policies that have led to a differentiation between various forms and shades of right reaction on the one hand and the dominant leadership of such avowedly communal political organisations like the R.S.S., Jan Sangha, Hindu Mahasabha, etc. It was again this that recently led to the emergence of a non-communal political party of right reaction—the Swatantra Party. The foreign as well as domestic policies of these parties of the right are avowedly reactionary and serve the interests of feudal elements and that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles. The working class and its political party, therefore, cannot have anything to do with these avowedly reactionary parties and their programmes. They should, on the other hand, strive to unite all the progressive and democratic forces in the country in order to isolate and finally smash these forces of right reaction.

Compared to these parties of communal and right reaction, the Congress has taken, and is even now taking, a more progressive, a more democratic stand. It should, at the same time, be noted that the Congress itself is not free from the powerful influence of

those sections of the ruling class which are notorious for their treachery towards national interests. This is reflected in the fact that, while forces of communal and right reaction from outside the Congress launch their offensive on all that is progressive and democratic in the Congress, many Congress leaders themselves act as their agents within. The two sections of the bourgeoisie—those who are connected and those who are unconnected with imperialist circles—have not, as a matter of fact, demarcated themselves as between those who are in the Congress and those who are in the parties of communal and right reaction. Nor have the bourgeoisie and feudal elements taken their position in favour of this or that party. Actual reality is that the feudal elements and the two sections of the bourgeoisie are all of them divided as between the Congress and the various parties of communal and right reaction.

This reality, together with the fact that even that section of the bourgeoisie which is unconnected with imperialist circles is exhibiting various forms and shades of its tendency to compromise with imperialism and feudalism, has led to a situation in which, while the bulk of the policies declared and many of the practical steps taken by the ruling party are relatively progressive and democratic, many of the practical steps taken by it are in conformity with the demands of, or involve compromises with feudal elements and that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles.

It should, at the same time, be noted that the bulk of the followers of the Congress and a section of its middle leadership represent either a section of the working class, or the bulk of the peasantry, or large chunks of intellectuals and small-property-holders in urban areas. The ideas and aspirations of these sections of the working people find reflection in some of the policy statements and declarations of the Congress Party and the Government, such as the declaration of socialism as the national objective, planning for industrialisation with emphasis on heavy industries, public sector, the Nagpur resolution on land reforms, state trading, decentralisation and democratisation of administration, etc. These and other declarations of the organisation and

Government are, of course, utilised by the bourgeoisie in its own class interests. But, to the extent to which they got reflected in the policies and practices of the organisation and Government, the possibility arises of sharpening and accentuating conflicts between the ideas and aspirations of the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles and those who are connected with them and feudal elements. It is, therefore, the task of the political party of the working class to rally the democratic elements in the Congress for united action and thus help the process through which the ideas and aspirations of the democratic classes and sections of society rallied behind Congress increasingly find expressed in the policies and practices of the ruling party.

This requires a fraternal attitude between the Communist Party and the democratic elements inside the Congress. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that the warning given by the 4th Party Congress against all tendencies to look upon the united front as an anti-Congress front is borne in mind in our day-to-day work. On the other hand, sincere efforts should be made to forge relations of unity and develop united action on as many issues as and on as wide a scale as possible between the Communist Party and other progressive non-Congress parties on the one hand and the mass of Congressmen including the units of the Congress organisation itself wherever this is possible. Efforts should also be made to develop joint campaigns and joint struggles launched by the progressive and democratic elements inside and outside the Congress with a view to defeating the forces of communal and right reaction.

While it is dominated by that section of the bourgeoisie which is objectively interested in carrying out the tasks of anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution, the Congress leadership represents to a limited extent the class interests of all sections of the ruling class. Therefore, even the democratic and progressive declarations of policy made by the Congress party and the Government led by it are mostly sabotaged in actual practice. Furthermore, the basic policy of the dominant leadership of the Congress being one of compromises with imperialism and

feudalism, the declared policies themselves are totally inadequate for the free, uninterrupted and rapid development of the national economy. Under these circumstances, the question cannot arise of a general united front with the Congress as a whole as it is constituted today. The common interests of the mass of Congressmen and the democratic and progressive elements outside the Congress demand that they put up a common struggle for defeating the efforts of the dominant leadership of the Congress to sabotage the implementation of the progressive declared policies; a common struggle for the overcoming of the inadequacies, shortcomings and the harmful features of the policies themselves; in short, a common struggle for bringing about major leftward shifts in the policies and practices of the ruling party and of the Government.

It is through these struggles for (a) defending the interests of the working people in their day-to-day life against the anti-people policies of the Government; (b) defending whatever is progressive and democratic in Congress policies against the right reaction's attacks, and (c) bringing about major leftward shifts in the policies and practices of the Congress that are to be established new relations between the Congress as a ruling party and the parties of democratic opposition—including the Communist Party—relations of struggle as well as of unity—struggle to the extent to which it represents the interests of feudal elements and that section of the bourgeoisie which is connected with imperialist circles and to the extent to which the other section of the national bourgeoisie compromises with imperialism; unity to the extent to which the policies and practices of the organisation conform to the interests of the overwhelming majority of the democratic masses and to the extent to which the national bourgeoisie unconnected with imperialist circles fights for the elimination of imperialist influences and liquidate the remnants of feudalism.

IV

The task of simultaneously uniting with and struggling against the Congress requires a sober and objective assessment of the

policies pursued by its leadership and the Government led by it during the post-independence years. It also requires an objective analysis of the forces which are opposing the Congress and Government policies from the right and seeking to turn them into reactionary lines. The aim of such an analysis of the policies pursued by the Congress leadership as well as by those who are seeking to drag the Congress policies towards the right is, on the one hand, to defend whatever is progressive and democratic in the policies of the Congress and its Government against the attacks of right reaction and, on the other hand, to seek to overcome the basic weaknesses of the declared policies of the Congress leadership itself.

In the field of foreign policy, the Congress leadership and the Government formed by it in 1947 initially pursued a policy of compromise with imperialism and of relative hostility to the socialist camp. This phase, however, was over in a few years after which the Government started pursuing a broadly anti-imperialist policy. It was in this phase that India, together with Indonesia, Burma and Egypt, collaborated with the people of China in order to create what is known as the Bandung spirit. The role played by India in this matter raised her prestige high among the peace-loving countries throughout the world, and particularly among the anti-imperialist peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. India's relations of friendship and cooperation with the socialist world began to grow. This resulted in the increasing ability of our Government to resist imperialist pressure and to start developing the national economy independent of imperialist influences.

Such a development of India's relations with the socialist world, such resistance on her part to imperialist pressure, was not to the liking of reactionary elements in the ruling class. They were also opposed by such political parties as the PSP and Jan Sangh. As against this policy of resistance to imperialism, they demanded the policy of economic and military agreements with imperialist powers as was adopted by Pakistan. Proposals were also made that the Kashmir and other Indo-Pakistan disputes should be settled with a view to forging a treaty of joint Indo-Pakistan defence against China.

While successfully resisting these moves made by the forces opposed to the policy of anti-colonialism and friendship with the socialist countries, while maintaining relations of friendship with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries even after India-China relations got strained, India failed to continue in the position which she acquired among the countries of the peace zone. The reason for this lies in the fact that, while she still continues to remain within the peace zone and raises her voice against colonial oppression, she has not kept pace with the rapidly growing number of newly liberated African countries and with such Latin American countries as Cuba. These newly liberated nations are not inhibited by the talk of two blocks in world politics as India does. They do not hesitate to take full advantage of the strength of the socialist camp to deal blow after blow against imperialism. India however hesitates and thus lags behind.

This is seen not only in the difference in the strength of feeling expressed by India and other Bandung powers on the one hand and newly liberated African and Latin American countries on the other but also in the concrete policies which they pursued in the United Nations and other international organisations. On a number of issues that came up in the last session of the United Nations General Assembly, including that of Congo, India lagged behind the newly liberated African and Latin American countries in the attitude of struggle against colonialism.

It will therefore be the endeavour of our Party on the one hand to defend the Government's policy of non alignment and anti-colonialism against the attacks of right reaction and on the other hand to fight for such a reorientation of the foreign policy as to make India keep pace with the deeply felt anti-imperialist sentiments and corresponding policies of the newly liberated African peoples.

V

In the field of internal economic development, the Congress Party and the Government led by it have been pursuing a policy of overcoming the heritages and remnants of feudal domination

social and cultural backwardness, colonial exploitation and economic underdevelopment. In doing this, however, they have been careful to see that it is not the initiative and productive enthusiasm of the mass of the working people that are released but the profit motive of the private capitalists. Its ambition is to develop Indian economy along independent capitalist lines.

The net effect of all land reform legislations adopted by the Congress Governments has been to foster the development of capitalist farming. Facilities have been given to rent-receiving landlords to transform themselves into those who exploit wage labour and extract profits out of the capitalist mode of cultivation. Well-to-do tenants have also been enabled to acquire the rights of ownership and to become owners of capitalistically cultivated farms employing wage labour. Owners of such capitalistically cultivated farms—whether they were originally owner-cultivators, or rent-receiving landlords or rent-paying tenants—have been enabled to get a dominant voice in the formulation and implementation of all the plans and projects of rural development through which they were able to get a firm grip over the economic and political life of the countryside.

As opposed to this facilities for the rural gentry to acquire greater power and property rights, the mass of the rural people are being subjected to new and heavier burdens; ever more and more suffering and misery are heaped on them. The eviction offensive launched by the landlords has pauperised tens of thousands of poor tenants and sent them into the ranks of landless wage labourers. The same fate has fallen on the mass of poor owner-cultivators, who, because of increasing difficulties of living and of growing debt burdens, are losing their lands and swelling the ranks of landless wage labourers. The heavier and heavier burdens of taxation imposed on the poor and middle peasants, together with the fluctuations in the prices of crops as well as consumption goods, making the lives of all the working people in the rural areas more and more difficult. Above all is the political grip of the new class of the rural gentry composed of landlords, owners of capitalist farms, money lenders and other exploiters, who are able to make use of the administrative machinery through

their 'contacts' in the ruling party and the bureaucracy in their own interests.

In the industrial sector too, the policy has been one of fostering independent capitalist development. It was to this end that the Government negotiated with the socialist countries and secured agreements with them for the establishment of heavy industries. At the same time, it negotiated with other Governments, semi-official organisations and private capitalists in the non-socialist countries as well. It was through these conscious efforts that the Government has been able to bring about considerable industrial development and the strengthening of the economic base of the country.

One of the methods adopted by the Government for bringing about the industrialisation of the economy has been the policy of expanding the public sector or reserving some of the major industries for the public sector. This policy can, if properly implemented and slowly extended into more and more industries prevent the worst features of the development of capitalism. However the way in which it is carrying out the policy of building public sector enterprises has not weakened the private sector. For together with the growth of public sector enterprises in such key industries as steel, power, oil etc., private sector industries are also growing very fast. Furthermore the encouragement given to the private capitalists to earn more and more profits leads to the emergence of the forces of monopoly capital. This, in its turn vitiates the way in which even public sector enterprises are managed since it becomes possible for the big private capitalists to exercise their influence over the personnel with which public sector enterprises are manned. The pull of the big private capitalists is seen also in the taxation, labour and other measures of the Central and State Governments which are manipulated in the interests of big capital. The result of all this is seen in the fact that while the productivity of the workers as well as the profits of the capitalists are going higher and higher, the real wages of the workers do not record any appreciable increase, the workers have to fight hard strike battles in order to maintain the levels of real wages.

In other words, the benefits of all the developmental activities launched by the Government under the inspiration and leadership of the Congress Party go to a narrow stratum of capitalist

elements in the rural and urban areas. The mass of poor and middle classes have to continue in their old miserable conditions of living, and many of them have their standard of living actually curtailed. It is highly significant that, despite all the development that has taken place under the First two Five Year Plans as well as the development that is expected to take place in the Third Plan, the extent of unemployment is growing as each five year plan is completed. Significant too, is the fact that indirect taxes on consumer goods are growing at an alarmingly rapid rate, thus leading to depression in the living standards of the common people.

It is these difficulties of the common people as the five year plans advance that are taken advantage of by the forces of right reaction to launch their campaign against the very idea of planned economic development, particularly against the programme of industrialising the country. They would have the people abandon themselves to the fate of an underdeveloped country on the plea that rapid industrialisation is beyond the resources of a poor country like ours.

The Communist Party is of the opinion that whatever development has so far taken place in the rural and urban areas is progressive in comparison with the present under-developed State of our country. It has led to a considerable weakening of the feudal and other pre-capitalist elements. It enables the nation as a whole to resist the pressures of imperialist monopoly capital and to start building an independent national economy. The development of the public sector is a step in the right direction and should be further extended both to facilitate industrial development as well as to prevent the growth of monopoly capital. It is, therefore, of the utmost importance that these programmes of development are defended against attacks from the forces of right reaction who would want the policy of planned economic development reverted.

While noting these progressive features of the internal economic policy, and while defending them against the attacks of right reaction, it is necessary for the progressive forces to realise that it has not enabled the nation to solve its basic problems. Food

scarcity remains as acute as ever, imports in the Third Plan period being at about the same level as in the pre-Plan years. The strengthening of the industrial base has not yet been adequate to make the economy self-expanding. The growth of national income and savings has not been on an adequate scale nor properly utilised in order to get the right amount of investment in the right sectors. Difficulties of balance of payments, budget deficits, growth of internal and external debt, etc., are mounting.

These negative features of the internal economy arise out of the class (bourgeois) character of the Government and the economic policies pursued by it. Industrialisation with adequate emphasis on the building of heavy industries, modernisation of agriculture and other measures for the development of national economy require a planned and coordinated utilisation of all the resources in men and material which the nation has at its disposal. This means on the one hand, that the properties of those who own the means of production and of distribution in a concentrated manner—big landlords, bankers, insurance companies, dealers in stock exchange and big owners of factories, mills, mines, plantations, etc.—are put at the disposal of and properly utilised by the Government. It means on the other hand that the vast quantity of unutilised labour power that lies with the mass of rural and urban labourers is pooled together in order to create more and more wealth. Such a policy of utilising the material and human resources of the nation to its best advantage would mean that increasing inroads are made into the property rights of the richest sections of society. It is, however, this that is resisted by the bourgeois, since that is contrary to their narrow class interests.

Failure to do this has led to serious consequences in several respects. It has led to inadequate financial resources being mobilised for the implementation of the plan. It has forced the Government to increasingly resort to deficit financing and other measures which released inflationary forces in the economy. This in its turn has led to a steady rise in price levels, upsetting all the calculations originally made with regard to the plan. All these difficulties with respect to the financial and price policies of the Government together with the acute difficulty in the imple-

mentation of the Plan—difficulties which, at some stage or other have reached the proportions of a temporary crisis in the plan.

The result of all this is that, while industrialisation has taken place to a far greater degree than at any time before, while this has led to a considerable strengthening of the economy, our economy is far from becoming that self-reliant and self-generating economy which it is the aim of planning to build up. The need for foreign assistance is not decreasing but increasing. Here lies the danger that if the democratic forces of the nation with the alliance of the working class and the broad peasant masses as its basis are not sufficiently strong, the compromising tendencies of the ruling class may assert themselves and take the country along the path of slowing down and halting progress along the path of independent development.

The Communist Party, therefore, is of opinion that the policy of planned economic development should be further strengthened, rather than reversed as demanded by right reaction. What is required is that the policy of raising the financial resources needed for development be reorientated in the direction of putting heavier burdens on the rich, of putting restrictions on the profits which they earn, of mobilising the surplus money that is available with them in the interests of the nation, etc., rather than putting heavier and heavier burdens on the poor. What is required, furthermore, is to so reorient the labour, land reform and taxation policies that the mass of the working people in the urban and rural areas are to enjoy the fruits of their labour, rather than be made the victims of the exploitation of a growing capitalist class. Such a reorientation of policy will enthuse the mass of our people for that self-sacrificing work for national development which is required if our economy is to rapidly outgrow its present under-developed stage.

VI

Corresponding to capitalism in the economic field, bourgeois parliamentary political institutions are being built up. A Republican Constitution was adopted in 1950 with elected organs of legislative and administrative control at the Centre and in the

States. Two general elections have taken place on the basis of adult suffrage. The process has started of establishing elected Panchayats and other organs of local self-government.

The fact that the Communist Party was allowed not only to contest the elections and become the major opposition group in parliament and in a few State legislatures as early as in 1952, but also to form a State Government in Kerala in 1957 is pointed out by the leaders of the Congress as irrefutable proof of the truly democratic character of the regime established by them. But the machinations to which they resorted in 1952 and in 1954 in the State of Travancore-Cochin, as well as in the then composite State of Madras in 1952, to instal Congress ministries, even though their party was a minority in the legislature, clearly indicated that the Congress would do all it can possibly do to keep itself in power, even when rejected by the electorate. As for the example of the formation of the Communist Government in Kerala, the manner in which the Congress and its allies organised a patently unconstitutional agitation against that Government, followed by the dismissal of that Government by the Centre on the plea that there was a 'mass upsurge' in Kerala, indicated how the Congress had no scruples even in violating the Constitution in letter as well as in spirit, in order to prevent the smooth functioning of a Government formed by another party, particularly the Communist Party.

Furthermore, the marriages and divorces of convenience which the Congress entered into with the Akalis in the Punjab and with the Ganatantra Parishad in Orissa cry aloud that it is not true democracy that the Congress Party is after, but perpetuation of its own rule.

This craze for power is exhibited not only by the Congress as an organisation in relation to other parties but by different groups and individuals in the Congress leadership in relation to one another. Formation of groups within the Congress, each of them centred round one individual or formed by combinations of individuals, each jockeying itself for position of power; interminable quarrels between these groups resulting in ministerial changes involving no change of policy at all—such

has been the fate of almost every State since independence. Such a patently faction-ridden state of affairs has so far been avoided in the Centre only because of the dominating personality of the Prime Minister. But there too, signs are not wanting that factionalism is slowly but surely raising its head.

Together with such group rivalries and squabbles inside the Congress are indications that fissiparous tendencies are growing in the country as a whole and reflect themselves inside the Congress. Forces of casteism, communalism, provincialism, regional rivalries, linguistic prejudices, etc., are growing at an alarming rate and giving rise to tragic incidents, such as clashes on the issue of state borders, perpetual tension between States with regard to division of waters and location of project sites, the place of Hindi and other regional languages in the educational and administrative life of the country, and above all, such tragic developments as the Assam riots in July last and the recent communal carnage in Madhya Pradesh.

The growth of these fissiparous tendencies would cause concern to every Indian patriot. It shows that all the positive gains of the freedom movement are being dissipated under the Congress regime. The Prime Minister himself had to indicate his helplessness at such a state of affairs with his exclamation in utter despair that he would be prepared to "sacrifice even national planning" to save national unity.

These developments in the political life of the nation in general, and of the ruling party in particular, are a serious danger to the healthy democratic growth of our nation. Unless halted and reversed in time, they may well lead to anti-democratic tendencies such as those that enveloped Pakistan in military dictatorship. Signs are not wanting that forces similar to those in Pakistan are raising their heads in India—the Thimiah episode, the demand for greater powers to the President, the slogans of indirect elections in preference to direct elections, etc. Nor are political leaders lacking who look eagerly towards the "basic democracies" of Pakistan as a way out. All these are bound to grow stronger as long as the forces of national disruption in the country and factional squabbles inside the ruling party are

allowed to have their way. For, it is out of sheer disgust at the way the ruling party is acting within itself and tackling national problems that the people get into a mood in which they prefer even the abandonment of democratic political life.

The Communist Party, therefore, appeals to all the patriotic and democratic parties, organisations, groups and individuals to shed mutual prejudices in a supreme effort to carry forward the traditions of national unity built in the days of freedom struggle. Particularly does it appeal to the mass of Congressmen who cherish the sacred memories of the united struggle which they and many of those who are today in the ranks of the Communist Party and other opposition parties had waged in the days of freedom struggle and to realise the spirit of that unity is all the more necessary today in order to arrest the growth of fissiparous tendencies which are endangering the progress of our nation along the path of planned development.

VII

While thus calling for concerted efforts on the part of all the patriots of the country belonging to the various political parties for the preservation and strengthening of national unity, the Communist Party desire to point out that the major share of the responsibility for such a state of affairs rests on the shoulders of the Congress and its Government. For, the background against which these fissiparous tendencies grow in the life of the nation are, in the opinion of the Communist Party, the following:

- (a) Absence of any clearly-expressed and inspiring goal towards which the nation is marching. It was the presence of such an inspiring national objective—that of securing economic and political freedom—that had helped the forging of national unity in the days of freedom struggle. With the attainment of independence, it was necessary to place before the nation an equally clear and equally inspiring objective; the Congress, however, miserably failed in this respect. After toying with some confused ideas like

Ram Raj and Cooperative Commonwealth, the Congress did, at last, come to the slogan of socialist society which could have inspired the nation if only it were seriously meant and clearly explained. This, however, was not only not done but the term 'socialist society' was so interpreted as to make it devoid of all inspiring content. As for the concrete policies of the Government which followed the declaration of the socialist objective, they were all calculated to make the rich still richer and the poor still poorer. The slogan of socialism formulated and implemented in such a way naturally failed to rouse the enthusiasm of the mass of the people—enthusiasm which should become the basis and starting point of forging national unity.

- (b) After the first flush of enthusiasm on the attainment of independence, the mass of our common people began to feel the pinch of the Congress regime. Behind some of the noble sentiments expressed by the foremost leaders of the Congress Party and its Government were hard realities which the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes had to face. The terrific offensive of evictions launched by the landlords; the steady rise in the cost of living or industrial workers and salaried middle class employees; the growing burdens of taxation, particularly indirect taxation, falling on the majority of our people; the steady growth of unemployment in the rural as well as urban areas running ahead of all the new employment opportunities that have been created under the Five Year Plans; the growth of bureaucracy which leads, on the one hand, to inefficiency and, on the other, harassment of the people—all those have become the lot of the common people during the less than 14 years of the Congress regime. On the other hand the growth of profits of capitalists, increasing opportunities for a small stratum of the upper classes to secure fat-salaried jobs, facilities for a section of the upper middle classes to enrich themselves through their contacts with the ruling party, etc., are adding to the dissatisfaction of the common people.

- (c) This disillusionment and dissatisfaction of the common people are, in the absence of a strong democratic movement, sought to be diverted by the forces of national disruption. Ideologies and organisations based on caste religious community, linguistic and regional rivalries, etc. are growing and dinging into the ears of backward sections of the people that the root of the trouble lies not in the anti-people class policies of the Government but in the fact that the leaders of a particular caste or community or linguistic or regional group are dominating the administrative system at Centre and in the States. They thus seek to disrupt the unity of the democratic movement, the unity of the exploited classes as against their exploiters, and try to build the unity of a particular caste, religious community or linguistic group as against other castes, religious communities, linguistic or regional groups etc. It is the existence of such disruptive ideologies and organisations, the inability of non-sectarian national organisations including the Communist Party and the Congress to effectively combat these disruptive ideologies and organisations that have given a mass basis for such slogans as Hindu Dharma (Jan Sangh) emancipation of the South from the North (D. K. and D.M.K.) etc. It is again because of the weaknesses of the democratic movement that such an avowedly reactionary ideology as that represented by the Swatantra Party is able to make demagogic use of a call for struggle against the corruption and "contract-licence regime" of the Congress.
- (d) Not only has the Congress failed to effectively combat the growth of these fissiparous tendencies, but the existence of different groups and factions among its leaders has given a positive fillip to the growth of these tendencies. Different groups inside the Congress make use of all the fissiparous tendencies in the country in order to successfully carry out their mutual intrigues as well as in their unprincipled struggle against the opposition parties. It is notorious that some of the factions inside the Congress are formed on caste lines. It is also admitted that internal squabbles in the

Congress had a great deal to do with the Assam riots. It is, of course, well-known that, in its struggle to maintain itself in power in all those states where it was reduced to a minority, the Congress unscrupulously allied itself with such elements as the Akalis, Ganatantra Parishad, the Muslim League and the Catholic Church.

VIII

Communist Party is, therefore, of opinion that the struggle against fissiparous tendencies cannot be divorced from the struggle for a radical reorientation in the policies of the Congress and its Government.

- (A) For a clear definition of the goal to which the nation has to march—the goal of so planning the development of national economy as to rapidly overcome its backwardness as well as to prevent the emergence of monopoly forces, so that the nation may, step by step, march towards the final objective of a socialist society.
- (B) For basic changes in the day-to-day economic and political policies pursued by the Government in such a way that the working and middle classes will be convinced that the misery and sufferings to which they have been subjected for several decades are being slowly remedied and that the major share of the economic burden of developing the national economy is being put on the shoulders of the rich who can afford to bear it.
- (C) For a concerted ideological and political offensive against the forces of casteism, communalism, linguistic and regional rivalries, etc. and, together with it, for a policy of positively helping the backward castes, communities, linguistic groups, states and regions to catch up with the advanced; for a policy of fuller protection to religious minorities, regarding their faith and practice.

The Communist Party expects the democratic and patriotic elements inside the Congress to fight for such a reorientation of the policies pursued by their leaders and the Government headed

by them. It expects the democratic and patriotic elements in other parties also to join the Communist Party in a concerted drive among the people of India for the adoption and sincere implementation of such a programme as will unite the entire nation for the democratic reconstitution of our economy, politics and culture.

To this end, the Communist Party offers to the people of India, particularly, to its brother parties of the democratic opposition as well as to the democratic and patriotic elements inside the Congress, the following programme.

(Programme given as Appendix to Palghat Resolution with necessary modifications.)

It is with this programme that the Communist Party will approach the electorate at the forthcoming general elections. We will do our utmost to utilise the elections to strengthen national unity for implementing the common tasks facing the nation, to weaken the parties of right reaction and to bring about a leftward shift in the policies of the Government. It will be the task of the Communist Party and other progressive and democratic elements not only to concentrate fire against the anti-national aims of the parties of right reaction, but to turn the election campaign into a campaign against the anti-people policies of the Government. Without this, a shift to the left will not be possible.

While thus striving to turn the forthcoming general election campaign, as well as of other political campaigns, for building the unity of all those democratic and patriotic elements in the country (including those inside the Congress) who stand for the above programme of bringing about a leftward shift in the policies and practices of the Government, the Communist Party wants to make it clear that it would be prepared to work together with any of them even on the one single issue. For, it is quite confident that, if the democratic and patriotic elements in the country shed their mutual prejudices and start working, on however limited a scale, to secure even one single limited objective the unity forged on such a limited scale, on such a single issue, would pave the way for the forging of that broader unity which alone can effectively smash the forces of national disruption.

The Party calls upon all its members, sympathisers and units to plunge themselves into an energetic campaign for building the unity of all the democratic and patriotic elements (including members, sympathisers and units of the Congress) to build unity in action on any one or more issues and slogans included in the above programme. It calls on them, at the same time, to carry on a powerful nation-wide political campaign among the members, sympathisers and units of other parties and organisations in the country for the adoption of the above programme as the common programme of the democratic and patriotic elements in the country to form the basis of forming a single national democratic front.

The Party wants its members, sympathisers and units to realise that the struggle for building such a unity of action on single issue, as well as for the formation of the general national democratic front on the basis of the above common programme, is the surest way of defeating the forces of right reaction both inside and outside the Congress. It is the surest way of foiling the game of those sections of the national bourgeoisie who want to wage a simultaneous, two-sided struggle—against imperialism and feudalism on the one hand and against the working people on the other—and to enable the working class and peasant masses to play their leading role in the national democratic front. It is the surest way of ensuring that, in the inevitable struggle between the capitalist path sought to be pursued by the bourgeoisie and the non-capitalist path sought to be pursued by the common people, the latter shall prevail and our country quickly pass from the stage of completing the democratic revolution to the stage of initiating the socialist revolution.

Draft Programme of The Communist Party of India*

S.A. Dange, P.C. Joshi and G. Adhikari

I

India in the New World Epoch

1. With the end of the second world war and the victory of the anti-fascist forces led by the Soviet Union, socialism emerged as a world system, imperialism became weakened and nations after nations, which had been struggling for freedom from colonialism rose in revolt and secured victories. India which had been struggling to be free from the British yoke rose in revolt and attained independence in 1947. The sovereignty of the British Parliament ended and India became an independent sovereign state. Power passed into the hands of Indians and the Indian National Congress which was at the head of the national struggle formed the National Government of the country.

2. Thirteen years have passed since then. One-third of humanity has built its life of prosperity and happiness on the basis of socialism and is free from poverty, unemployment and all the attendant evils of a capitalist system and its endless crises.

3. Another one-third of humanity has achieved national liberation from imperialism. About forty new sovereign states have arisen in Asia and Africa in these fifteen post-war years. The complete collapse of colonialism is imminent.

4. Today it is the world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation of society that determine the main content, main trend and main features of the historical development of society. Whatever efforts imperialism may make, it cannot stop this advance of history. A reliable basis has been provided for further decisive victories for socialism and

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the freedom of all nations. The complete triumph of socialism and the liberation of mankind is inevitable.

5. India too has accepted socialism as her final goal, as her great aim of social development, much to the dislike of the imperialists and the exploiting classes.

National Political Independence—End of Colonial Status

6. When power was passing into the hands of Indians and the British imperialists were making a great show of "voluntarily" conferring freedom on her, they were at the same time conspiring to weaken India's political independence, hamper her economic regeneration and development, involve her in communal civil war, incite invasions against her territory, compel her to remain tied up to British economy and remain within the orbit of imperialism. They had plans to impose neo-colonialism on her.

7. The riots following the partition of India, the vast movements of refugee populations, the invasion of Kashmir by the Pakistan forces, the assassination of Mahatma Gandhi, the outstanding leader of the national-liberation movement, the refusal of some feudal princes to accept India's independence and her sovereignty over them were calculated to force India into new dependence on her former imperialist masters. American imperialism, which had now emerged as the most powerful imperialist power and leader of the imperialist camp, aspired to replace British colonialism by its neo-colonialism.

8. But the people of India and the Congress Government in power fought back these machinations and succeeded in preserving her newly-won freedom. A Constitution for the country, based on parliamentary form of democracy, was drafted and India was declared a sovereign republic. The armed forces were gradually brought under Indian command. The British Civil Service was pensioned off with heavy subsidies. The political personal power of the Princes was put an end to. Elections were held on the basis of adult franchise to give an elected Government to the country. The Congress Party came to power.

9. The country's independence was saved. The question was to further consolidate it, to build it on firm anti-imperialist foundations. The question was to further strengthen political independence by achieving economic independence.

For economic regeneration, it was necessary to take steps for rapid industrialisation of the country which had been kept economically backward by the colonialists, to free the peasantry from feudal setters and raise the living standards of the masses of the people, so as to build a life of peace and democracy, of social progress and prosperity for all. Both these vital questions demanded a firm and quick answer.

10. The answer to one lay in the sphere of foreign policy. Will free India align herself with the rich and powerful imperialist bloc of war-mongers and colonial-enslavers in her foreign policy and relations or will she follow a policy of non-alignment and anti-colonialism? Will India join in with the begging bowl and go to the traditional imperialist foreign moneylenders and bankers and remain dependent on them and tied up to their "aids" or will she strike out a path of independent economic development? The ruling classes, the Congress and the Government and the people all had to think and act in answer to these vital questions. A correct foreign policy and a correct approach to economic regeneration was going to decide the fate of our nation of four hundred million people, the second biggest in the world.

11. There were serious difficulties in finding the correct answer quickly, without pitfalls, sufferings and fiasco. These arose because of the legacies left behind by imperialism and the attitudes of the ruling classes and the ruling party.

II

Formative Years—First Five Year Plan

12. During the days of British rule itself a certain amount of capitalism had developed in the country, the Indian national bourgeoisie had attained a status and become a growing force. But its volume and strength in relation to British capital was weak as almost all the main lines of production, distribution and exchange were owned or controlled by British capital. During the second world war, the national bourgeoisie, especially its bigger sections, amassed vast fortunes and enhanced its economic position. It wielded great influence over the policies of the

leadership of the National Congress. The formation of the Government by the Congress Party meant practically putting the state power at the disposal of the national bourgeoisie, with the added support of the millions of the peasants, workers and the middle classes, who followed the Congress, as the leader of the anti-imperialist struggle.

13. Sections of the big bourgeoisie, which also had developed a small coterie of monopolists in their ranks and some of whom had grown in partnership with British capital, hopes to further enrich themselves with the new advantage of state power, by negotiating for a slice of the post-war plans of "reconstruction" and "aid", the Colombo Plan and the like, proposed by American and British finance capital. Having been kept in conditions of semi-colonial economy and therefore possessing no technical base of heavy industry or big capital accumulation, they dreamt of getting rich quick by building new tips and partnerships with the foreign monopolists and by expropriating and exploiting the masses within the country.

14. Food speculators, landholders, textile millowners, sugar manufacturers and some highly-placed civil service bureaucrats brought up in traditions of the British services and influences played havoc with prices, supplies, markets, controls and decontrols. A veritable chaos was creeping into the economic system, already strained by the war and the post-war troubles. The desire to build new industries was utilised by the foreign financiers to make deals with their Indian partners or with Government on terms which were detrimental to our national interests, as for example, in the matter of oil refineries, shipbuilding, machine tools, etc. Some deals were sheer fraud, dumping the war-junk on India. The war had given India large capital accumulation in the shape of sterling reserves lying in London. Some of it had been used to buy up the railway system and turn it into state property. But the rest of the huge reserves was either being dissipated on unessential imports or frozen in British hands.

15. The Government refused even to consider the proposition of taking over the big British concerns in coal, plantations, etc..

in exchange for the sterling debt, lest it frighten the foreigners from giving aid for India's reconstruction. The best way to "control" these foreign firms was said to be to seek "partnership" with them, getting them to open their shareholdings to Indians. Thus a new sphere of profitable investment came into the hands of the big bourgeoisie.

16. These new ambitions of the national bourgeoisie, especially its top sector, influenced to a certain extent, the foreign policy of the Government in the early period after independence. True, India did not line up with the imperialist camp but her anti-colonialism was luke-warm at times. India recognised the Government of the People's Republic of China and disapproved of the American treaty with Japan. But India's equivocal attitude in the Korean war and later her role in the repatriation of Chinese prisoners was not clearly anti-colonial. There was some reserve, some hesitation to denounce imperialist aggression and declare support to the liberation movements as in Malaya.

17. Such a weak-kneed policy, however, paid no dividends. The American imperialists showed no interest in India's economic development. They were more interested in the highly profitable fields for investments in Europe, particularly in West Germany, and in Latin America. The bulk of American investments flowed that way. The British, exhausted by war, had their own problems to face. They still held the bulk of foreign investment in India. The American imperialists were politically aggressive, but the British held the economic field in India. Thus the hope of the national bourgeoisie to build its capitalist order with the generous flow of Anglo-American capital remained unfulfilled in the main.

18. Meanwhile, class contradictions were growing and the discontent of the masses against Government's policies was slowly rising. They had expected political independence to bring economic relief. What they had to face was the bourgeoisie and the landlords, the speculators and the bureaucrats let loose on them, worsening their conditions of work and living.

19. The working class began to strike for higher wages, to make up the war-time fall in real wages, for a share in the huge profits of the industrialists and for trade union rights. The Congress ruling circles sowed division in the trade union

movement. Utilising the national sentiments of the people, they tried to make the working class an adjunct of the Government and collaborate with the bourgeoisie. Still conditions forced the workers to act in defence of their standards of living. The peasants had hoped to be rid of the burden of landlordism and to get land for themselves. They too were disappointed. The resistance of the Telangana peasantry was the writing on the wall. The middle class, too, voiced its discontent. In the first general elections in the country under the new Republican Constitution, the Congress Party failed to get an absolute majority of votes, polling as it did only 44 per cent of the total votes.

20. Though the unrest was suppressed with violence, the Government had to reconsider its policies, and evolve new attitudes and take new positions. The reconsideration cost the people lot of misery and suffering and came in a halting way, incomplete and not radical enough to make a clean break. But it had to come. It was necessary, not only in the interests of the people, but even of the ruling circles and the national bourgeoisie itself.

21. Acts were passed providing for abolition of landlordism. The Constitution was amended so as to remove the legal obstructions by landlords on questions of compensation to themselves. These acts failed to give the land to the peasants and provided many loopholes for the landlords to retain large areas in their hands. But they helped to remove the worst features of rack-renting and feudal exploitation, wherever the peasants took the initiative. An industrial policy resolution was announced reserving the development of certain basic industries for the State Sector of economy. This angered the imperialists and Indian monopolists.

22. The First Five-Year Plan of development was put into operation, capital for which was found from the profits of the Korean war boom and previous reserves of the war period. But the Plan had no provision for heavy industry, not a single steel plant. Some irrigation and hydro-electricity, a fertilizer and locomotive plant, was all of importance that it could give.

23. In the matter of foreign policy, there was a turn for the better. There was the Bandung Conference and the famous *Panch Sheel* pact with the People's Republic of China, and while the

Government of India celebrated the Coronation of the Queen, the closure of the Indian Parliament on the death of Stalin was a significant pointer. Trade approaches to the Soviet Union were being initiated.

III

Towards National Economic Independence—

Second Five Year Plan and After

24. It is, however, with the beginning of the Second Five Year Plan in 1955 that the Congress Party and Government took a more meaningful turn. The Second Plan was a plan of industrialisation, providing for establishment of heavy industry. It was a plan providing for building a State Sector of new and heavy industry, which was to receive 54 per cent of the total investment. Iron, steel, heavy engineering plants formed the core of the Plan. Creation of oil industry too was put on the agenda. In short, the economic plan, for the first time in India's history, was going to create the pre-requisites for putting the country on the road to laying the foundations for economic independence.

25 All this was made possible because the mighty Soviet Union with its new socialist upsurge in technique and production agreed to provide the necessary plants and credit on generous terms, in exchange for India's own goods. Socialist technicians came to the country to fulfil the contracts in time. Indian technicians visited the Soviet Union for training. Similar intercourse began with other countries of the socialist camp such as Czechoslovakia, Poland, Rumania, etc.

26. India Government became more forthright in its anti-colonial attitudes as when it denounced the invasion of Egypt, condemned the racist massacres in South Africa and declared sympathy for the African nations struggling for freedom. At the UNO, it stood on the side of the resolution on anti-colonialism and independence for all countries still held in subjection. It voiced support for peace and peaceful coexistence, for general and complete disarmament and for ban on atomic weapons. All these now constitute the progressive features of its foreign policy.

accord with the true interests of the country and are supported by all people.

27. The turn towards industrialisation, the creation of the State Sector, certain limitations on the activities of foreign private capital in key branches of industry, measures to channel and control investments of private capital—all these marked a change, signifying the failure of the bid, which monopolistic sections of the bourgeoisie were making, to subordinate the newly-won independence and the anti-imperialist, anti-colonial national bourgeois state completely to their own narrow interests and to place the entire economy of the country under their private control.

28. A survey of the last ten years of the two Plans and the perspectives of the Third Plan would show that the policy of the imperialists to keep Indian economy in a stagnant semi-colonial state has received a rebuff. Internal mobilisation of wealth, labour and talent combined with massive aid from the socialist camp in vital sectors of industry and trade have helped in this crucial change, breaking the blockade which the imperialists wanted to impose on our independent industrial growth. If India had remained dependent on and linked as before only to the world capitalist market, she would never have been able to take a step forward and pursue an independent foreign and home policy. Without giving up her link with the world capitalist economy if even a partial simultaneous link with the world socialist economy could help her forward so much, one can imagine how fast would have been our progress, if the policies were not halting and not guided by the class interests of the bourgeoisie. During the last ten years, industrial production rose by 120 per cent, the national income rose by 42 per cent and even food production, the weakest sector of development, rose by 43 per cent. Compared to the needs of the country and in terms of quantities, the growth is not very high, but the percentages are indicative of the direction and the efforts. It shows not stagnation or growing dependence but consolidation of political independence and a step forward to economic regeneration.

29. This welcome development, however, is attended with serious shortcomings and new dangers.

IV

Contradictions of the Path of Capitalist Development— Role of State Capitalism and of the National Bourgeoisie

30. The outstanding characteristic of the situation that must not escape attention, a fact which imprints its stamp on all development is that all this is taking place on the basis of capitalist relations. Under the leadership of the Congress and its Government, what is developing is capitalist economy. This development is taking place mainly in the sector of privately-owned capital. Though in recent years, state-owned capital has enlarged its field of investments and ownership to heavy metallurgical and machine-building industry, oil, coal, etc, the State Sector also develops state capitalism inasmuch as this state itself is an organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie. However, since this developing economy, especially in the State Sector, facilitates India's march towards economic independence and has an anti-imperialist, anti-colonial aspect, it fulfils a national purpose and as such is progressive.

31. At the same time, it means that the development suffers from all the inherent and inevitable contradictions and crises of the capitalist system, a system based on the exploitation of the working class, of vast mass of the peasantry and of the middle classes.

32. The national bourgeoisie in India, in spite of its need for capital and a reliable base for growth, refuses to nationalise the concerns of the foreign monopolists which own and control some vital lines of production. On the contrary, it tries to expand by inviting foreign private monopoly capital to come in the country in partnership with itself. It pressurises Government to throw open for private enterprise those lines of production which have been so far reserved for the State Sector. It demands that the big State Sector industries and investments, which have been newly built with State capital, made up by taxing the people, should be

gradually denationalised and sold to them. When the state budgets build railways, roads, ports, irrigation, electric power, the bourgeoisie uses them to make profits on construction contracts. When they are completed, it asks the state to give them their services at such cheaper rates so that they become a source of extra profits on their manufactures, while the main burden of running them is passed on to the ordinary consumers.

33. When the socialist countries show readiness to meet India's needs for capital goods and technical know how for vital sectors of production, the Government and the bourgeoisie accept such aid. But immediately they use it in order to bargain with the imperialists and foreign monopolists to give more of their capital. In fact, powerful sections of the Indian big bourgeoisie oppose taking aid from socialist countries and prefer to accept even the onerous terms of foreign private capital. The Congress ruling circles show inclination to agree to such terms, except that they are not prepared to agree to their military or political dictates.

34. The growth of socialist aid to underdeveloped and newly-independent countries, which had been kept in dependent conditions by imperialism, and the enthusiasm and friendliness which it has created among the people in these countries has forced the imperialists to come forward and offer "aid". But they give aid, not in order to develop the economic independence of these countries. They do so in order to export their capital and reap profits and to bring these countries under the yoke of neo-colonialism.

The import of capital from the imperialist countries always provides a base for reactionary forces in the internal politics of the "aided" country and feeds right-wing reaction.

35. The national bourgeoisie, in spite of its desire for expanding production of raw materials and food-grains, is not prepared to do away with all the vestiges of the old feudal and semi-feudal relations of production and hand over land to the peasantry free of cost and cancel its age-old burdens of indebtedness and misery. It opposes ceiling on landholdings and hates the slogan of cooperative agriculture. This leads to a situation in which, while industrial production is growing, the

home market is not keeping pace with it. It leads to unemployment in the cities and pauperisation in the countryside and thereby further intensifies the crisis of capitalism.

36. While the national bourgeoisie grudgingly allows the state to control and plan production to a certain extent, it does not allow it to take over the main instruments of directing investments, i.e., the banks and the main agencies of price-making such as the foreign and wholesale trade and the exchange-markets.

37. The Indian national bourgeoisie like any other bourgeoisie is not a homogeneous class. It has contradictions within itself. As a result of capitalist development and competition inherent in it, there has been a certain concentration of capital and economic power in the hands of a few big monopolists, who seek to enrich themselves at the expense of the people and the other broader sections of the national bourgeoisie. But these monopolistic circles, which have arisen and developed under conditions of colonialism and have grown ever since, have not been able to set up their undivided political power in the country. The state in India represents the power of the national bourgeoisie as a whole. However, these monopolistic combines utilise their links with the State apparatus, and the bureaucracy, in the field of import quotas, use of foreign currency, raw materials and sources of finance to enhance their economic power, to implant political reaction into Governmental power and to change the foreign policy of the country. At the present moment, the monopolistic circles have not succeeded in their objective, thanks to the objective interests of the national bourgeoisie itself and to the pressure of the masses and of the progressive forces. But it is important to take note of the differentiation that is taking place in the bourgeoisie in the economic and the political field for it is this which, coupled with the dual class nature of the national bourgeoisie, explain its vacillations and inclination towards conciliation with domestic reaction and with imperialism as social contradictions sharpen.

V

Conditions of the People

38. The conditions of the people, in spite of growth in production, has not improved materially, as most of the

increasing wealth is concentrating in the hands of the exploiting classes. The working class, the peasantry, the middle classes and even the small and medium entrepreneurs and businessmen resent the policies of the Government and the growing domination of the monopolies. The discontent of the toiling people finds expression in various forms of struggle.

39. Not only total production but even the productivity of the worker has increased. Yet his share in the increasing wealth has fallen, while that of his employers has risen. The rise in prices depresses the wages of the worker. When he fights and succeeds in getting a wage rise, it proves to be unstable due to rising prices of essential goods.

During these last few years, the working class has succeeded in forcing the employers and Government in introducing some order and standard in the anarchy of wages prevailing in the capitalist system, by means of Wage Boards, Commissions, Tribunals, Tripartite Conventions and collective bargaining. Sickness insurance, provident fund schemes, holidays with pay have been secured in the organised industries. A well-defined national minimum wage has been accepted as a necessity to be fulfilled. The organised strength of the trade unions and the striking power of the working class has increased.

Yet for securing the implementation of all these gains, the worker has to pay a high price in sacrifices and struggles. The right of recognition to trade unions and collective bargaining can still be denied by the employers at their will. While the worker is forced to accept his obligations to production, the employer can deny him with impunity. While employment has risen with the establishment of new factories, unemployment is growing faster, thus depressing the living standards of the families of the working people. The real wages of the workers do not seem to have gone up much beyond their 1939 level. The perpetual slums and the slogans about their clearance are a standing commentary on the housing conditions of the workers, while there is no dearth in the number of the palaces of the bourgeoisie. Trade union rights which are the essence of democracy have no sanctity attached to them and are violated on the slightest pretext by the employers. In

Government establishments and factories, even established laws and practices are not observed. The result is that industrial peace fails to be preserved and workers have to resort to strikes and other forms of action to protect their interests.

40. Millions of our peasants live in appalling poverty and backwardness. Despite the acts abolishing landlordism, three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no land of their own to work on. A certain legal limitation on rents, provision of credits and loans, development of irrigation and other facilities have brought relief to a certain strata of the peasantry. But the high taxes of the state and the expropriatory activities of the capitalist market often nullify these gains.

The agricultural labourers and poor peasants have no certainty of work or living and, in many backward areas, they are treated no better than serfs. The countryside presents a picture of pauperisation of the vast masses of the peasantry with small patches of prosperity for a few.

41. The middle classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living, low salaries and declining living standards is their lot too. In recent years, the middle class unemployment has grown phenomenally. The middle class wage earners in Government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, newspapers, schools, colleges and the like are faced with the same problems of life as the working people. Our middle classes play an important role in the field of art, literature, science and culture. But for the most of them, those fields are closed and we see the educated middle class youth queuing up before the Employment Exchanges failing which suicides and slow death are not an uncommon sight.

42. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operation of the foreign and Indian monopolies and big financiers. Allocation of capital issues, raw material, transport facilities, import and export licences are carried out by the Government and bureaucrats in such a way that most of the cream of capitalist development falls to the share of Big Business. Many small and medium industries are adversely hit and those engaged in small-scale village industries live in a permanent crisis.

VI

State Structure and Democracy under National Bourgeois Rule

43. One of the most important problems which Indian democracy had to face on the attainment of national independence was the fashioning of state structure in a manner which would ensure democracy and opportunities of economic and political development in equal measure to all the natural constituent units of the Indian nation—units distinguished by their well-defined territory, developed languages, history and cultural features. It was faced with the problem of eliminating casteism and religious communalism, of eradicating the curse of untouchability and caste discrimination, of ensuring rapid development and equality to the tribal and backward people. The imperialist rulers had divided India into feudal states and into arbitrarily-carved provinces in order to prevent India growing into a united nation, to prevent its various language groups from flourishing and prospering in a united India and to divide and weaken the national liberation struggle. Imperialism used casteism and communalism and especially incited Hindu-Muslim antagonism to disrupt the freedom struggle. They used Hindu-Muslim antagonism finally—when the struggle for independence became irresistible—to split the country into two states of India and Pakistan, to weaken the independence of both.

44. After independence, the leadership of the Congress was expected to remodel the state structure of republican India, on the basis of the linguistic states, granting full autonomy to these states and to the tribal regions. The national bourgeoisie abolished the feudal states and merged them in the Indian Union. But under the influence of the shortsighted and reactionary monopolist groups refused to reconstitute all the states on a linguistic basis. The solution of the problem came ultimately, though haltingly, under the stress of the struggle of the democratic masses of Andhra, Karnataka, Maharashtra and Gujarat and has even now left some unsolved problems.

45. The Communist Party has always stood for the formation of linguistic states, for regional autonomy even amounting to statehood, where practicable, for tribal people in their majority areas, ensuring equal opportunity of development and democracy to all units of our people. The Communist Party stands for the complete eradication of untouchability and caste-discrimination against the so-called scheduled castes—by eliminating remnants of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation and oppression by securing land to these people, and by taking effective measures for the rapid liquidation of their cultural backwardness.

46. The Constitution of the Republic of India provides for a Parliament elected on the basis of adult franchise and confers certain fundamental rights on the people. But these fail to protect the people or change the situation in their favour, as parliamentary power itself is used by the national bourgeoisie in its own favour and in favour of other exploiting classes and not in the interests of consolidation of genuine democracy.

47. Although our state structure is a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the Central Government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy very limited autonomy and power. This makes these states dependent on the Central Government and, they are not free to direct their growth in forms suitable to the historical, linguistic and cultural peculiarities of the people of each state.

48. In such a situation, the contradictions develop between the Central Government and the states. Underlying these contradictions often lie the deeper contradictions between the big bourgeoisie and the entire people including the bourgeoisie of this or that state. Instead of seeking a democratic solution of these contradictions, the reactionary circles among the bourgeoisie take recourse to casteism chauvinism and provincialism and other disruptive influences, which impede the progress of each state and the country as a whole.

49. There are certain areas of the country which are centrally-administered areas. They are governed by officers appointed by the Central Government. While the people there in general are denied any hand in the management of the affairs of their area,

some areas are given the right to elect a representative to the Parliament. They are considered fit enough to send a member to the Parliament of the whole country but are unfit to have even a local assembly of their own for their area! In some states, there are compact areas inhabited by Adivasi peoples, who have their own distinct languages, culture and traditions of independent tribal states. These Adivasi peoples are undergoing rapid transformation and ruination in the new conditions of capitalist development. They have been roused to new consciousness, which finds no expression for growth in their present conditions of being scattered in small groups in the big states of the Indian Union, with whom they cannot get easily assimilated. They demand regional autonomy under their own guidance and control to advance their interests. In some cases they demand statehood for their regions, where their numbers and geographical layout permit such a possibility. But the national bourgeoisie for whom these tribals become good sources of supply of labour in forests, mines, etc., and who, because of their tribal conditions, which are fast breaking down, are easy prey for exploitation, denies their legitimate demands and suppresses them with force or by some concessions to their top layers. In conditions of capitalist competition, the guaranteed rights to the minorities provided in the Constitution are also not fully implemented.

50. The administrative system being based on a highly centralised bureaucracy, reflecting the growth of concentrating capitalist development, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interest of the exploiting classes. As these classes in their competition utilise their power of money to influence the administrative organs for their private gains, there is a tendency for corruption to taint the highest circles of authority and the lower circles follow suit. Local organs of self-government, which are supposed to draw the masses into direct administration of local problems and development and thereby provide a democratic correction to bureaucratic centralisation, are themselves made subject to the dictates and absolute power of high officials. The so-called *Panchayat raj* of

the people thus becomes an instrument of the ruling classes seeking to consolidate their power in the countryside. Real functional democracy of the people can have no place in such a bourgeois democracy, run by the exploiters and their bureaucrats.

51. The judiciary, which is an important organ of the state power, is weighted against workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. The laws, procedures and the system of justice, though holding the rich and poor equal and alike in principle, essentially serve the interests of the exploiting classes and uphold their class rule. Even the bourgeois-democratic principle of separation of the judiciary from the executive is not adhered to and the judiciary becomes subject to the influence and control of the latter.

52. The bourgeoisie and its allies, the landlords, are a minority in the whole country compared to the working class, the peasantry and the middle classes, over whom they rule and whom they exploit by virtue of their ownership of land and capital and all means of livelihood. Capitalist state power and its government, even when elected by the majority vote in the parliamentary system of democracy, represents in its political and economic essence the power of the minority.

53. When this power and its class interests begin to come into open conflict with the interests of the exploited masses, the Government tends to rely more and more on the armed forces and the police to preserve its order. Hence the bourgeoisie keeps the hundreds and thousands of the rank and file of these forces away from the people, away from all political consciousness and all democratic rights. Even the duty to defend the country is conveyed to them as a matter of command and through the command, rather than through all-round political education. Even when they are allowed the right to vote as citizens in elections, they are not allowed to be approached by any political party through any literature and the servicemen are denied the right to contact even their parliamentary representatives for any reason whatever.

54. This, however, does not apply to the Generals and top officers who, in the main, are drawn from the bourgeois-landlord

classes and get their education in exclusive institutions. They carry on their politics in their own way behind the curtain. Some of them even denounce parliamentary democracy as a useless 'talking shop' of supine politicians and parties and extol the virtues of military management and dictatorships.

55. The Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights, but the people can exercise them only to a limited extent. Many of these rights are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state. When it comes to the struggles of the workers, peasants and other sections of the democratic masses, the fundamental rights cease to apply to them. Freedom of assembly is denied to whole areas and regions embracing lakhs of people, by putting them under Section 144, even for months and years under the plea of preserving law and order, which means preventing the workers and peasants from assembling to defend their interests. But the law acts very haltingly and slowly in cases where reactionary forces launch feuds and massacres between communities and castes. The violence of the state organs becomes particularly savage against the workers, the peasants and other democratic masses, when they act in defence of their political and economic rights and demands.

56. Freedom of the press, assembly and propaganda is a reality only to the exploiting classes, who can own the daily press, the halls and theatres, the radio network and the huge financial resources required. The working people cannot compete with their vast reasources and are thus disabled in the exercise of these rights formally given to everyone. Bourgeois democracy always remains a democracy for the exploiting rich and a wordy formality, a shadow for the toiling poor.

57. However, universal adult franchise and the Parliament and state legislatures can serve as instruments of the people in their struggle for democracy and for defence of their interests. Although a form of class rule of the bourgeoisie, India's present parliamentary system also embodies an advance for the people. It affords certain opportunities to them to defend their vital interests, intervene in the affairs of the state to a certain extent, to carry disillusionment to the masses and mobilise them to

carry forward the struggle for peace, democracy and social progress.

58. The threat to the parliamentary system and to democracy comes not from the working people and the parties which represent their interests. The threat comes from the exploiting classes. It is they who undermine the parliamentary system both from within and without by making it an instrument to advance their narrow class interests and repress the toiling masses. When the people begin to use parliamentary institutions for advancing their cause and they fall away from the influence of the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords, these classes do not hesitate to trample underfoot parliamentary democracy and replace it by military dictatorships. It will be a serious error to imagine that our country is free from all such threats. The Communists defend the parliamentary and democratic institutions. They strive to preserve and develop them further and to make democracy full and real for all.

VII

Tasks of Completing National Democratic Revolution—The Non-Capitalist Path of Development

59. Which path should India take in order to overcome this situation, wipe out all legacies of the former imperialist rule, develop industry and agriculture rapidly, abolish unemployment, raise the incomes and standards of living of the masses, help their cultural advancement and take the country forward to a bright joyous future?

60. The Communist Party believes that the final eradication of poverty and unemployment and exploitation of man by man, the abolition of hatred and violence from society can be abolished only by building socialism, in which the bourgeoisie will cease to wield any power and the principal means of production, distribution and exchange will be socially owned. The Communist Party believes that real socialist reconstruction of society, which is free from capitalist crises, can be built only by applying the scientific and universal truths of Marxism-Leninism.

to Indian conditions. Marxism is neither out of date nor dead. One-third of mankind lives in a society that is built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism. It has assured to every member of it a life free from worry and care, free from crises and unemployment, a life of a classless society, a life of culture based on people's solidarity, mutual cooperation, love and peace.

61. Such a society can be built only by the working class—the class, which represents the new creative power of man, wielding the vast apparatus of production and distribution and acting in alliance with the toiling peasantry and the toiling middle class. The Communist Party is the party of the working class. It leads the class to establish proletarian statehood, a real genuine democracy as the instrument to carry out this socialist transformation of society. But such a society cannot be built by the leadership of the Congress Government because it represents the interests of the national bourgeoisie. It talks of socialism but pursues policies which further the development of capitalism, often in compromise with forces which are hostile to socialism and to the advance of democracy and progress.

62. In order to reach the stage where India can take up the programme to build socialist society, it has to go through the stage of first completing the unfinished tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal democratic revolution.

In order to do that, we have to build a single national democratic front. Who will constitute this front, what forces, what parties and what will be its tasks?

63. Broadly speaking, the tasks of the national democratic front can be stated as follows:

- (1) the consolidation of political independence;
- (2) the carrying out of agrarian reforms in the interests of the peasantry;
- (3) elimination of the survivals of feudalism;
- (4) uprooting of imperialist economic domination;
- (5) restriction of foreign monopolies and their expulsion from the national economy;
- (6) creation and development of a national industry;
- (7) improvement of living standards;

- (8) democratisation of social life;
- (9) pursuance of an independent and peaceful foreign policy; and
- (10) the development of economic and cultural cooperation with the socialist and other friendly countries.

64. These tasks, if fulfilled, do not establish socialism or communism but they do not lead to the development of capitalism either. On the other hand, they open up for our people a path of development which prepares the pre-requisites to set our country firmly on the road to socialism. It will be a path of development which will save our people from the anarchy of capitalism, its crises and the sufferings which they impose upon the people. It will be *a path of non-capitalist development* which enable our people to save themselves more and more from exploitation, poverty and hunger and then to take the road to socialism.

65. Non-capitalist development is not socialist development nor is it anti-capitalist in the sense of establishing socialism. But it is anti-capitalist in the sense that it will stop the development of monopoly capital and eradicate it. It will permit the existing anti-imperialist, non-monopolist national bourgeoisie to take its place in the national economy along with the working class, the peasantry and the intelligentsia. The non-capitalist development does not allow landlordism to continue and hold on to its privileges and hamper national development. The non-capitalist development is the path, which the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal revolution in the under-developed countries takes, on the basis of the national democratic front of all the democratic forces, before the masses of the people are able to take the road to socialism.

It thus creates the prerequisites or transition to socialism.

VIII

Classes in the National Democratic Front

66. The nature of the task itself determines the forces that will carry it out. The national democratic front will first contain the working class, the maker of the new society, the advance class which is the standard-bearer in this epoch of the victory of

socialism and national liberation. It is the last exploited class in history, the creator of wealth of the highest order, whose liberation emancipates the whole society from exploitation of man by man. The working class of India must and will be the most determined champion of the national democratic front, because the anti-colonial, anti-feudal revolution, even in the company of its exploiters, the national bourgeoisie, advances the whole people and itself towards final emancipation.

67. The second detachment of the nation front will be the peasantry, the backbone of the Indian nation today. The peasantry has differentiated into agricultural labourers, poor and middle peasants and the small rich strata. But all together are interested in abolition of landlordism and its remnants, in getting the land for themselves, in being freed from misery and the robbery of the fruits of production by the capitalist market.

68. The working class allied with the peasantry forms the firm unshakable basis of the national democratic front.

69. The third detachment will be the middle class intelligentsia in the professions, trades and industry, which is very vocal spokesman of democracy. As people who, while being flattered for their "intellectual status" as apart from labour, have to undergo suffering at the hands of imperialism and monopoly capital thriving on their intellectual labour-power will, of course, be in the national democratic front.

70. The fourth detachment that should and is expected to be in the front is the national bourgeoisie. It is also differentiated in various sections. The monopoly section is powerful but yet small in the present Indian economy. The monopolist section, which has a strong link with foreign monopoly capital, will oppose the front. Even in the days of anti-imperialist struggle, it never stood in the camp of struggle though some of its members sympathised with the National Congress. With the attainment of independence and with their growing partnership with foreign capital, they have become opponents of the further development of independence, anti-colonialism, liquidation of feudalism and further development of democracy and the well-being of the toiling people.

There are, however, other sections of the national bourgeoisie which desire the independent development of the economy, which, even while desiring help from foreign capital, are not opposed to socialist aid. They support India's present foreign policy, hold anti-colonialist views and would like the peasantry freed from landlordism. They dislike the growth of monopoly capital in the country. Thus objectively this section of the big bourgeoisie would be interested in a front that would guarantee the further development of independent Indian economy and the consolidation of independence and parliamentary democracy. This section, however, being in close touch with the monopolists and under threat of liquidation by them, will vacillate a long time until the movement for the front becomes a strong one.

71. The middle and the small bourgeoisie will be in the front because objectively its growth is hampered, it is daily threatened with ruin at the hands of the monopolists and has links with the peasantry and town people.

72. The national bourgeoisie is anti-imperialist and can be an ally in the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal national democratic front. The growing import of foreign monopoly capital has increased the volume of foreign imperialist capital in the country. At the same time, Indian capital too has grown both in volume and rate, which is many times greater than that of foreign imperialist capital. Hence, foreign monopoly capital has not attained a position of subordinating Indian economy to its interests and policies. The national bourgeoisie, therefore, feels confident that, with state power in its hands and the help of the socialist camp on which it can rely, it can balance and retain its independence and ensure further growth.

73. Hence the bourgeoisie feels no necessity for a national democratic front and, least of all, with the working class. While its monopolistic sections take the road of right reaction, the other sections vacillate in fighting against it in the hope of easier and quicker development.

74. But, when imperialist pressure will intensify and the threat to India's independence and economic growth increase and when the mighty movement of the people will surge forward in defence of the interests of the country and its democratic masses, the

national bourgeoisie, shorn of its reactionary sections, will have to choose the way of the front. Till then it will vacillate.

IX

Parties in the National Democratic Front

75. This picture is seen today in the role of the various political parties in India.

The Congress, the leader of the national liberation movement in the British days, is today the Government of the country and has a large following among the masses. It pursues an anti-imperialist foreign policy which conforms to the interests of the nation. It keeps India in the peace camp and takes anti-colonial positions. It carries on independent development of the economy. It takes the help of the socialist camp. It is also eager for greater help from foreign imperialist capital.

76. In its eagerness for rapid development of the Indian economy, it underestimates the danger of penetration of Anglo-American capital into strategic lines of India's development. It feels confident to contain the poison, because it thinks imperialism can take a few crores out of the country but it cannot take away our independence and freedom. Imperialism tried it in Egypt and Iraq, and it failed. It uses the existence of the socialist camp as a ready help on call, as the basis of its tactics and its confidence.

77. But it fails to see that the danger can arise from inside, where parliamentary democracy can be set aside and pro-imperialist dictators from the native soil can put the country under neo-colonial yoke. The leadership of the Congress Party shows more or less the same differentiations and contradictions as the national bourgeoisie. Though the most reactionary wing of the bourgeoisie has walked into the Swatantra Party, yet many of its supporters are in the right-wing of the Congress and control vital sectors of the Governmental and ministerial set-up. Under the influence of the right reaction, the Congress takes anti-democratic positions as was seen in the overthrow of the Kerala Ministry, the failure to carry into effect the Nagpur resolution on

land reforms, the failure to protect the working class from the attacks of the monopolists and the readiness with which it shields the bourgeoisie and the landlords from the action of the masses in defence of their rights and the daily needs of its life. The democratic elements in the Congress are too weak and undecided and hence incapable of action in defence of their line. The Centre vacillates between the two. It restrains the extreme reaction but does not strengthen the left, in fact attacks it.

78. The Congress leadership thinks that the Congress organisation itself represents unity of the country, of all its classes, and hence serves the functions of a national democratic front. It calls upon all other parties and all progressives to merge in it.

79. The Jan Sangh and Swatantra Party cannot be expected to join the democratic forces to form the front, as they avowedly are parties that take anti-working class positions, are ridden with monopolists and landlords, either openly or covertly, and the programme of the front is an anathema to them, despite what they may write in their declarations or what some of their leaders may say.

80. Among the parties of the left, the Communist Party consistently puts forth the ideas of the unity of all left forces in a national democratic front to defend the interests of the country and the people. But the anti-communism of some of the left parties keeps them away from these ideas of unity and the front. Where temporary unity takes place between them on joint actions of the working people in their day-to-day demands, it does not get translated in the political fields and too often breaks down even in mass organisation. The role of the Praja Socialist Party and such others is one of the important factors in these developments.

81. The unity of the left forces is one of the important levers to build a democratic front. But, since Kerala events, that unity is a remote possibility.

82. No National Democratic Front would have a reality, unless the vast following of the Congress masses and at least a section of the Congress leadership take their place in it. In today's conditions, to talk of such a front without them would only

amount to a front of the left, i.e., of a few mass organisations and parties representing sections of the working class, peasantry and the middle class. And these sections by themselves would not be such a sizable force as to merit the description of a National Democratic Front or to have the power to form a National Democratic Government to discharge the tasks before it.

83. The National Democratic Front will have to be worked out slowly and determinedly by those who believe in that perspective. Mighty struggles in defence of the interests of the democratic masses of the working class, peasantry and middle class will have to be fought in opposition to the reactionary policies of the Congress Government. These struggles will not be only on economic plane. Such policies of the Congress Government as defend the country against colonialism, its peace policy in foreign relations and its policies of building heavy industry and state sector, its unfulfilled declarations of land reform, will have to be defended against the attack of right reactionaries and further strengthened by independent action so as not to allow the vacillating sections to weaken and resile from them. Only during the process of such a struggle, Congress masses and sections of its leadership will feel the necessity for united democratic action for further progress. Only through such actions, parliamentary and extra-parliamentary, in every field of the life of the masses can the National Democratic Front come into being. The working class and peasantry together are its bedrock. Working class unity and political actions in alliance with the peasantry, a constant attempt to bring all the left forces, Congress and non-Congress masses together, to build a bridge of common action and exchange of opinion with the progressive sections of the leadership of the Congress in order to make them feel the necessity to stand firm and rebuff the machination of reaction, a mighty surge of the masses for defence of democracy and freedom for their life and living, will bring the National Democratic Front to fruition.

84. Such a National Democratic Front, when victorious will establish a new *Government of National Democracy*. The bourgeois democracy of today, which with all its limited good

features, does not carry out the basic tasks in relation to the toiling masses, which instead of widening democracy restricts it and suppresses it, which allows the robbery of the people at the hands of Indian and foreign monopolists, which builds only a huge bureaucratic state machine to discharge tasks of national reconstruction, such a bourgeois democracy cannot fulfil the destiny of our people. It has to give place to—NATIONAL DEMOCRACY.

85. The National Democratic State is not a socialist state. It is a state which consistently upholds its political and economic independence, fights against imperialism and its military blocs, against military bases on its territory; a state which fights against the new forms of colonialism and the penetration of imperialist capital; a state which rejects dictatorial and despotic methods of government; a state in which the people are ensured broad democratic rights and freedoms (freedom of speech, press, assembly, demonstrations), the opportunity to work for the enactment of an agrarian reform and other democratic and social changes, and for participation in shaping Government policy.

X

Programme of the National Democratic Government

86. The victorious National Democratic Front will form a National Democratic Government which will introduce political and economic measures along the following lines to transform the existing social-political order

1 In the Realm of International Relations:

Defending and strengthening India's independent foreign policy of peace and anti-colonialism, and vigilantly eliminate all efforts to weaken or paralyse it:

- (1) develop closer cooperation with the socialist countries based on the common principles of Panch Sheel, for universal and complete and controlled disarmament, ban on nuclear weapons, ending of colonialism and safeguarding world peace;
- (2) solidarity with Asian-African and Latin American countries fighting colonialism and giving moral and

material support to people fighting for national liberation:
 —broaden and consolidate the Bandung alliance;
 —actively pursue the path of negotiated settlement of the India-China border dispute;

- (3) abolition of foreign military bases; oppose revival of German militarism;
- (4) make efforts to establish friendly relations with India's neighbours—Pakistan, Nepal and Ceylon;
- (5) complete the merger of old French and Portuguese possessions in the Indian Union;
- (6) effective measures to liberate Goa, Daman and Diu from Portuguese possession.

2. In the Realm of Political Affairs:

- (1) consolidate national independence and sovereignty by defeating and rejecting decisively the course being pressed* by pro-imperialist right reactionary parties;
- (2) cement Indian unity:
 - complete the linguistic redistribution of the Indian states;
 - give reality and greater powers and resources to the autonomous authority of the states to develop their own language and culture and speed-up the economic development and end existing regional disparities;
 - effective safeguards and guarantee for legitimate minority rights; financial and other assistance for the advancement of the people belonging to scheduled castes and scheduled tribes;
 - in the large tribal areas, establish autonomous regions, with certain powers of autonomous statehood; in smaller areas establish districts or areas with local self-governing powers;
 - in the Centrally-administered areas, establishment of legislative assemblies and responsible Government without the paraphernalia and liabilities in imitation of the big states;
- (3) Strengthen and broaden democracy:
 - stop the privy purses and the extraordinary privileges of the princes and make them common citizens of India;
 - clarify the Presidential powers as no more than that of the Constitutional head;

- abolish the Second Chambers as they are;
- revise the property clauses of the Constitution and subordinate the interest of property to that of people's well-being and nation-building;
- introduce proportional representation in elections to the Parliament, the State Legislatures and other elected organs;
- provide for the right of recall;
- the directive principles of the Constitution cease remaining moral exhortation and be concretely enforced through appropriate legislative and administrative measures, above all, the right to work to be assured to begin with;
- extend and strengthen the local organs, enhance their powers and give them more resources to fulfil their responsibilities. No dissolutions of the local organs by a fiat of the Government but by a right of recall;
- reorganise the administration and services with a view to democratise them and to end their bureaucratic character and traits. Introduce political education in the spirit of patriotism and people's service. All officials to work under the supervision of the organs of power within the jurisdiction; rapid recruitment and promotion of the sons and daughters of the working class, the peasantry, the tribals, the scheduled castes and hitherto disinherited sections of the people;
- simpler, cheaper and speedier justice, revision of the old Police Codes, Cr. P.C. and I.P.C. No detention without trial, no arrest without warrant;
- recognition of the role of the peoples as the best defenders of Indian democracy and the real judges of the policies and measures of the Government. An organisational system of consultations and check up between the representatives of the professional mass organisations of the people and the legislators and administrators.

3. *In the Realm of Economy:*

Existing planning is limited and restricted. Real planning must cover the entire economy with a view to achieving an all-

round rapid development of national economy, to speed up the realisation of complete economic independence and to fulfil the needs of people's well-being and social progress.

(1) Economic independence:

- immediately to restrict and ultimately to achieve the elimination of existing foreign private capital, its major enterprises and the big monopoly firms from our soil;
- a public investigation into the affairs of such firms to determine how far they observe the laws of the land and serve national interests;
- ban import of foreign private capital in future;
- revise existing economic agreements with foreign Governments and financial institutions where they are unfair and inconsistent with India's national sovereignty and independence;

(2) Strengthen the State Sector:

- the State Sector to be rapidly developed to become the dominant sector of our national economy in every possible manner;
- reform, improve and democratise the existing State Sector administration;
- rapidly expand the scope of the State Sector by reserving to it, key and heavy industries as envisaged in the original Industrial Policy Resolution;
- extend the sphere of nationalisation to cover banking and general insurance, coal and other mining, oil distribution and plantations;

(3) National control over the Private Sector:

- measures to curb the power of the monopoly bourgeoisie in the life of the country;
- adequate state assistance to small and medium industries, in credit marketing, etc.;
- control prices, production and supply of raw materials and the rate of profits for existing large-scale industries and monopoly houses in sugar, cotton, jute and building materials;

- existing private sector enterprises to get all the facilities to serve the needs of national economy and fair profits for themselves;
- reduction of the tax burden on the masses and effective realisation of taxes and levies from big business and other wealthy sections, who escape them today;

(4) Extend the Cooperative Sector:

- rural industries to be rapidly brought under cooperative sector and their existing administration purified;
- new, small and suitable industries to be opened up in the countryside and in the cooperative sector;
- maximum number of medium industries to be brought under the cooperative sector on a voluntary basis;

(5) Control the Market:

- there can be no real planning without national control over the market relations;
- introduce state trading in food-grains, sugar, kerosene, cloth and other essentials of the life of the common people;
- reduction of prices of essential goods;
- rapidly expand the cooperatives for the supply of consumer goods to the people;

(6) Win Workers' Cooperation:

- fixation of national minimum wage, provision for need-based minimum as decided by the tripartite convention, sliding scale of DA, bonus, gratuity and holidays with pay;
- hours of work to be gradually decreased;
- social security to be enlarged and liberalised with provision for unemployment relief and old-age pension;
- full trade union and democratic rights;
- compulsory recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot of workers and right of collective bargaining;
- workers' participation in management on the basis of elected Works Committees;

- cancellation of anti-democratic, anti-trade union rules in Standing Orders and in Government Service Conduct Rules,
- measures to raise the earnings and living standards of workers, peasants, agricultural labourers, Government and office employees and professional classes,
- improved pay, pensions and better conditions of service for the ranks and junior officers in the defence forces as well as better care of their children and families,
- improved pay, pensions and conditions of service for the police forces,

(7) Land Reforms and Rural Development

- suitable amendments in existing ceiling legislations to break up concentration of land in the hands of the few under whatever guise it be,
- elimination of absentee landlordism, especially by big non-cultivating elements,
- elected peasant committees or Panchayats functioning through the public assemblies of the whole village to investigate land abuses and implement the new radical reform Acts,
- introduction of cooperative farms with the consent of the peasants concerned,
- state aid to agriculture to be expanded and channelled through service cooperatives,
- fair price guaranteed for agricultural produce

XI

Struggle for Peaceful Path and its Possibilities

87 The *immediate* task of the Communist Party is to struggle for the building of a National Democratic Front and the establishment of a Government of National Democracy

88 The Party keeps before the working class and the toiling masses the *final goal* of building socialism, of leading the working people to establish a proletarian statehood—which will constitute a real people's democracy as the instrument of carrying out the socialist transformation of society

89. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of National Democracy and create conditions for the advance to the goal of bringing about socialist transformation by peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority backed by such a movement, the working class and its allies will strive their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform the Parliament from an instrument of serving the bourgeoisie into an instrument of serving the working people. Combining parliamentary with extra-parliamentary forms of struggle and relying upon the mass revolutionary movement, the working class and its allies will try to ensure that the Parliament becomes a genuine instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental transformations in the economic, social and state structure. For bringing about such transformation by peaceful means, the leading role of the Communist Party is absolutely essential.

90. The rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of the mass revolutionary action is of decisive importance for winning a stable parliamentary majority, for the victory of the revolution.

91. The form of transition depends on the international situation and specific internal conditions, mainly internal conditions. By developing broad-based popular struggles for the strengthening and extension of democracy, by curbing the power of the monopolistic big bourgeoisie and reactionaries and by isolating them, by consolidating the majority of the people under the leadership of the working class, by giving resolute rebuff to the opportunist elements, by ceaselessly developing class struggles of the workers, peasants and other democratic sections of the people against the forces of reaction, the Communist Party works for creating and strengthening necessary conditions for the peaceful way.

92. It needs to be always borne in mind that the ruling classes never relinquish their power voluntarily. Experience shows that they defy the will of the people and seek to reverse it by lawless and violent methods. It is, therefore, necessary for the revolutionary forces to so orientate themselves and their work

that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twists and turns in the political life of the country.

93. The actual possibility of one or the other way of transition to socialism in each individual country depends on the concrete historial conditions.

94. Marxism-Leninism is a great integral revolutionary doctrine, the lodestar of the working class and working people of the whole world at all stages of their great battle for peace, freedom and a better life, for the establishment of the most just society, communism. Its great creative, revolutionising power lies in its unbreakable link with life, in its continuous enrichment through a comprehensive analysis of reality. On the basis of Marxism-Leninism, the community of socialist countries and the international communist, working class and liberation movements have achieved great historic success and it is only on its basis that all the tasks facing the Communist Party can be effectively accomplished.

95. In our time, when communism is not only the most advanced doctrine but an actually existing social system which has proved its superiority over capitalism, conditions are particularly favourable for expanding the influence of the Communist Party, vigorously exposing anti-communism, a slogan under which the capitalist class wages its struggle against the proletariat, and winning the broadest sections of the working masses for communist ideas.

96. Anti-communism arose at the dawn of the working class movement as the principal ideological weapon of the capitalist class in its struggle against the proletariat and Marxist ideology. As the class struggle grew in intensity, particularly with the formation of the world socialist system, anti-communism became more vicious and refined. Anti-communism which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in and extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, resorts to monstrous distortions of Marxist doctrine and crude slander against the socialist social system, presents communist policies and objectives in a light and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and

97. To effectively defend interests of the working people, maintain peace and realise the socialist ideals of the working class, it is indispensable to wage a resolute struggle against anti-communism—that poisoned weapon which the bourgeoisie uses to fence off the masses from socialism. A greater effort is required in explaining the ideas of socialism to the masses, to educate the working people in a revolutionary spirit, to develop their revolutionary class consciousness and to show all working people the superiority of socialist society by referring to the experiences of the countries of the world socialist system, demonstrating in concrete form the benefits which socialism will actually give to workers, peasants and other sections of the population in each country.

98. Communism assures people freedom from fear of war; lasting peace, freedom from imperialist oppression and exploitation, from unemployment and poverty, general well-being and a high standard of living; freedom from fear of economic crises; a rapid growth of the productive forces for the benefit of society as a whole; freedom from the tyranny of the moneybag over the individual; all-round spiritual development of man; the fullest development of talent; unlimited scientific and cultural progress of society. All the sections of the population, with the exception of a handful of exploiters, stand to gain from the victory of the new social system, and this must be brought home to millions of people in the country.

99. Such is our faith and such is our programme, which we place before the people. The Communist Party is confident that it will enable our people to unite and struggle to build a National Democratic Front and fulfil the immediate task of establishment of National Democracy in order to advance on the road to socialism.

Draft Programme of The Communist Party of India*

Bhupesh Gupta and P. Ramamurti

Sixth Party Congress Document

I

1. After the attainment of political freedom, our people have naturally looked forward to the completion of the process of independence and to the remaking of the nation on the foundations of social justice, happiness, of all-round rapid progress. They have longed for solutions to the problems of hunger and unemployment, want and poverty and of economic dependence and backwardness.

2. In the freedom struggle against British imperialism, the thoughts of a bright future inspired India's brave sons and daughters in their millions. The nation's revolt against the alien rule was heightened by the dreams of a new future.

3. India's independence has been a historic achievement. And in the recent years our independence has been reinforced and strengthened as a result of India's policy of peace and anti-colonialism, of friendship and co-operation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, of her efforts for independent development and last but not the least, on account of the advance of the country's democratic movement.

4. The political emancipation from the British yoke was viewed by the masses not as the journey's end. It was meant to open a new, glorious era in the history of our beloved land. We are today in the midst of the challenge of this perspective. And our people are called upon to take the destiny of the nation

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in their own hands and rebuild its future. Great responsibilities have fallen on the shoulders of our present generation. Our country has abundant natural resources and vast manpower.

5. Happily our people face the tasks of national rebirth in an epoch so vastly changed in favour of those who have newly won their freedom like us or are still fighting for national liberation. Imperialism and colonialism that enslaved nations after nations and ruined them, is today fast disintegrating. Ours is an age of the abolition of the colonial system. On the ruins of colonialism, new independent nations have risen. These newly liberated nations in Asia, Africa and South and Central America have emerged on to the stage of history and our own country, India, already occupies a proud place among them.

6. Imperialism which has been India's mortal enemy as of other enslaved peoples is on the run before the advancing forces of national liberation and socialism. One-third of humanity has broken away from capitalism and is now under the world socialist system. It is this world socialist system and the forces fighting against imperialism, for a socialist transformation that determine the main content, main trends and main features of the historical development of society. The world socialist system is becoming the decisive factor in the development of society.

7. No longer is it possible for imperialism to hold back the march of history; no longer is it possible for imperialism to subjugate nations at will or browbeat and bully them into submission, no longer is it possible for the imperialists to easily exert pressure on the underdeveloped countries and create road-blocks in the way of their national regeneration. There exists today the mighty world socialist system with its ever-rising capacity as well as its readiness to render disinterested moral and material assistance to the newly liberated peoples in overcoming their economic dependence and backwardness, in defending and strengthening their national independence. . .

8. This development in the world arena offers us new real opportunities for speedily solving the vital problems of our country. It is, however, for our people in this new epoch to chart the right course and utilise the great opportunities before us.

II

9. British imperialism held back India's progress and throttled in every way our national development. It wrought havoc on the life of the entire people and plunged our ancient land into an abyss of indescribable misery, backwardness and national humiliation. As a result of the crime of imperialism not only did our people suffer, modern civilisation itself became a loser. Humanity was deprived for many long years of India's full contribution to its service.

10. Political freedom came with the promise of wiping out all ugly legacies of the colonial past, of releasing the productive forces from all fetters so that India would become a mighty economic power, of unhesitating satisfaction of the material and spiritual needs of the people. But the tasks of national democratic revolution remain far from completed; the promise remains unredeemed. Correct solutions to the urgent issues of national rejuvenation posed by life are yet to be found. The national bourgeoisie and the Congress Party which is in control of the state cannot be expected to do this and the thirteen-and-a-half years of unbroken Congress rule would leave no room for doubt on this score.

11. The historical experience of national liberation struggles of our time is that the national bourgeoisie does not complete the national democratic revolution. On the contrary, after winning independence, it tends to compromise with domestic reaction and imperialism as social contradictions sharpen. Equally does historical experience demonstrate that whenever the anti-imperialist front had been under the leadership of the working class, national liberation did not stop at the bourgeois democratic stage but developed into socialist revolution along the lines of People's Democracy.

12. *Although the working class, peasants and the intelligentsia constituted the fighting force against imperialism and bore the brunt of its fury, it was, however, the national bourgeoisie that remained in the leadership of the broad liberation movement. Riding on the waves of popular revolt that swept the land after the end of the Second World War, the leaders of the Indian*

National Congress came to a settlement with British imperialism and installed themselves in power. They accepted the partition of the country which brought in its wake, as imperialism had designed, a terrible fratricidal bloodbath. They agreed that British finance-capital would be allowed to continue its plunder. They offered concessions and accommodation to the princes and other feudal and semi-feudal oppressors. They kept intact the bureaucracy which had been trained under the British to suppress the masses. The national democratic revolution was not allowed to be consummated.

III

13. Even before independence, the Indian national bourgeoisie had attained a certain stature and it was a growing force in society. It had already established itself in some branches of industry. During the Second World War the national bourgeoisie, notably the bigger sections, amassed enormous fortunes and considerably enhanced their economic positions. Their sphere of activity greatly expanded.

14. After independence, the ruling bourgeoisie began to employ the state power to the development of the national economy broadly on the lines of independent capitalism, to the further strengthening of its class position in society. But it proceeded to do so in compromise with imperialism and feudalism. Instead of sweeping away the imperialist and semi-feudal economic fetters that British rule had left behind, the Congress rulers preserve many of them.

15. The dual nature of the national bourgeoisie which had been seen during the freedom struggle began to again characterise its behaviour in relation to imperialism's hold over our economy and semi-feudal survivals. Although it is in the objective interests of even the bourgeoisie itself to completely remove these fetters, the bourgeoisie continues to compromise because of its dual nature.

16. Not to speak of the elimination of the exploitation by the colonial British and other finance-capital, the Congress Government offers them liberal concessions, guarantees and new

opportunities for fresh penetration. As a result, foreign private investments, especially British which were already occupying key positions in our economy, have more than doubled during the past thirteen-and-a-half years of Congress rule. In the name of building a so-called self-generating economy and overcoming foreign exchange shortage, which again is largely the creation of their policies, the Congress rulers are inviting the monopolists of Britain, the USA, West Germany and some other countries to come and invest their capital in India and earn high guaranteed profits. The increasing penetration of this foreign private capital and its link-up and collaboration with Indian big business, are openly encouraged and backed by the state.

17. Another feature of the operations of foreign capital is that the investments almost wholly flow into concerns which are already under the direct control of foreign exploiters. The managerial and high technical personnel are again mainly comprised of British and other foreign nationals.

18. Thus imperialist foreign capital continues its exploitation of India's cheap labour and natural resources. Every year many many crores of rupees are pumped out of the country as profits, dividends, interests, salaries and allowances, commissions, insurance and freight charges and under other visible and invisible heads. These exploiters have nothing in common with our national interests and the ruthless exploitation of our resources is their sole concern. They bolster up Indian big business and the reactionary elements in public life; they openly and covertly work for undermining our economy and for distorting and slowing down its pace of growth. A source of anti-national intrigue and machinations, the role of this imperialist foreign private capital is fundamentally opposed to the interests of the nation. But the Congress Government vainly tries to make out that this predatory foreign capital is indispensable for our economic development.

19. The truth, however, is that as long as this foreign private capital remains in its present entrenched positions, India cannot either overcome her economic dependence or fully develop her national economy. Nor can her political life

be made safe from pressure, interference and blackmail on the part of the imperialists.

20. In no field is the inconsistency of the national bourgeoisie so nakedly revealed as in the case of the agrarian question. Instead of taking vigorous steps to wipe out feudal and semi-feudal survivals and release the productive forces in the countryside by giving land to the tillers, the Congress regime has entered into a pact with landlords. The so-called land reforms which have been carried out by providing for hundreds of crores of rupees as compensation to the landlords have not resulted in land passing to the land-hungry peasants. Land legislations have been so formulated and implemented that land still remains concentrated in the hands of a very small minority of landlords. Land ceilings which are supposed to restrict the holdings have in most cases been bypassed due to numerous loopholes in the legislations and also on account of the methods of their implementation. On the other hand, eviction of peasants from land has taken place on an unprecedented mass scale, thus further adding to the extreme helplessness of the peasantry. Usury which goes hand in hand with feudal and semi-feudal exploitation retains its vicious grip on the peasant masses.

21. The ruling Congress Party aims at transforming feudal landlordism in the direction of capitalist landlordism. It aims at gradually replacing the old, traditional feudal methods of exploitation by capitalist methods, with the vast masses of the peasantry turned into landless wage labour. But our industry is not such that it can provide adequate technological backing for a rapid growth of capitalist farming.

22. Land legislations of the Congress Governments in the states have doubtless greatly curtailed the economic domination of the landlords and given the peasants some important rights and opportunities. Similarly, certain other developmental measures such as extension of irrigation, credit facilities through co-operatives and other government agencies are unquestionably beneficial. But the agricultural labourers and poor peasants are not in a position to secure the benefits from these developmental measures. The benefits go mainly to the landlords and certain

upper strata of the peasantry. Despite all the land reforms of the Congress Government and all its other measures, the crucial problem in our agriculture—which accounts for almost half of our national income and on which 70 per cent of our people are dependent—has not been solved. The problem is one of breaking the concentration of land in the hands of the landlords and distributing it to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants.

23. Under the Congress regime, our agriculture remains semi-stagnant. Chronic food deficits and food scarcities, at times bordering on famine conditions, have become a part of our existence. Mass misery of the peasantry goes on increasing and an enormous labouring force in the countryside lies, for the most part of the year, idle. Hundreds of thousands of hungry people are forced by poverty to leave the countryside for towns where they swell the army of the unemployed and make it possible for the employers to keep down the wages and living standards of the working people.

24. When our agrarian economy is in such a bad shape, the prospects of national development as a whole, particularly industrial progress, cannot but remain very limited. Impoverishment of peasants restricts the domestic market for industrial goods and hence possibilities of rapid industrialisation. Moreover, owing to heavy food deficits, hundreds of crores of rupees have to be frittered away year after year to import foodgrains from abroad, instead of using these funds for industrial development. In the present conditions, there is practically no scope for capital formation in the agrarian sector of our economy; nor is there any material incentive for labour enthusiasm which is so urgently necessary to step up production.

25. Despite these compromises with imperialism and feudalism, the basic contradictions of the national bourgeoisie with them do not get resolved. Rather these continue to sharpen. This broadens the social base for the democratic revolution and creates opportunities for building a wide national-democratic front, including large sections of the national bourgeoisie.

IV

26. The development of capitalism in our economy is mainly carried out under the five-year plans. Although bourgeois planning is very partial and vast fields of economic and social activities are left outside its pale, the plans nevertheless give the bourgeois economic development a definite tempo and direction. The bourgeoisie seeks to strengthen its position not merely in relation to imperialism and feudalism, but also in relation to the popular masses. Some aspects of the plans strengthen our independence.

27. The most outstanding feature of these plans is, of course, to be seen in the industrial expansion, particularly the setting up of certain heavy and machine-building industries in the public sector. This noteworthy gain would not have been possible but for the existence of the world socialist system which, apart from giving disinterested assistance to our economic development, has also enabled the national bourgeoisie to resist imperialist pressure and secure, in some cases, useful deals even from the imperialist countries.

28. State capitalism in an underdeveloped economy like ours has a progressive role to play if it is promoted along anti-imperialist and democratic lines. It reduces economic dependence, creates and strengthens the capital base for industrialisation and places the state in the commanding heights of the economy. Moreover, such a state sector weakens the position of the monopolies and makes it possible for the people to exercise some measure of supervision and control through the institutions of bourgeois democracy. But the expansion of the state sector is particularly hampered by the fact that the Government refuses to nationalise the undertakings of foreign and Indian monopolies even in the key sectors of our economy.

29. In addition to this industrial progress and the growth of the state sector industries which is, however, still very slow and restricted, there has been considerable expansion in transport, communication, irrigation and power.

30. All this has substantially contributed to the strengthening of certain branches of our economy and generally accelerated

bourgeois economic growth. The economic hold of imperialism over our economy has been weakened.

31. At the same time, these bourgeois plans encourage monopolistic tendencies in our economy and give rise to increasing concentration of economic power in the hands of the big bourgeoisie. In some ways, the ruling bourgeoisie uses the state sector in the service of big business. Contracts under the plans and otherwise originating from the state go to big business and it is big business again that controls the distribution of the products of many state undertakings. The state-owned industries and financial and credit institutions in the public sector display a bias in favour of the big monopolistic bourgeoisie and offer liberal assistance to build them up. The interests of the petty and middle strata among the national bourgeoisie who are entitled to assistance from the state are disregarded.

32. Apart from the growing connection between state capitalism and monopolistic big bourgeoisie, the Government now invites capitalists for participation in the share capital of the state-owned undertakings. This is clearly designed to further strengthen these ties and distort the growth of the public sector. Moreover, the state-owned concerns are placed in the charge of bureaucrats who are anti-democratic in outlook and hostile to labour.

33. State capitalism is liable to lose its progressive character and become a weapon in the hands of reaction if the influence of *big business and the control of bureaucrats* grow in our public sector. Both these harmful tendencies are already there in the affairs of our state-owned undertakings.

34. While refusing to do away with the exploitation by foreign capital and landlords or curb the monopolists, the ruling bourgeoisie promotes capitalistic development by putting heavy economic burdens on the masses, by intensifying the attacks on their living standards, by curtailing their democratic rights and liberties, including trade union rights. The budgetary and general economic policies of the state, especially its price policy and taxation measures, are determined primarily from the point of view of the narrow interest of the exploiting classes.

The bourgeois Government seeks to go ahead with the development of capitalism at the cost of the people. This naturally leads to sharp social contradictions.

35. The plans of the bourgeoisie come up against the inescapable objective laws of capitalism and their difficulties are further aggravated by the fact that India still remains heavily dependent on the world capitalist economy.

36. Instead of reorganising our agriculture through radical agrarian reforms and fully mobilising resources from the foreign and Indian monopolists in the country, the Government makes the plan more and more dependent on so-called economic "aid" from the imperialist countries. The heavy reliance on such foreign "aid", mainly from the USA, creates opportunities for the imperialists to further penetrate into our economy and attempt to influence the internal and external policies of the Government in an anti-national direction. This so-called "aid", especially from the USA which is the chief bulwark of world reaction and the mainstay of colonialism, is an instrument of imperialist intrigues and subversion against the newly-liberated peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America.

37. Although the plans weaken the position of imperialism and promote independent development, experience nonetheless shows that this path and the bourgeois plans are not going to solve our basic problems—the problems of economic dependence and backwardness, of poverty, unemployment and want. It is also becoming increasingly clear that this path is incapable of even ensuring the fullest utilisation of the human and material resources of the country. It gives rise to deep contradictions and is often marked by disharmony and imbalance, by dislocation and crises.

38. Still heavily dependent on world capitalism which is now in the throes of a new stage in its general crisis, the capitalist path the Indian bourgeoisie has taken keeps our economy open to the retarding and harmful influence and operations of present-day world capitalism.

39. And, finally, the path of capitalist development, apart from being slow, halting and imbalanced, is extremely and unbearably

painful to the vast masses. As they see that the solution of the country's basic problems and the improvement of their living standard do not lie in capitalism, people naturally seek an alternative path.

V

40. The present Indian state is the organ of the class rule of the national bourgeoisie and landlords, led by the bourgeoisie. This class character essentially determines the role and functions of the state in the life of the country.

41. Although our state structure is supposed to be a federal one, practically all power and authority is concentrated in the Central Government. The constituent states of the Indian Union enjoy very limited power and opportunities; their autonomy is formal and without any substance. This makes these states precariously dependent on the Central Government, restricts their developmental and other nation-building activities and thus hinders their progress.

42. It is but natural that in such a situation the contradictions between the Central Government and the states should have grown. Underlying these contradictions often lie the deeper contradictions between the big bourgeoisie and the entire people including the bourgeoisie of this or that state. Instead of seeking a democratic solution to these contradictions, the reactionary circles among the bourgeoisie take recourse to chauvinism and provincialism and otherwise encourage fissiparous and disruptive tendencies.

43. The so-called centrally-administered areas are denied even the semblance of responsible government and the bureaucracy reigns supreme there. In some states, there are certain compact areas almost wholly inhabited by peoples who have their own distinct language, culture and traditions; but they are denied regional administrative autonomy within their respective states. Large tribal areas, with their own economy and culture, are left to the mercy of local exploiters, bureaucrats and their favourites. There are minorities in every state; but their minority rights are neither assured nor safeguarded.

44. The bourgeois-landlord state thus fosters centrifugal and disruptive forces and fails to build the unity of the country on secure foundations.

45. In this state which is based on a highly centralised bureaucracy, power is concentrated at the top and exercised through privileged bureaucrats who are divorced from the masses and who obediently serve the interests of the exploiting classes. Authoritarian trends are growing. Corruption is rampant in high places in the administration. The local bodies, shorn of all power and authority, carry on according to the dictates of the bureaucracy. The panchayats are allowed to be swamped by landlords, profiteers and other exploiters in the countryside. They are transformed into so many appendages of the bureaucracy. There is no people's rule under the so-called panchayat raj through which the ruling classes seek to consolidate their power in rural India.

46. The judiciary, which is an important organ of state power, is weighted against workers, peasants and other sections of the working people. The laws, procedures and the system of justice essentially serve the interests of the exploiting classes and uphold their class rule. Moreover, there is no effective separation of the judiciary from the executive and the judiciary is subject to the influence and control of the latter.

47. The armed forces, which were trained to suppress the people under the British, are not educated in the spirit of democracy and imbued with a high level of democratic political consciousness. They are still used against the working people for suppressing even legitimate trade union struggles and for terrorising them. In the name of keeping the armed forces above politics, they are left to the politics of the Generals and certain other topmost officers, most of whom come from the bourgeois-landlord classes, hold reactionary political views and carry on their politics, though in their own way and beyond public gaze. This would seem a source of positive danger to our parliamentary system in view of the fact that in a number of countries armies have turned out to be rival centres of power.

48. The Directive Principles of the Constitution which are supposed to be fundamental in the governing of the country are not enforceable. They are generally disregarded by the state.

49. The Constitution provides for certain fundamental rights but the people can exercise them only to a limited extent. Many of these rights are misinterpreted, distorted and even violated by the authorities of the state. When it comes to the struggles of the workers, peasants and other sections of the democratic masses, the fundamental rights cease to exist. The state comes out in violent suppression of the people. The violence of the state becomes particularly savage against the workers and peasants. Mass arrests, imprisonment including detention without trial, lathi-charges and police firings are frequently resorted to.

50. With land remaining in the hands of landlords, factories in the hands of the capitalists, with the press, radio and other means of propaganda controlled by the exploiting classes and above all, with the state armed with so much repressive powers, what real freedom can there be for the peasants, workers and the broad masses? Bourgeois democracy always remains formal.

51. However, universal adult franchise and Parliament and the state legislatures are a gain of the people in their struggle for democracy. Adult franchise serves to gauge the maturity of the working class and the masses as it is also used by them to advance their cause. Although a form of the class rule of the bourgeoisie and landlords, India's present parliamentary system also embodies important gains of the people. It affords opportunities to the working class and the people to defend their vital interests, intervene in the affairs of the state and carry forward the struggle for peace, democracy and socialism.

52. The Communists are intensely interested in defending these gains of the people, in further strengthening these parliamentary and democratic institutions and in expanding democracy all over.

53. The threat to the parliamentary system and to democracy comes not from the working people and the parties which represent their interests. The threat comes from the exploiting classes. It is they who undermine the parliamentary system both

from within and without. When the people begin to use parliamentary institutions for advancing their cause, the reactionary bourgeoisie and landlords do not even hesitate to trample underfoot parliamentary democracy and replace it by military dictatorships. It will be a serious error to imagine that our present parliamentary system is free from such threats. The landlord-bourgeois state itself breeds the anti-democratic forces of subversion.

VI

54. Under the present regime, the creations of labour and the fruits of development are inequitously and unfairly appropriated by the exploiting classes. The share of these classes in the rising national income goes on moving up, while that of the working people declines.

55. The capitalists, big contractors, speculators, profiteers, landlords and certain strata of the rich peasants enrich themselves as never before. The greatest beneficiaries of the capitalist development are, of course, the big monopolistic bourgeoisie. The big bourgeoisie mints millions and millions of rupees at the cost of the entire community. The rich become richer; social and economic disparities, far from narrowing, grow wider. The misery of the vast masses goes on increasing everyday.

56. Despite a big rise in industrial production, as well as in the productivity of labour, the real wages of the workers still remain around the 1939 level. The workload and exploitation of labour are increased in total disregard of the health and conditions of life of the working people. Retrenchment on a large scale takes place. Millions of people swell the ranks of the unemployed and the underemployed, further depressing the living standards of the families of the working people. Not only are the working people condemned to such misery and want, their cherished trade union rights are attacked and denied. They are refused the right of collective bargaining, of freely carrying on normal trade union activities.

57. Millions of our peasants live in abject poverty and backwardness. Three-fourths of the peasantry have practically no

land of their own and many millions live as paupers. The plunder of the peasantry through exorbitant rents and interests which the landlords and the moneylenders fasten upon it, through high taxes of the state and manipulations of the capitalist market, continues. Agricultural labourers and poor peasants have to work almost like serfs and slaves but without any subsistence wage for the family. Want of employment, hunger, indebtedness and destitution—in short, the ruination of our peasantry is what we see in the countryside today.

58. The middle-classes in the towns are faring hardly any better. High cost of living, low salaries and declining living standards are their lot, too. In recent years, middle-class unemployment has grown phenomenally. Middle-class wage earners in government services, private offices, banks, commercial concerns, schools, colleges and the like are faced with the same problems of like as the working class. Our middle-classes play an important role in the fields of art, literature, science and culture. But for most of them these fields are closed and we see the educated middle-class youth queuing up before the employment exchanges.

59. Even many industrialists, manufacturers, businessmen and traders are hit by the policies of the present Government and by the operations of the foreign and Indian monopolies and financiers. Allocation of capital issues, raw material, transport facilities, import and export licences are carried out by the Government and bureaucrats in such a way that almost all except big business suffer. Many small and medium industries are forced to close down. Those engaged in small and cottage industries face a permanent crisis.

VII

60. Which path should India take for the rapid remaking of the nation? What are the forces that will wipe out all legacies of the colonial past, fulfil the strivings of the people and take the country forward to a bright, joyous future?

61. Disillusioned with the bourgeois-landlord state and the Congress Government, our people seek answers to these crucial

questions. Life itself tells them that they cannot free themselves from exploitation, poverty and hunger under the present regime or along the capitalist path.

62. This new awakening is seen in the tremendous attraction of socialism among the masses. This attraction grows with every passing day. Capitalism stands discredited in the eyes of the people. No wonder even bourgeois politicians use socialist slogans.

63. The example of the socialist countries in successfully solving problems similar to the ones we are facing, the breathtaking achievements of socialist construction, the possibility of drawing on the varied and increasing assistance from socialist countries for India's rapid industrialisation and development, the general discredit of capitalism and our people's own painful and bitter experience with it, the growing force of attraction of socialist ideas among the masses, the advance of the democratic movement and the increasing role of the working class in the political life of the nation—all this shows that both external and internal factors favouring the non-capitalist development for our country are growing. The prospect for taking to the path of non-capitalist development is more and more brightening up.

64. The future that awaits our people demands a clear understanding of the revolutionary perspective, a correct alternative leadership.

65. The ultimate aim of the Communist Party of India is the building of a socialist society in our country. Only after the conquest of power by the working people and the establishment of a popular proletarian statehood can socialist transformations begin. This is the universal experience of all those who have built or are building socialism.

66. But to realise this historic aim, it is necessary, first of all, to complete the unfinished tasks of the anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution. In the present stage of our development, the Communist Party of India sets before the people the programmatic objective of the establishment of a People's Democracy. People's Democracy which is a form of working people's power will consistently carry out these tasks and put the country on the road to socialism.

67. To establish People's Democracy, bourgeois-landlord rule must be replaced by a People's Democratic Government, a Government representing the broad national-democratic front of all anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic classes including sections of the national bourgeoisie interested in the democratic revolution. Such a Government is led by the working class.

68. With this objective in view, the Communist Party works for uniting all patriotic and democratic forces in a national democratic front under the leadership of the working class and based on the firm alliance of the workers and peasants.

69. The establishment of a People's Democratic Government is possible only through a successful revolutionary mass movement in which the working class and the broad peasant masses play the leading role.

70. The Communist Party of India strives to achieve the establishment of People's Democracy and socialist transformations by peaceful means. By developing a powerful mass revolutionary movement, by winning a stable majority backed by such a movement, the working class and its allies will strive their utmost to overcome the resistance of the forces of reaction and transform Parliament from an instrument of serving the bourgeoisie into an instrument of serving the working people. Combining parliamentary with extra-parliamentary forms of struggle and relying upon the mass revolutionary movement, the working class and its allies will try to ensure that Parliament becomes a genuine instrument of people's will for effecting fundamental transformations in the economic, social and state structure. For bringing about such transformations by peaceful means, the leading role of the Communist Party is absolutely essential.

71. The rallying and cohesion of the revolutionary forces of the working class and all working people and the expansion of mass revolutionary action is of decisive importance for winning a stable parliamentary majority, for the victory of the revolution.

72. The form of transition depends on the international situation and specific internal conditions, mainly internal conditions. By developing broad-based popular struggles for the

strengthening and extension of democracy, by curbing the power of the monopolistic big bourgeoisie and reactionaries and by isolating them, by consolidating the majority of the people under the working class, by giving a resolute rebuff to the opportunist elements, by ceaselessly developing the class struggles of the workers, peasants and other democratic sections of the people against the forces of reaction, the Communist Party works for creating and strengthening the necessary conditions for the peaceful way.

73. It needs to be always borne in mind that the ruling classes never relinquish their power voluntarily. Experience shows that they defy the will of the people and seek to reverse it by lawlessness and violence. It is, therefore, necessary for the revolutionary forces to so orientate themselves and their work that they can face up to all contingencies, to any twist and turn in the political life of the country.

74. Vigorous struggles on the ideological front are essential to free the masses from the influence of bourgeois ideology, heighten their political consciousness and draw them to the positions of scientific socialism. Anti-Communism, which is indicative of a deep ideological crisis in an extreme decline of bourgeois ideology, constitutes the principal ideological weapon of the ruling class. With this weapon they try to carry out the ideological sabotage of the democratic movement, isolate the Communists from the rest of the democratic forces. Anti-Communism resorts to monstrous distortions of the Marxist doctrine and crude slanders against the socialist system, presents Communist policies and objectives in a false light, and carries on a witch-hunt against the democratic peaceful forces and organisations. Anti-Communism is contrary to national interests as well as the interests of the democratic movement. The Communists expose and fight anti-Communism with the utmost energy.

75. Many bourgeois leaders demagogically use socialist phraseology for deceiving the masses. While declaring for socialism, these bourgeois leaders actually try to keep the people away from the struggle for a genuine socialist path. They use

socialist slogans as a cover for their attack on Marxist-Leninist theory and the Communist Party. The Communist Party explains to the masses that the measures of the Congress Government are not in the least socialist, that there is not an iota of scientific socialism in the theories of the bourgeois leaders.

76. For the unity and consolidation of the democratic forces in our country it is imperative to wage unrelenting ideological and political struggles against the disruptive anti-Marxist positions of the right-wing socialists. The Communist Party combats communalism and casteism, all manifestations of bourgeois nationalism and chauvinism.

VIII

77. In the opinion of the Communist Party of India, the following constitutes the principal tasks of a People's Democratic Government. The Party is confident that such a Government will carry them out.

78. In the Sphere of State Structure

The People's Democratic Government will ensure:

(i) The sovereignty of the people. The supreme power in the state must be vested entirely in the people's representatives who will be elected by the people on the basis of proportional representation and be subject to recall at any time upon a demand by the majority of the electorate.

(ii) Universal, equal and direct suffrage for all male and female citizens of India who have attained the age of eighteen years in all elections to Parliament, state legislatures and to local government bodies. Secret ballot, the right of any voter to be elected to any representative institution.

(iii) Under People's Democracy, India shall be a federation of the various states with the widest autonomy for the latter.

(iv) There shall be no Governors for the states. Nor shall there be the so-called upper houses, both in the legislatures and in Parliament.

(v) The tribal areas or the areas where population is specific in composition and is distinguished by specific social and cultural

conditions will have regional autonomy with regional governments within the state concerned and shall receive full assistance for their development.

(vi) Areas which are at present centrally administered, shall have their own legislatures and government responsible to them.

(vii) In the field of local administration, the People's Democratic Government will ensure a wide network of local bodies from the village upward, directly elected by the people, and invested with real powers and responsibility. The system of appointing the executive officers of these local bodies from above by state Governments shall be abolished. Adequate finances shall be ensured to the local bodies.

(viii) All our institutions must be infused with the spirit of democracy, of respect for and reliance on the people as well as confidence in their determination to build a democratic society free from bureaucracy and injustice.

The People's Democratic Government will, therefore, extend democratic forms of initiative and control over every aspect of national life. A key role in this will be played by the trade unions and other organisations of the working people. The Government will take steps to make the legislative and executive machinery of the country continuously responsive to the democratic wishes of the people and will ensure that the masses and their organisations are drawn into active participation in the administration and work of the state. Bureaucratism shall be eliminated.

(ix) The People's Democratic Government will ensure: inviolability of person and domicile; unhampered freedom of conscience, religious belief and worship, speech, press, assembly, strike and combination; freedom of movement and occupation.

(x) The People's Democratic Government will abolish capital punishment as well as detention without trial.

(xi) The People's Democratic Government will enforce:

-- Equal rights for all citizens irrespective of religion, caste, sex, race or nationality, equal pay for equal work irrespective of sex, and

— Removal of social disabilities from which women suffer, equal rights with men in such matters as inheritance of

property, enforcement of marriage and divorce laws, admission to professions and services, etc.

79. Protection to Religious Minorities Against Discrimination

(1) Right of people to receive instruction in their mother-tongue in educational institutions; the use of the national language of the particular state as the language of administration in all its public and state institutions, as well as its use as the medium of education in the state up to the highest standard; provision for the use of the language of a minority or region, where necessary, in addition to the state language. Use of Hindi as an all-India state language will not be obligatory but will be encouraged as a means of intercourse between Governments of different states and between people of different states. In the Hindustani-speaking areas, people will have the right to use either the Urdu or the Devnagari script.

(2) Measures to foster, encourage and develop such literature, art and culture as will—

- Help each nationality including the tribal people to develop their own distinctive way and in unison with the common aspirations of the democratic masses of the country as a whole;
- Help the democratic masses in their struggle to improve their living conditions and enrich their life;
- Help the people to get rid of caste and communal hatred and prejudices and ideas of subservience or superstition;
- Help all people to develop feelings of brotherhood with the peace-loving peoples of all countries and discourage ideas of racial and national hatred.

(3) The People's Democratic Government will guarantee—

- The right of all persons to sue any official before a people's court.
- Separation of the state from all religious institutions; the secular character of the state will be guaranteed. Interference by the church and other religious institutions in the affairs of the state and the political life of the country shall be prohibited.

- Free and compulsory education for the children of both sexes up to the age of fourteen.
- Establishment of a wide network of health, medical and maternity services, free of cost, as well as rest homes and recreation centres for the working people.

(4) The People's Democratic Government will introduce democratic changes in the administration of justice. The judiciary will be completely independent of the executive. The appointment of judges will be subject to the approval by Parliament, legislatures or appropriate people's organs at different levels.

- Free legal aid and advice will be provided for the needy in order to make legal redress easily available for all.

(5) The People's Democratic Government will infuse the members of the armed forces with the spirit of patriotism and democracy. It will ensure them good living standards and conditions of service, maximum possible opportunities for cultural life, as well as the education and well-being of their children.

(6) The People's Democratic Government will take measures to consolidate the unity of India by fostering and promoting mutual co-operation between the constituent states and between the peoples of different states, in the economic, political and cultural spheres. It will pay special attention and render financial and other assistance to economically backward and weaker states, regions and areas with a view to helping them rapidly overcome their backwardness.

80. In the Field of Agriculture and The Peasant Problem

Agriculture and the peasant problem are of primary importance to our country. Without radical agrarian reforms and cancellations of the crushing burdens of indebtedness on our peasant masses, it is impossible to solve the food problem and sweep away the remnants of medievalism, which fetter the productive forces in agriculture and industry.

The People's Democratic Government will:

- (i) Hand over landlords' land without payment of compensation to the peasants and agricultural labourers.
- (ii) Ensure long-term and cheap credit for the peasants and artisans
- (iii) Cancel debts of peasants and small artisans to money-lenders and landlords.
- (iv) Ensure adequate wages and living conditions to agricultural labourers.
- (v) Encourage co-operatives of peasants and artisans on a voluntary basis for farming and for agricultural services and other purposes.
- (vi) Assist the peasants to improve methods of farming by the use of improved seeds and modern implements and technique.

81. Industry and Labour

In the field of industry, the People's Democratic Government will:

- (1) Nationalise plantations, mines, oil refineries and all factories and concerns under the control of foreign capital. It will nationalise banks and other monopolistic industries.
- (2) Develop the state sector with the utmost rapidity so as to quickly overcome economic dependence and expand continuously the industries of the country. This together with the setting up of new state-owned industries will make the state sector dominant and decisive.
- (3) Assist the small and medium industries by providing them with credit, raw materials at reasonable prices and by helping them in regard to marketing facilities and ensure that these industries are run in the interest of the people.
- (4) Regulate and co-ordinate the various sectors of the economy in order to achieve balanced and planned economic development of the country in the interest of the people.
- (5) Democratise the management of the state sector by removing the persons connected with big business from the management and by ensuring the creative participation of the workers and technicians in the management and running of industries.

(6) Improve radically the living standards and working conditions of workers by (a) fixing a living wage, (b) progressive reduction of hours of work, (c) social insurance at the expense of the state and capitalists against every kind of disability and unemployment, (d) provision of decent housing for workers, (e) recognition of trade unions and their right of collective bargaining as well as the right to strike.

(7) Effectively implement a price policy in the interest of the common people.

82. In the Sphere of Foreign Policy

India has already played a notable role for the preservation of world peace, for peaceful co-existence, and against colonialism. The People's Democratic Government will vigorously carry forward this role in the service of humanity.

The People's Democratic Government will:

- Do everything in its power in co-operation with all peace-loving forces to deliver mankind from the threat of a nuclear-missile war;
- Demand the immediate prohibition of the testing, manufacture and use of nuclear weapons and all other weapons of mass annihilation;
- Work for preventing war, for preserving peace and making it secure;
- Strive for peaceful co-existence among countries with different social systems based on the *Panch Sheel*, for the conclusion of a treaty on general, complete and controlled disarmament;
- Strengthen Afro-Asian solidarity in every possible way and further develop friendly relations and co-operation with the socialist countries and all peace-loving states in the interests of peace and freedom;
- Demand the abolition of all military pacts and all foreign military bases as well as withdrawal of all foreign troops of other countries;
- Work for agreements for nuclear-free zones;
- Exercise the greatest vigilance against the imperialist warmongers and their intrigues and manoeuvres and inspire the masses in the spirit of such vigilance;

- Take effective measures to secure the earliest expulsion of the Portuguese from Goa, Daman and Diu and thereby the liberation of these territories of ours forcibly occupied by the imperialists;
- Withdraw India from the British Commonwealth, renounce all agreements and commitments with British imperialism which are against the interests of the nation or not in keeping with national dignity;
- Always make special efforts to establish friendly relations with India's neighbours—Pakistan, Nepal, Ceylon and Burma on the basis of the *Panch Sheel*.

IX

83. The struggle for the establishment of People's Democracy and the realisation of its programme encompasses the entire stage in the historical development of our anti-imperialist, anti-feudal, democratic revolution.

84. But this great struggle is intimately and inseparably linked with the struggles of our people for the consolidation of national independence, for the preservation of world peace, for their democratic rights and vital interests, and for the defence and extension of democracy. The democratic development depends, in no small measure, on the isolation and decisive defeat of the forces of right reaction who are today viciously trying, from within the state administration and without, to reverse the course of our country's development in an anti-national, anti-democratic, reactionary direction. The utmost vigilance and a crushing rebuff to these forces is an urgent necessity not only for ensuring the broad general democratic advance, but also for defending the gains of our people's struggles, for winning their immediate demands.

85. The Communist Party has always played and will continue to play the most selfless part in unifying all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggles for the defence of all the gains of the people, for improving the living conditions of the masses, for a democratic advance.

86. While supporting all measures of the Government which weaken the position of imperialism, feudalism and the monopolists or otherwise in the interests of the country and the masses, the Communist Party of India opposes most determinedly all anti-democratic, anti-people measures and policies of the Government. In this line of activity, the Communist Party co-operates with all progressive forces and personalities irrespective of their party affiliations and counts upon their support. United and popular activities and struggles for democratic policies and for the improvement in the living standards of the masses are the crucial task of the day.

87. The immediate urgent tasks for which all patriotic and democratic forces can and must be rallied together and mobilised in a developing national democratic front include:

- Consolidation of political independence, preservation of world peace, peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems; general, complete and controlled disarmament; moral and material support to the people fighting for or defending their national independence; abolition of foreign military bases and withdrawal of foreign troops from other countries; recognition of the German Democratic Republic and efforts for the conclusion of a peace treaty between the two German states and the conversion of West Berlin into a demilitarised city;
- Strengthening of Afro-Asian solidarity; closer friendship and co-operation with the socialist states and with all peace-loving nations;
- Defending and strengthening India's independent foreign policy of peace and anti-colonialism;
- Effective measures for the liberation of Goa;
- Ban on new penetration of imperialist finance capital, restriction on foreign private capital as well as on the remittances of profit, interest, etc., abroad by the British, American and other foreign exploiters;
- Reduction of dependence on loans and "aid" from the USA and other imperialist countries;

- Vigorous measures for curbing the power of monopolies and the monopolist bourgeoisie in the economic life of the country and in other spheres;
- Rapid expansion on a democratic basis of the public sector in industry by setting up new units as well as by nationalising such key and important industries as foreign-owned plantations, coal-mining, oil including oil distribution, jute, banking, general insurance and foreign trade;

In the interest of the people and the national economy and for making the public sector dominant in industry the nationalisation of these above industries is essential;

- Institute effective democratic control over the management of textile, sugar and such other essential industries to ensure reasonable prices for the people and prevent profiteering and malpractices;
- Adequate state assistance in the form of supply of raw materials, credit, transport and marketing facilities to the small and medium industries, full support and backing to the cottage industries, protection to all of them against unfair and unequal competition;
- Distribution of surplus land to the agricultural labourers and poor peasants, reduction of rent, taxes and indebtedness of the peasantry, improvement of the wages of agricultural labourers, general ban on eviction of the peasants, provision of adequate credits to the peasants through co-operatives;
- Removal of the landlords, profiteers and the like from the management and control of co-operatives;
- Fixing of national minimum wage as well as fair wage for each industry; ban on retrenchment; recognition of trade unions on the basis of secret ballot of workers and employees, respect for all trade union rights including the right of collective bargaining and the right to strike, removal of all restriction on the right to strike; cancellation of all anti-democratic, anti-trade union provisions in the government service conduct rules;

- Reduction of prices especially of food, cloth and other necessities of life and enforcement of a price line in the interest of the people;
- Reduction of the tax burden on the masses and effective enhancement of taxes and levies on big business and other wealthy sections of the community;
- Effective measures to raise the earnings and the living standards of workers, peasants, government and office employees, and professional classes along with the rise in the national income;
- Effective measures to eradicate corruption in the administration, particularly in high places; drastic curbs on the powers of the bureaucracy and institution of popular control over it at all levels; democratisation and decentralisation of the administration;
- Greater powers to the states, especially in financial and planning matters. The states shall exercise complete and unrestricted authority in all subjects, within their respective sphere and actions of the states in exercise of such powers shall be final and will not be subject to any veto or modification by the Central Government;
- Reorganisation of the present Punjabi state on a linguistic basis and creation of the Punjabi Suba.
- Revocation of the Preventive Detention Act and other anti-democratic repressive laws and measures; reform of the police administration and revision of the old police codes on democratic lines; abolition of capital punishment;
- Establishment of legislative assemblies and responsible governments in the centrally-administered territories;
- Democratisation of panchayats and local bodies and provision for adequate power and resources for them;
- Complete and real separation of the judiciary from the executive with no power for the executive in the matter of appointment, promotion, etc., of judges and other judicial personnel;

- Effective safeguards and guarantees for legitimate minority rights; maximum possible financial and other assistance for the advancement of the people belonging to the scheduled castes and scheduled tribes;
 - Improved pay and better conditions of service for the ranks and junior officers in the armed forces as well as better care for their children and their families.
88. As the united struggle for the fulfilment of the above tasks develop and the patriotic and democratic forces gather together in a common front the entire political situation may undergo a radical change and reach a new, high stage. Possibilities may then arise in individual states and even in the country as a whole for the establishment of a popular, democratic Government representing the broad unity of these democratic forces. Whether such possibilities will be limited to this or that state or will extend to the all-India plane depends, of course, on the dimension, sweep and intensity of the democratic movement. Our Party will always work for bringing about such shifts in the political situation and strive, along with all other democratic forces and in broad national interests for the formation of popular democratic Governments, whenever and wherever such possibilities arise.

At the state level where the power and scope under the present Constitution are very restricted, the democratic Government will, relying on the united mass movement, try its utmost to improve the conditions of the masses, strengthen the economy of the state concerned on democratic lines and advance the country's democratic movement as well as the urgent tasks before it. Such a Government at the all-India level which is conceivable only when the general democratic movement and the political activity of the masses have reached a very profound stage all over the country, will take vigorous measures for the implementation of the urgent tasks and give India's course of development, firmly and consistently, a genuine national and democratic direction. A Government of this kind, which will represent the national democratic front of all democratic classes including sections of the national bourgeoisie and in which the working class and the Communist Party will increasingly play a weighty role, will pave the way for still greater advance.

X

89. The Communist Party of India places this Programme before the people and sets forth the principal urgent tasks of the day in order that our people have a clear picture of the objective they are fighting for as well as of the course of a democratic national advance.

90. Our Party calls upon the toiling millions, the working class, the peasantry, the toiling intelligentsia, the middle-classes as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in a truly democratic development and in creating a prosperous life to unite in a single national democratic front for the fulfilment of these immediate tasks and for attainment of the objective.

91. The Communist Party of India devotes all its energies and resources to the task of uniting all patriotic and democratic forces in the struggle for a democratic course of development—to the great task of building a mighty national democratic front for the realisation of the Programme. In all its activities and struggles, the Communist Party of India is guided by the philosophy and principles of Marxism-Leninism which alone show to the toiling masses the correct way to the ending of exploitation of man by man, to their completest emancipation. In the struggle for the realisation of the noble aims of mankind in the present epoch, our Party firmly relies on the Statement of the Meeting of Representatives of 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties held in Moscow in November 1960, as also in the earlier Declaration of 1957. These two great creative Marxist-Leninist documents are a reliable guide for the Communists, the working class and the progressive forces the world over.

92. Carrying forward the revolutionary, fighting traditions of our people the Communist Party of India combines patriotism with proletarian internationalism and takes its place in the worldwide struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism. The Party unites in its ranks the most advanced, the most active and the most selfless sons and daughters of the working people, imbued with the spirit of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Communist Party of India

has no interest apart from the interests of the working class and the working people of our country.

93. The principles of Marxism-Leninism and the leadership of the Communist Parties have already led more than one-third of humanity to socialism, to freedom, to real democracy, to universal happiness, in the forefront of which stands the Soviet Union. With 81 Marxist-Leninist Parties and a total membership of over 36 million, the world Communist movement marches triumphantly to its goal as the noblest and the mightiest progressive movement of mankind in all history. The complete triumph of socialism is inevitable.

94. The Communist Party of India is confident that the people of our country, led by the working class and its revolutionary vanguard, guided by the teachings of Marxism-Leninism will achieve this Programme. Our Party is confident that our great country, India, which has won her political independence and has already found a place of honour among peace-loving nations will emerge as a victorious People's Democracy and advance on the road to Socialism.

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